Colonial History

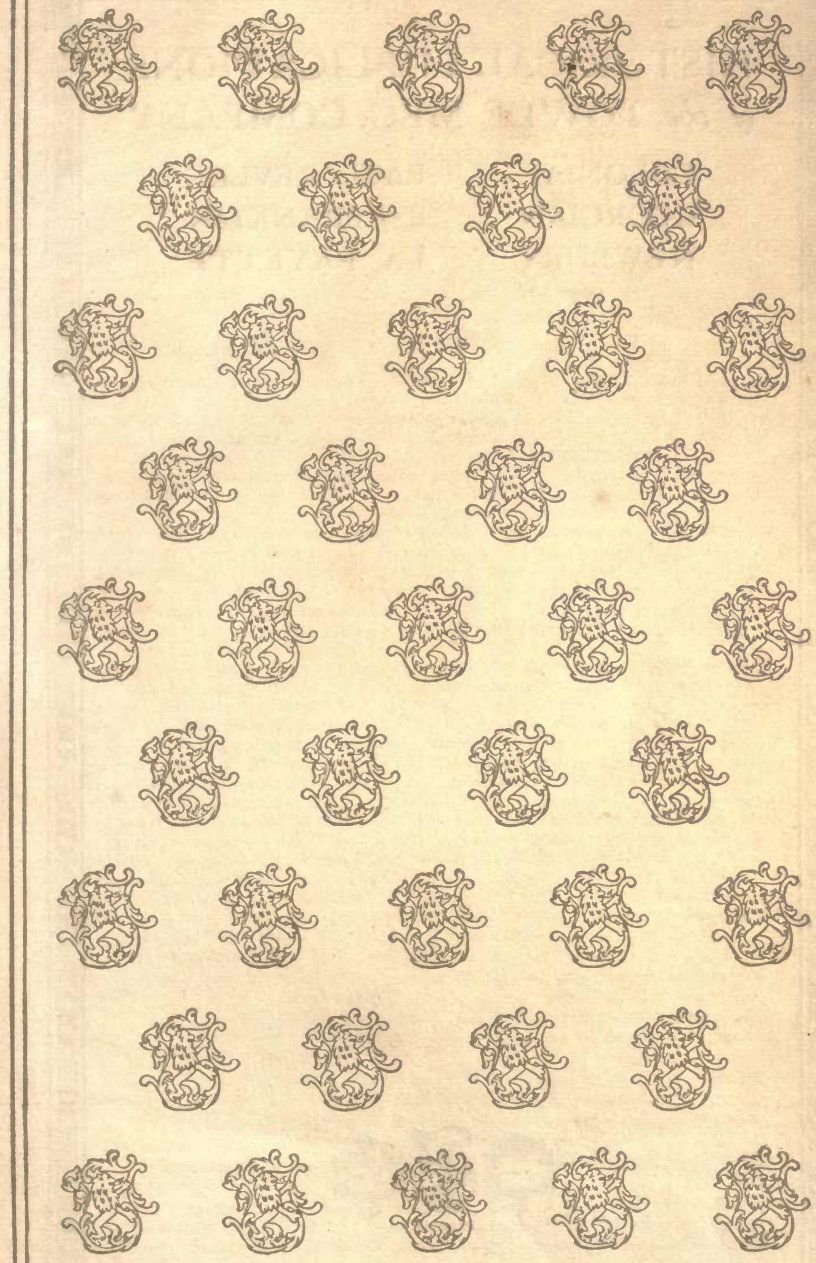
Benjamin Franklin ❧ La Fayette
Paul Revere ❧ Colonial
Newbury ❧ Georgian



THE LIBRARY
OF
THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES

GIFT OF

COMMODORE BYRON MCCANDLESS



HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS
of the TOWLE MFG. COMPANY

COLONIAL
GEORGIAN
NEWBURY

PAUL REVERE
BENJ. FRANKLIN
LA FAYETTE



À PROPOS

In presenting this abstract of the life of Benjamin Franklin on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of his birth, it is pertinent to note that an occurrence in the early history of Newbury, from which Newburyport — the home of the manufactures herein illustrated — was later set off, was of material assistance to Franklin in the confirmation of his discovery of the identity of lightning and electricity; as will be seen by the following extract from one of his letters to M. Dalibard of Paris, subsequently read before the Royal Society of London, and to be found in Bigelow's Works of Benjamin Franklin.

The church referred to stood in what is now Market Square, Newburyport, and was struck by lightning February ninth, 1754.

I thank you for communicating M. de Buffon's relation of the effect of lightning at Dijon, on the 7th of June last. In return, give me leave to relate an instance I lately saw of the same kind. Being in the town of Newbury, in New England, in November last, I was shown the effect of lightning on their church, which had been struck a few months before. The steeple was a square tower of wood, reaching seventy feet up from the ground to the place where the bell hung, over which rose a taper spire, of wood likewise, reaching seventy feet higher, to the vane of the weather-cock. Near the bell was fixed an iron hammer to strike the hours; and from the tail of the hammer a wire went down through a small gimlet-hole in the floor that the bell stood upon, and through a second floor in like manner; then horizontally under and near the plastered ceiling of that second floor, till it came near a plastered wall; then down by the side of that wall to a clock, which stood about twenty feet below the bell. The wire was not bigger than a common knitting needle. The spire was split all to pieces by the lightning, and the parts flung in all directions over the Square in which the church stood, so that nothing remained above the bell.

The lightning passed between the hammer and the clock in the above-mentioned wire, without hurting either of the floors, or having any effect upon them (except making the gimlet-holes, through which the wire passed, a little bigger), and without hurting the plastered wall, or any part of the building, so far as the aforesaid wire and the pendulum-wire of the clock extended; which latter wire was about the thickness of a goose-quill. From the end of the pendulum, down quite to the ground, the building was exceedingly rent and damaged, and some stones in the foundation-wall torn out and thrown to the distance of twenty or thirty feet. No part of the aforementioned long small wire, between the clock and the hammer, could be found, except about two inches that hung to the tail of the hammer, and about as much that was fastened to the clock; the rest being exploded, and its particles dissipated in smoke and air, as gunpowder is by common fire, and had left only a black smutty track on the plastering, three or four inches broad, darkest in the middle and fainter towards the edges, all along the ceiling, under which it passed, and down the wall. These were the effects and appearances on which I would only make the following remarks, viz.: —

1. That lightning, in its passage through a building, will leave wood to pass as far as it can in metal, and not enter the wood again till the conductor of metal ceases. And the same I have observed in other instances, as to walls of brick or stone.

2. The quantity of lightning that passed through this steeple must have been very great, by its effects on the lofty spire above the bell, and on the square tower, all below the end of the clock-pendulum.

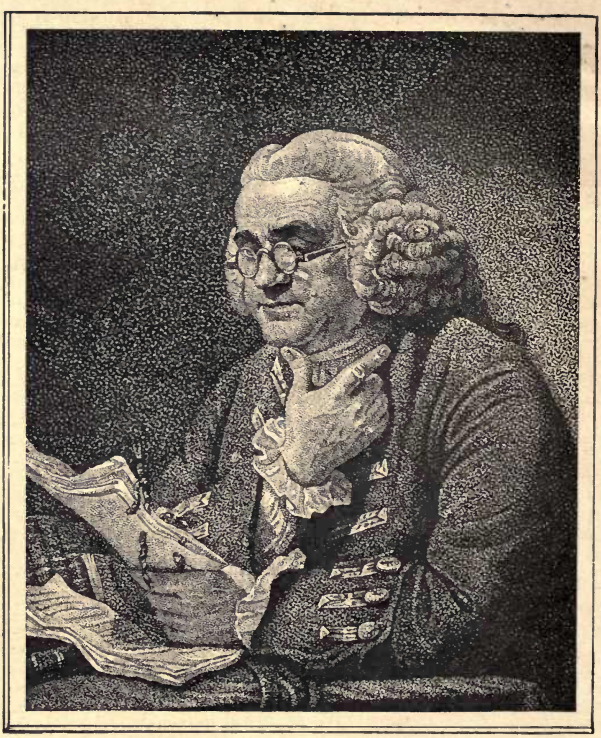
3. Great as this quantity was, it was conducted by a small wire and a clock-pendulum, without the least damage to the building so far as they extended.

4. The pendulum rod, being of a sufficient thickness, conducted the lightning without damage to itself; but the small wire was utterly destroyed.

5. Though the small wire was itself destroyed, yet it had conducted the lightning with safety to the building.

6. And from the whole it seems probable that, if even such a small wire had been extended from the spindle of the vane to the earth before the storm, no damage would have been done to the steeple by that stroke of lightning, though the wire itself had been destroyed.

B. FRANKLIN.



B. Franklin

THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF

BEN! FRANKLIN



WITH SOME OF THE PROVERBS OF POOR RICHARD

AND A CATALOGUE OF THE

BEN! FRANKLIN PATTERN OF STERLING SILVER TABLEWARE

TRADE MARK

STERLING

TOWLE MFG. COMPANY

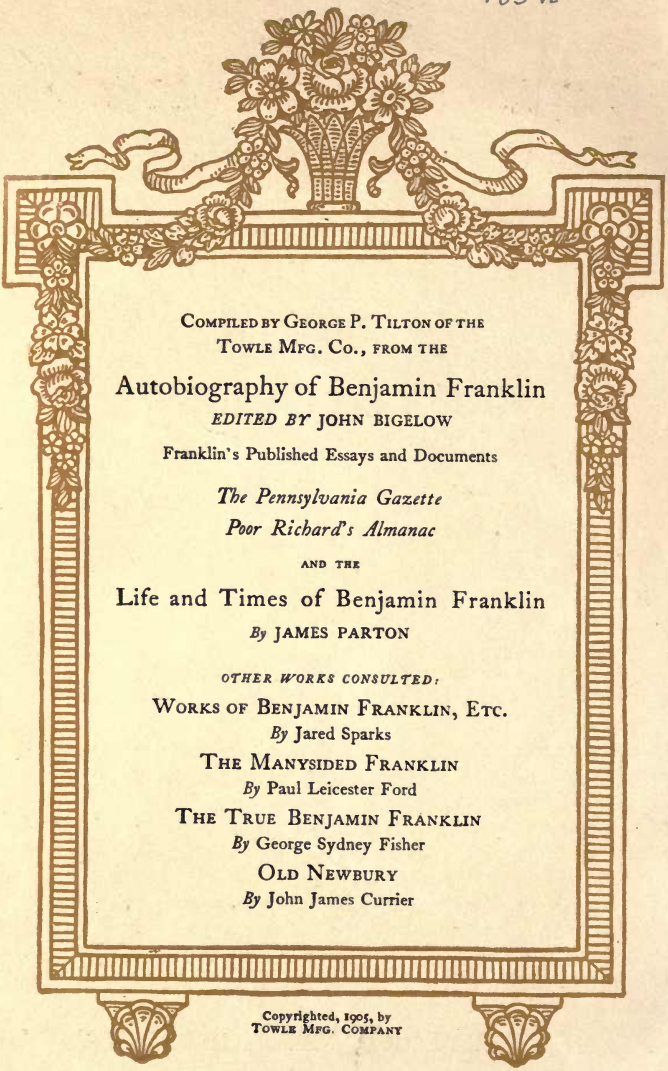
SILVERSMITHS

NEWBURYPORT, MASSACHUSETTS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
42 MADISON STREET

NEW YORK CITY
41 UNION SQUARE

*TS
735
T65h



COMPILED BY GEORGE P. TILTON OF THE
TOWLE MFG. CO., FROM THE

Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin

EDITED BY JOHN BIGELOW

Franklin's Published Essays and Documents

The Pennsylvania Gazette

Poor Richard's Almanac

AND THE

Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin

By JAMES PARTON

OTHER WORKS CONSULTED:

WORKS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, ETC.
By Jared Sparks

THE MANYSIDED FRANKLIN
By Paul Leicester Ford

THE TRUE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
By George Sydney Fisher

OLD NEWBURY
By John James Currier

Copyrighted, 1905, by
TOWLE MFG. COMPANY



Benjamin Franklin.

Born January 6, 1706.

Two hundred years ago, with little appreciation of its importance to the world, the life of Benjamin Franklin began. The home into which he was born was comfortable and the family eminently worthy, but it was entirely lacking presumption of the genius that the alchemy of humanity had compounded of greatness and goodness, energy, ingenuity and sagacity, in fact with some subtile tincture of all the elements of wisdom and strength, not utterly devoid of faults, but altogether unique in history and opportune in its bestowal.

The Franklin house stood on Milk street, Boston, nearly opposite the historic Old South Meetinghouse, and in accordance with the requirements of the religious belief of that time he was, on the day of his birth, Sunday, carried to the church by his mother and baptized. His father, Josiah Franklin, was a candle-maker of sufficient means to bring up in comfort his large family of children, but he was obliged to forego his plan of educating Benjamin for the ministry, and two years' schooling between the ages of eight and ten constituted the sum of his official intellectual guidance. This but opened the door to the stores and fields of knowledge that Franklin by ardent application was to make his own, and its brevity enhances the triumph of his achievement. When, therefore, at the age of ten, economic reasons prevailed, thoughts of a higher education gave way to candle-making in his father's employ. The monotonous details of this work proved little to his taste, however, and his awakening impulses inclined him to seek adventure by running away to sea, a prospect that

Virtue and a Trade are a Child's best Portion. *Poor Richard.*



The Printer's Apprentice

has allured generations of boys before and since. His father became aware of this, and to enable him to make choice of a more congenial occupation, took him to visit various places that he might observe workmen at different trades. He seemed most attracted by the work of his cousin Samuel, a cutler who had recently come from London and set up a shop in Boston. Samuel Franklin took him for mutual trial, but the arrangement miscarried and Franklin was then apprenticed to his brother James who was just getting established in the printing business. Franklin had read with precocious interest Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Plutarch's Lives, and a few religious books that his father possessed, and the work that he now entered upon fostered his taste for study by putting him in the way of access to a greater range of authors, by which he profited immediately and signally. One of the first evidences of his maturing thought was a series of letters over the pseudonym of "*Silence Dogood*," which he contributed clandestinely to the "*New England Courant*," a newspaper established by his brother in 1720. This paper sought popularity by attacking and ridiculing established authority, especially in matters of religion, after having secured its subscribers by announcement of a contrary course, and the *Silence Dogood* articles by their free and sceptical character attracted a degree of attention quite incommensurate with the profundity of the writer who, notwithstanding the curiosity and speculation aroused, was able to maintain completely the secret of their authorship until his complacency over their success got the better of his caution. The trend of his thought toward religion, and the independence of his attitude and deductions, continued all through life and may possibly be summed up as deism, in turn combative, destructive, tolerant, friendly. He never scoffed at worship of an omnipotent God, although some of his writings were so interpreted by lesser intellects bound between the walls of narrow creed and convention. His religion was of constant and real service to himself, and after the repudiation of some of his early sophistry brought him the respect of eminent representatives of every creed. The following from the *Courant* is typical of his irreverent, though not necessarily sacrilegious,

God, Parents and Instructors can never be requited. *Poor Richard.*



Arrival in Philadelphia

treatment of biblical subjects, and it is easy to understand the contempt it engendered in such a Puritan community:

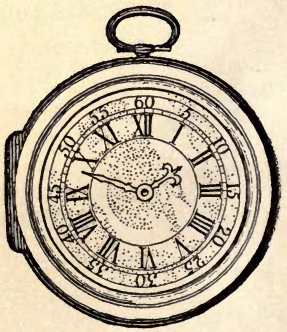
"In old Time it was no disrespect for Men and Women to be called by their own Names: *Adam* was never called *Master* Adam; we never read of Noah *Esquire*, Lot *Knight* and *Baronet*, nor the *Right Honorable Abraham*, Viscount of Mesopotamia, *Baron* of Canaan; no, no, they were plain Men, honest Country Grasiers, that took care of their Families and Flocks. Moses was a great Prophet, and *Aaron* a priest of the Lord; but we never read of the *Reverend* Moses, nor the Right Reverend Father in God Aaron, by Divine Providence, *Lord Arch-Bishop* of Israel; Thou never sawest *Madam* Rebecca in the Bible, my *Lady* Rachel: nor Mary, tho' a Princess of the Blood after the death of *Joseph*, called the Princess Dowager of Nazareth."

It is inconceivable that such a sheet, embodying all the sensationalism characteristic of the most vulgar of its present day successors with a recklessness they dare not aspire to, could long continue without bringing trouble upon its sponsors, and in due course retribution overtook this one through the Great and General Court of Massachusetts, and James Franklin was imprisoned in jail for a month, being released only after humble apology. He was also enjoined from further publication of the *Courant*, but the paper was continued by Benjamin while the proprietor was in jail, and upon the expiration of James' sentence this arrangement was given a legal form to evade the state edict. In order to accomplish this it was necessary to annul Benjamin's indenture, as otherwise his liability would have reverted to James, but the latter retained a measure of hold on his brother through secret articles of similar import. This expedient in the end served Benjamin better however, as James was so unwise as to disturb the prosperity that followed the elevation of the former by quarreling with and severely beating him. With a knowledge that James was in no position to enforce a claim on his services, and after giving him warning to this effect, Benjamin determined to sever the ties of home and family and work out his destiny with an independence compatible with his mental development.

A Fine Genius in his Own Country is Like Gold in the Mine. *Poor Richard.*

By selling some of his books he raised a little money, and making a fictitious intrigue of which he pretended to fear the consequences an excuse for secrecy, he took passage on a sloop for New York, where in due course he arrived and undertook to secure employment. He applied to Mr. William Bradford, a famous printer, but the best that gentleman could do for him was to suggest that he call on his son, also a printer, in Philadelphia, whom he thought was in need of help. So Franklin set out in a small boat for Amboy, New Jersey, from which place he was to make his way to Burlington on the Delaware, and from thence by boat again to Philadelphia. The trip across the bay at New York proved disastrous, the boat being driven to the Long Island shore in a squall and barely saved from wreck by fortunate anchoring. Here they were obliged to stay over night exposed to a severe storm, wet and without food. One of the party, a Dutchman under the influence of liquor, fell overboard and was saved by Franklin as he was going down the third time. They reached Amboy the next day thoroughly exhausted and Franklin went to bed in a high fever. His strong constitution, aided by his faith in the efficacy of liberal draughts of cold water, enabled him to rise in his usual health the next morning, and he started on foot for Burlington, which he reached after nearly three days of tramping, the first in a driving rain, which put his courage to a severe test and reduced him to somewhat the appearance of a vagabond. He was fortunate enough to find a small boat that was to leave for Philadelphia that night, and after a hearty meal he embarked to spend the most of the night at the oars. The misfortune of the earlier stage of the journey attended him to its end; the party lost its reckoning and fearing that the city had been passed unknowingly, drew up at the shore and gathered around a small fire until dawn revealed their destination a short distance below.

Though the determination to run away from home is most frequently arrived at through a boy's immature consideration of conditions, existing and anticipated, there can be little question of the wisdom, in Franklin's case, of this recourse. He was by temperament antagonistic to the Puritan atmosphere of Boston, and his continued criticism of an unalterable situation would have hampered his independence and restricted his opportunities, while the necessity for prudence, engendered by his precarious footing in new surroundings—even though the people were freer of thought and content to take him as they found him—was certain to recommend sobriety of expression. It was in fact with an added sense of the seriousness of life that Franklin arrived at Philadelphia on that eventful Sunday morning in October, 1723. The picture of a dirty and disheveled boy of seventeen years, his necessary change of shirt and stockings bulging his pockets, with a large loaf under each arm, and in his hand a third which he munched with calm indifference while walking the streets in random exploration, is familiar through many renderings and is easily preëminent, although his after life abounded in striking tableaux. With a generosity that was always attendant upon his frugality, he gave the two loaves remaining after he had eaten enough, to a needy woman and her child, who had been fellow passengers the night before, and then wandered into a Quaker meeting, where the



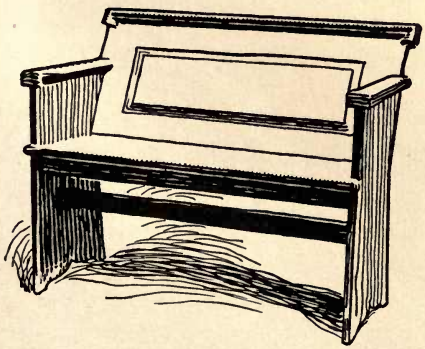
Franklin's Watch.

He that never Eats too much will never be Lazy. *Poor Richard.*

stillness and his fatigue soon put him to sleep. He was allowed to remain so until the meeting closed, and then on being awakened he sought a tavern and slept the rest of the day. After eating supper he went to bed and slept soundly through the night, so great had been his exhaustion.

On the following day he obtained employment with a printer named Keimer, William Bradford having already obtained a hand, and settled down to work and make the most of his opportunities. Keimer recommended him for lodging at the home of a Mrs. Read, whose daughter Deborah was destined to enter largely into his maturer life, and who, it happened, had with great amusement observed him on his memorable stroll up Market street the day before, little thinking what it meant to her that this strange youth had found his way to Philadelphia.

Franklin's natural craving for mental improvement had led him to seek the best in literature, and especially to profit by the style of those writers who appeared to him most gifted in argument and expression. He had early come upon a volume of the Spectator, the repository of the most learned thought of its time, and by arduous practice had acquired much of the scholarly manner and clear diction of its editors, which, joined with his speculative proclivities, made him an interesting companion for men of greater learning. In this way he gained the regard of Governor Keith of Pennsylvania and Delaware, whose acquaintance he made through his brother-in-law, Robert Holmes, who was master of a sloop that plied between Boston and the Delaware river, and who had thus met influential people. Keith had been long settled in his position and had acquired a graciousness of manner and profligacy of benevolence that led him to undertake much more than he was able to accomplish, and Franklin became the victim of his facile scheming. He proposed to give Franklin all the public printing of Pennsylvania and Delaware as the foundation of an independent business and sent the highly flattered recipient of his favor to the latter's father in Boston, with a letter urging Mr. Franklin to advance the capital to launch the enterprise, and when to his great surprise the appeal was refused, he lightly agreed to defray the cost himself, and even proposed that Franklin should go to London to personally select his outfit. Of course this seemed the climax of good fortune and Franklin at once engaged passage, relying on Governor Keith's voluble promises but continually deferred delivery of letters and credit, until at last he experienced an awakening when the final promise to send the papers with others that were to meet the ship at New Castle was too late proven faithless, and he found himself on the ocean without resources or prospects. He had progressed materially in the affections of Miss Read during his stay at her home, and he left her without scruple in the companionship of a young man of congenial literary tastes, who took this opportunity to desert his wife and child. He made some worthy acquaintances on the ship, among them that of Mr. Denham, a prosperous Quaker merchant, who enlightened



Franklin's Pew in Christs Church, Phila.



Deborah Franklin, wife of Benj. Franklin

him on Keith's real standing and the fatuity of the promises he had made. When, therefore, he landed in London he was obliged immediately to seek work to maintain himself. Fortunately his trade stood him in good stead and he soon entered upon the fullness of such life as the city could offer to a young printer. His companion, James Ralph, aspired to make a living by literary work, but as he could find no market for his imagined genius he was a burden to Franklin for a long time. He finally secured employment as teacher of an elementary school in the country, and before his return to London he broke with his benefactor on account of the latter's presumption of familiarity with his mistress, to whom also Franklin had loaned money.

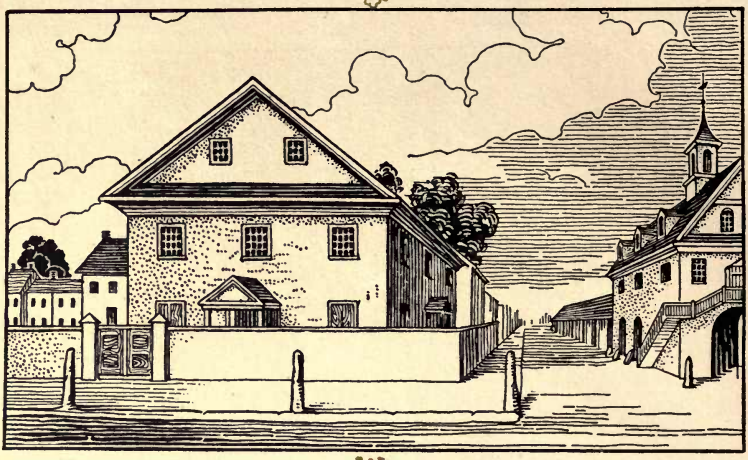
From the beginning of his work in London, Franklin gained preëminence in his trade through the excellence of his work and his ability to accomplish more than his fellows. This latter faculty was largely the result of his orderly living and abstention from excessive drinking, to which his companions were addicted, and they gave him the name of the "Water American" because of his adherence to this beverage in place of the great quantities of strong beer on which they thought it necessary to rely. By saving the cost of this beer and by living very economically he was enabled to lay by a little money and was called upon every week to advance considerable sums to the others. His constant habit of endeavoring to improve his own condition and that of those around him by rational consideration of every detail of life further distinguished him as a leader and gained for him the respect of worthy people outside his profession. At Palmer's printing office where he first obtained work he was given Wollaston's "Religion of Nature" to set for a second edition. He be-



Sarah Bache, daughter of Benj. Franklin

lieved the author's reasoning fallacious, and to refute it he wrote and issued a pamphlet under the title "A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain." It was a facile production denying a future life and repudiating other fundamental beliefs, but was rather an exercise in speculation than the result of conviction, and he soon regretted its publication and recovered and destroyed nearly all of the one hundred copies printed. It was the means, however, of his making the acquaintance of a number of celebrities whose companionship was a pleasant addition to his life. Another distinction which he gained at this time was the result of his prowess and skill in swimming. This had been a hobby in his earliest youth, and like everything that he inclined to had been exhaustively studied and thoroughly mastered in all its possibilities of endurance and grace. His success in teaching a companion to swim in two lessons became known to Sir William Wyndham, who sent for him and urged him to undertake the teaching of his two sons, who were about to start on extended travels which might thus be less hazardous. Franklin was greatly pleased with this recognition, but he could not accept the offer as the young men were not then in London and he had already completed arrangements to return to America with Mr. Denham, the merchant whose acquaintance he made on the voyage from Philadelphia. Mr. Denham needed a clerk to look after the packing and shipment of the large stock of goods that he was to carry back, and he assured Franklin of a good and permanent position in his store with the ultimate prospect of being a partner in the business. This was very attractive to Franklin who had a high regard for Mr. Denham, and he took leave of printing, as he thought, forever.

An Ounce of Wit that is Bought is Worth a Pound that is Taught. *Poor Richard.*



Quaker Meeting House, Philadelphia

He had spent about eighteen months in London and had profited in many ways by the experience, although not greatly financially, as his former friend Ralph was still indebted to him for twenty-seven pounds, but he was glad of so favorable an opportunity to return home, where he arrived on the 11th of October, 1726, after a voyage of nearly three months. While on shipboard he prepared a plan of life, consisting of an exhaustive moral code which it was his aim to realize in his relations with his fellow-men and which was a great help in overcoming many weaknesses.

Governor Keith had been superseded, during Franklin's absence, and when they met, passed him without recognition, appearing somewhat ashamed of his conduct. Miss Read, despairing of his return, had yielded to the desires of her friends and married a potter named Rogers, but had only lived with him a short time, so unhappy was the union, while it was rumored that he had another wife in England.

Mr. Denham took a deep interest in Franklin, who returned it with affection and a diligent attention to business; he felt that this was an important turning point in his career and was happy to be settled so favorably. His fate was marked in other lines however, and in February of the next year both he and Mr. Denham were taken down with what he calls "a pleurisy." Mr. Denham died, and Franklin was so near death that he resigned himself to it, a circumstance that he notes in his memoirs with mention of a feeling of regret, when he found himself recovering, that sometime or other it must all be done over again.

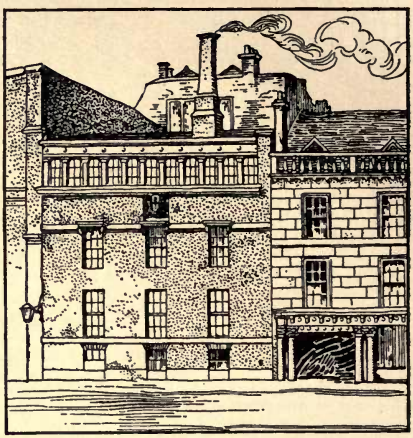
Thus thrown on the world again, Franklin accepted from Keimer, his former employer, a tempting offer as foreman, and undertook to mould into acceptability the work of a number of incompetent hands. After a few months it became evident that Keimer intended to employ Franklin only long enough to bring the others up to a tolerable standard, and as they gained in proficiency his manner became overbearing, threatening at any time a rupture and conse-



Franklin in Governor Keith's Library.

quent excuse for terminating the engagement. He soon found the opportunity he sought, for happening to be in the street on an occasion when Franklin leaned out of a window to discover the cause of a loud noise nearby, he upbraided him publicly and then came to the work-room and continued it, finishing by giving him a quarter's notice which he regretted the necessity of. Franklin waived this and left instantly, requesting Hugh Meredith, an apprentice with whom he was friendly, to bring his belongings to his lodging. Meredith brought them in the evening and proposed that when his apprenticeship expired, which would be the following spring, they should form a partnership for which he would induce his father to furnish the capital, to be balanced by Franklin's skill, with an equal sharing of profits. To this Franklin readily agreed, and Mr. Meredith having a high regard for him because of his good influence over his son, was pleased with the alliance and ratified the plan. It was decided to keep the matter secret until the necessary outfit could be obtained from London, and so after a few days of idleness when he was again approached by Keimer, who wished to secure a large order which he was personally unable to execute, Franklin accepted his apologies and took advantage of this opportunity to profitably occupy the intervening time. The order was for making the plates and printing paper money for the province of New Jersey, and the successful execution of the work by Franklin brought him greater renown and many influential friends among those who were deputed to supervise the work. At that time no copperplate printing had been done in this country, and Franklin was obliged to contrive a press as well as engrave the plates and print from them. He took Meredith to Burlington with him to assist, that they might be together and that the latter might profit by the practice. Soon after their return to Philadelphia their outfit arrived from London, and they settled with Keimer and left his employ before he learned their plans. They hired a house and rented a part of it to a man named Godfrey, with whom they arranged to board. Business came to them from the

start through friends interested in their welfare, and Franklin makes special mention of the assistance thus gained through the members of a club called the Junto, which he had organized for mutual study and improvement. This club consisted of twelve members who met each Friday evening, and was very serious and methodical in its investigations, which were laid out on broad lines of Sociology, Science, and Religion. Through its central and subsidiary organizations, planned to take in the many who desired to join, without enlarging the original membership, it exerted a wide influence, and forty years later formed the nucleus of the American Philosophical Society of which Franklin was the first president. One of the members of the Junto procured for the new firm the printing of forty folio sheets of the history of the Quakers, and the industry displayed on this, which Franklin had determined should be set and printed a sheet a day, attracted the attention of influential people who observed them at work early and late, and further increased their patronage.



Watts' Printing Office in London, Where Franklin Worked.

Bradford was successfully publishing a weekly newspaper, and Franklin having a strong disposition for writing, conceived the idea of entering this field. He was not prepared to start it at once, but he confided his plan to George Webb, a former associate at Keimer's, who had then come to Franklin for employment. He requested Webb, for whom he had no place, to keep the matter secret, but Webb immediately took it to Keimer who resolved to steal a march on his rival, and at once announced his intention of beginning the publication of the "*Universal Instructor in All the Arts and Sciences and the Pennsylvania Gazette.*" The bombastic forepart of the title was undoubtedly based on his proposal to republish, a consecutive part in each issue, a voluminous encyclopedia that had just appeared. Franklin was much chagrined at this forestalling of his project, and with the tactics of a modern stock-broker set out to weaken Keimer's position by strengthening Bradford's "*Mercury*" until such time as he should be ready to enter the field with his own paper. He therefore contributed regularly to the "*Mercury*," over the name of "*Busybody*," bright, pertinent articles calculated to interest the body of the people while avoiding everything that might give offense to any. This was a marked reversal of his tendency in the "*Silence Dogood*" letters of the "*New England Courant*," and indicated the ascendency of the principles that he had formed after such mature deliberation and which served him with increasing profit to

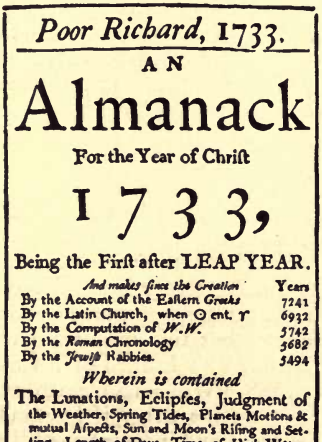


Franklin as Porter for Franklin & Meredith.

the end of his life. The scheme worked as he anticipated and Keimer's sheet was soon reduced to a precarious existence, which terminated with the thirty-ninth issue, when it was offered to Franklin's firm who bought it and brought it out under the abridged title of the "*Pennsylvania Gazette.*" Franklin's skill and versatility as a writer soon rehabilitated it and it became an important factor in life and politics, thereby adding greatly to the prosperity of the general printing business of its proprietors, as the politicians were sensible of its power and recognized the benefit of being in harmony with its publishers. With this advantage and the influence of personal friends in the Assembly, as well as the manifest superiority of their work, the firm obtained the public printing of Pennsylvania, including the paper money which came to be authorized against considerable opposition through clever anonymous articles by Franklin, and also the similar work of Delaware. Meredith was of little assistance in the business and it developed that his father had, by reason of a straitness in his affairs, only paid one-half of the purchase price of the material obtained in London to set up the establishment, and was unable to supply the balance. The printers were having a hard time to make both ends meet, notwithstanding their increase of orders, and the prospect of raising the one hundred pounds remaining due was very remote. Franklin was much worried by the possibility of being sold out by his creditors, but this misfortune was obviated by the confidence and liberality of friends who learned of his distress. Without solicitation and unknown to each other William Coleman and Robert Grace offered to supply the money to pay all his debts if he would sever his connection with Meredith, who was dissipated and indolent as well as incapable. Franklin was grateful for this kindness and fully realized the wisdom of the conditions, but he felt in honor bound to give his partner full opportunity to complete the agreement which had enabled them to start in business. He therefore waited some time to see if this would be done, and finding no prospect of it, mentioned the matter to Meredith with the suggestion that perhaps his father was dissatisfied with the outcome of the venture and would prefer to have his son in business alone. Meredith replied very candidly that his father was really unable, through disappointments, to pay the balance, and furthermore, that he did not consider himself qualified to succeed as a printer, and that if Franklin would repay his father the one hundred pounds advanced, pay his small debts, give him thirty pounds and a new saddle, as well as assume

the debts of the firm, he would withdraw and remove to South Carolina where many of his former neighbors were settling. Franklin agreed to this proposal and it was immediately put in writing, signed and sealed. Being unwilling to prefer one beyond the other Franklin accepted from each of his two friends one-half of the money required and announced the dissolution of the partnership and his purchase of the business. Work continued to come to him in abundance and Franklin took on a journeyman he had known in London, and an apprentice, also adding to his establishment a book and stationery shop. He continued to board with the Godfreys, who lived in his house, and Mrs. Godfrey undertook to bring about his marriage with the daughter of one of her relatives. She brought them much together, and Franklin, being pleased with the girl carried it to the point of negotiations with Mrs. Godfrey, whom he informed that he should expect a dowry sufficient to pay what he owed on his business—his indebtedness having been reduced to about one hundred pounds. This broke up the affair, Mrs. Godfrey professing disapproval of the match and disbelief in his prospects. Franklin suspected that this was a ruse to force them to a secret marriage, reckoning that sufficient attachment had been formed, and he resented the idea and refrained from further attentions although Mrs. Godfrey intimated that they would be favorably received.

Having had his thoughts turned in this direction Franklin concluded that marriage would be desirable, and as he had kept up his acquaintance with Miss Read, as he still called her, he revived their mutual affection and waiving the possibilities of the return of Rogers, who had long since run away to the West Indies where it was said he had died, and the liability for the latter's debts, he "took her to wife" September 1st, 1730. They never heard from Rogers or his debts and the alliance proved all that could be desired. Mrs. Franklin was not his equal in mental accomplishments, but she was faithful and helpful, and Franklin's amiability was always superior to her deficiencies of education, although later in life these were basely alluded to by his detractors. He regarded this step as the correction of one of the great errors of life, and of their union he says: "We throve together and have ever mutually endeavor'd to make each other happy."



Poor Richard, 1733.

AN

Almanack

For the Year of Chriſt

1733,

Being the Firſt after LEAP YEAR.

And makes ſince the Creation	Years
By the Account of the Eaſtern *Greeks*	7241
By the Latin Church, when ⊙ ent. ♈	6932
By the Computation of *W. W.*	5742
By the *Roman* Chronology	5682
By the *Jewiſh* Rabbies.	5494

Wherein is contained

The Lunations, Eclipſes, Judgment of the Weather, Spring Tides, Planets Motions & mutual Aſpects, Sun and Moon's Riſing and Setting, Length of Days, Time of High Water, Fairs, Courts, and obſervable Days.

Fitted to the Latitude of Forty Degrees, and a Meridian of Five Hours Weſt from *London*, but may without ſenſible Error, ſerve all the adjacent Places, even from *Newfoundland* to *South-Caroline*

By *RICHARD SAUNDERS*, Philom.

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and ſold by *B. FRANKLIN*, at the New Printing-Office near the Market

Title Page (reduced) of the First Issue of Poor Richard's Almanac.

As was the custom with all printers, Franklin had since setting up in business published an annual almanac, an ever profitable institution in those days of scant literature. He had been encouraged in this by Thomas Godfrey, whose passion for astronomy was above everything in his life, and who was therefore qualified to forecast eclipses and supply other necessary data for such a work. As a consequence of the disagreement with Mrs. Godfrey the family left Franklin's house and Godfrey's services were transferred to

Keep Four Eyes
Wide Open Before Marriage,
Half Shut Afterwards. *Poor Richard.*

Bradford. Instead of being dismayed at this loss Franklin's keen resources turned it to advantage and brought out an almanac so novel and entertaining that three editions were required to supply the demand that extended from New England to the South. As these almanacs were rated according to the learning and reputation of the Philomath, or astronomical calculator who was identified with each, Franklin supplied this deficiency by creating such a character under the name of "Richard Saunders" otherwise "Poor Richard" and the following, his introduction to the first issue, that of 1733, shows the spirit and completeness of the result:

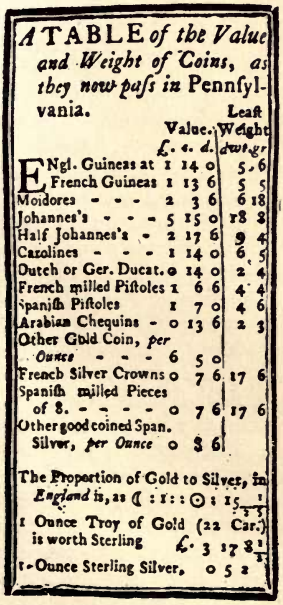
"Courteous Reader:

I might in this place attempt to gain thy favour, by declaring that I write almanacks with no other view than that of the public good; but in this I should not be sincere; and men are now adays too wise to be deceiv'd by pretences how specious soever. The plain truth of the matter is, I am excessive poor, and my wife, good woman, is, I tell her, excessive proud; she cannot bear, she says, to sit spinning in her shift of tow, while I do nothing but gaze at the stars; and has threatned more than once to burn all my books and rattling-traps (as she calls my instruments) if I do not make some profitable use of them for the good of my family. The printer has offer'd me some considerable share of the profits, and I have thus began to comply with my dame's desire. Indeed this motive would have had force enough to have made me publish an almanack many years since, had it not been overpowered by my regard for my good friend and fellow-student, Mr. Titan Leeds, whose interest I was extreamly unwilling to hurt: But this obstacle (I am far from speaking it with pleasure) is soon to be removed, since inexorable Death, who was never known to respect merit, has already prepared the mortal dart, the fatal sister has already extended her destroying shears, and that ingenious man must soon be taken from us. He dies, by my calculation, made at his request, on Oct. 17, 1733, 3 ho. 29 m. P. M., at the very instant of the ☌ of ☉ and ♅: By his own calculation he will survive till the 26th of the same month. This small difference between us we have disputed whenever we have met these nine years past; but at length he is inclinable to agree with my judgment.

Which of us is most exact a little time will now determine. As therefore these Provinces may not longer expect to see any of his performances after this year, I think myself free to take up the task, and request a share of publick encouragement; which I am the more apt to hope for on this account, the buyer of my Almanack may consider himself not only as purchasing an useful utensil, but as performing an act of charity, to his poor

Friend and servant,

R. Saunders."



A TABLE *of the Value and Weight of Coins, as they now paſs in* Pennſylvania.

	Value. £. s. d.	Leaſt Weight dwt. gr.
ENgl. Guineas at	1 14 0	5 6
French Guineas	1 13 6	5 5
Moidores - - -	2 3 6	6 18
Johannes's - - -	5 15 0	18 3
Half Johannes's -	2 17 6	9 4
Carolines - - -	1 14 0	6 5
Dutch or Ger. Ducat.	0 14 0	2 4
French milled Piſtoles	1 6 6	4 4
Spaniſh Piſtoles	1 7 0	4 6
Arabian Chequins -	0 13 6	2 3
Other Gold Coin, *per Ounce* - - -	6 5 0	
French Silver Crowns	0 7 6	17 6
Spaniſh milled Pieces of 8. - - - -	0 7 6	17 6
Other good coined Span. Silver, *per Ounce*	0 8 6	

The Proportion of Gold to Silver, in *England* is, as ☾ : 1 :: ☉ : 15 1/21

1 Ounce Troy of Gold (22 Car.) is worth Sterling £. 3 17 8 1/2

1 Ounce Sterling Silver, 0 5 2 1/2

From Poor Richard's Almanac.

If You Wou'd Not be Forgotten as Soon as You are Dead and Rotten, either Write Things Worth Reading or Do Things Worth the Writing. *Poor Richard.*

He followed this in successive issues with the verification of Leed's death as predicted, and with ridicule of foolish assertions to the contrary purporting to come from Leeds himself, and after a few years when Leeds was really dead, with a letter from his spirit confirming Poor Richard's assertions and promising co-operation as follows:

"Dear Friend Saunders:

My respect for you continues even in this separate state, and I am griev'd to see the aspersions thrown on you by the malevolence of avaricious publishers of Almanacks, who envy your success.

They say your prediction of my death in 1733 was false, and they pretend that I remained alive many years after. But I do hereby certify, that I did actually die at that time, precisely at the hour you mention'd, with a variation only of 5 min. 53 sec. which must be allow'd to be no great matter in such cases. And I do farther declare that I furnish'd them with no calculations of the planets motions, &c. seven years after my death, as they are pleased to give out: so that the stuff they publish as an Almanack in my name is no more mine than 'tis yours.

You will wonder perhaps how this paper comes written on your table. You must know that no separate spirits are under any confinement till after the final settlement of all accounts. In the meantime we wander where we please, visit our old friends, observe their actions, enter sometimes into their imaginations, and give them hints waking or sleeping that may be of advantage to them. Finding you asleep, I entered your left nostril, ascended into your brain, found out where the ends of those nerves were fastned that move your right hand and fingers, by the help of which I am now writing unknown to you; but when you open your eyes, you will see that the hand written is mine, 'tho wrote with yours.



Governor William Franklin, son of Benjamin Franklin.

The people of this infidel age, perhaps, will hardly believe this story. But you may give them these three signs by which they shall be convinc'd of the truth of it. About the middle of June next, J. J. *******n, Philomat, shall be openly reconciled to the Church of Rome, and give all his goods and chattels to the chappel, being perverted

by a certain country school-master. On the 7th of September following my old friend W. B. ******t shall be sober 9 hours, to the astonishment of all his neighbours: And about the same time W. B. and A. B. will publish another Almanack in my name, in spight of truth and common sense.

As I can see much clearer into futurity, since I got free from the dark prison of flesh, in which I was continually molested and almost blinded with fogs arising from tiff, and the smoke of burnt drams; I shall in kindness to you, frequently give you information of things to come, for the improvement of your Almanack: being, Dear Dick,

Your Affectionate Friend,

T. Leeds"

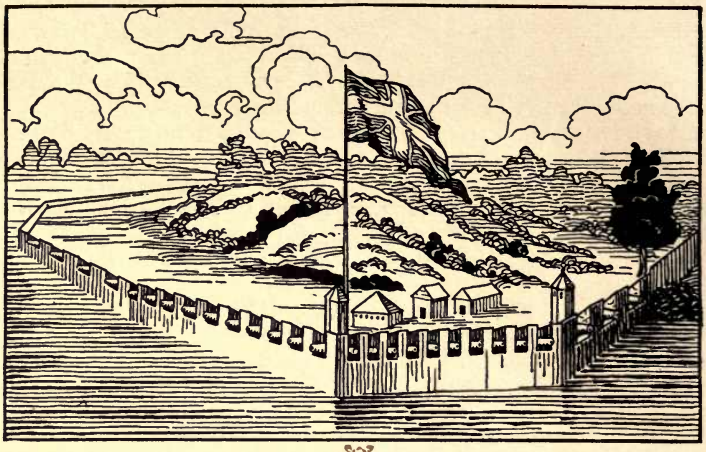
The regular tables of the months were interspersed with proverbs from many sources and wise maxims of his own, all presented in his inimitable manner and headed by original verses of a satirical or facetious character. Included also were chronological tables, list of the courts in neighboring provinces, the stated meetings of the Quakers, distances to the surrounding places, etc. Franklin continued to publish the almanac with unvarying success for twenty-five years, and it was then issued by his successors until 1796. In this time Poor Richard had become an immortal character and his wise sayings were spread broadcast in every language of the civilized world.

The subjection of his animal nature was one of the unattained principles of Franklin's Rules of Life, and he candidly relates his weakness in this regard. As a consequence an illegitimate son, William Franklin, whose mother was never known, became a member of his family and was brought up with full honor and advantages. He was educated in London as a barrister and held the positions of Postmaster of Philadelphia and Provincial Governor of New Jersey. Franklin had two other children, Francis Folger born in 1732, and Sarah born in 1743. The former, an extremely promising child, died of small-pox at four years of age, a misfortune which his father could never recall without pain. Sarah was a great comfort and pleasure to him, and she grew up strong, dutiful and accomplished, marrying Richard Bache, a merchant who failed in business in early life, and through Franklin secured a position in the Philadelphia Post Office, being subsequently Deputy Postmaster General.

This period of Franklin's life was full of activity and study, and laid the foundation of his subsequent renown. In 1733 he sent one of his journeymen to Charleston, South Carolina, with a printing outfit and took a partnership with him in the business. He proved only moderately successful and died not long after, leaving the business in a precarious condition, but his widow assumed its management with such profit that she was able to purchase Franklin's interest and establish her son in its conduct.

He took up the study of languages, beginning with French which he soon mastered, and passed through Spanish and Italian to Latin and Greek; he had had an introduction to Latin during one year of his early schooling, but had since neglected it, and he was surprised to discover that through this and his study of modern languages, he readily acquired proficiency in the former.

Franklin's activity in business and the Junto, brought him increasing prominence, and in 1736 he was chosen Clerk of the General Assembly. The next year he was appointed Postmaster of Philadelphia, a position formerly held by his competitor Bradford. It was characteristic of Franklin to turn to the utmost private benefit all private and public opportunities, a fact which he



Association Battery, Planned by Franklin

continually and very ingenuously calls attention to,—although later in life the public phase of it was freely criticised by his enemies,—and the postmastership became a great help to the improvement and circulation of his newspaper. Like benefits had not only come to Bradford during his term in the office, but he had denied the privilege of the mails to the *Gazette*, reducing Franklin to the necessity of bribing the carriers for its surreptitious delivery. The latter did not stoop to retaliate under the reversed conditions, but he had the satisfaction of observing a gradual decline of the *Mercury* owing to the greater quantity of news he was able to collect and the consequent increase of subscriptions. His office of Clerk to the Assembly was also made the most of, and it was therefore with some disquietude that he noted the opposition of a worthy new member to his second annual election. This member desired the office for a friend, but Franklin received a majority of the votes and then set himself to gain the friendship of the antagonistic member. His own words will best recount his wisdom in the matter:

"I therefore did not like the opposition of this new member, who was a gentleman of fortune and education, with talents that were likely to give him, in time, great influence in the House, which, indeed, afterwards happened. I did not, however, aim at gaining his favour by paying any servile respect to him, but, after some time, took this other method.

Having heard that he had in his library a certain very scarce and curious book, I wrote a note to him, expressing my desire of perusing that book, and requesting he would do me the favour of lending it to me for a few days. He sent it immediately, and I returned it in about a week with another note, expressing strongly my sense of the favour. When we next met in the House, he spoke to me (which he had never done before), and with great civility; and he ever after manifested a readiness to serve me on all occasions, so that we became great friends, and our friendship continued to his death. This is another instance of the truth of an old maxim I had learned, which says,—'He that has once done you a kindness will be more ready to do you another, than



Philadelphia Academy, Founded by Franklin

he whom you yourself have obliged.' And it shows how much more profitable it is prudently to remove, than resent, return and continue inimical proceedings."

About this time he began to interest himself in some of the particularly manifest needs of his town, and he made the Junto with its branches and growing influence a very serviceable means of imparting his ideas. In view of the present widespread activity in and recognition of Improvement Societies and Civic Associations, which are deemed a modern conception, it is interesting to note the fruitful energy of this organization on the lines of civic betterment advocated by Franklin, and the permanence and value of the resulting institutions. He first pointed out the corruption and inadequacy of the sporadic night watch system of Philadelphia, which was under the jurisdiction of ward constables who were empowered to call on a certain number of citizens for service each night, in lieu of which a tax of six shillings might be paid which secured release from such service for one year. This was commonly taken advantage of by the better classes, and many evils resulted from the system, as the taxes went to the constables and they profited by employing, at very low wages, a disreputable set that was more a menace than a protection, and utterly unreliable as to patrol. He also argued the injustice of the specific tax, which for a poor widow was the same as for a rich merchant who had many goods to protect. He advocated the hiring of capable men to serve constantly, who should be paid from a tax levied in proportion to property; and though it took some years to overthrow the established system it was finally done and the foundation of the modern police system was laid.

In a paper read before the Junto he called attention to the frequency with which fires occurred, their causes, and means of preventing them. This led to the formation of a company of thirty members who each agreed to keep ready for use a certain number of leather buckets, strong bags and baskets, the latter for transporting goods, and to bring them to every fire.

Would You Persuade, Speak of Interest, Not of Reason. *Poor Richard.*

They also met once a month to pass a social evening and discuss ideas for more effective service. As with the Junto, too many applied for membership and they were recommended to form other companies so that in a short time they became so numerous as to include nearly all the property owners of the city. The Union Fire Company, as that formed by Franklin was called, was in active service nearly sixty years and its apparatus, purchased with small fines levied on members who failed to attend the meetings, included an engine, two hundred and fifty buckets, thirteen ladders, two hooks and a long rope. These associations did good work in preventing the spread of fires and greatly reduced the losses from this cause.

Franklin's circumstances were now becoming easy through the large profits of his newspaper and other interests, and he decided to establish a number of his deserving workmen in various places, as he had done earlier in South Carolina. Nearly all of them prospered and at the end of six years, for which the partnership was specified, purchased Franklin's interest and continued successfully in the business.

In his consideration of the needs of the community Franklin realized two serious deficiencies and set about remedying them. One of these was the lack of facilities for the higher education of youth, and the other the total absence of protective militia. For the first he proposed the establishment of an academy and had in mind a clergyman whom he thought suited to direct it,—but this man, the Rev. Mr. Peters, had other plans, in the service of the Proprietors, and so the project languished for a while. The lack of militia was largely due to the peculiar political conditions prevailing in Pennsylvania; The hereditary proprietors were strongly represented in the Assembly, and with others of Quaker faith, for economical and religious reasons they persistently opposed any appropriation of funds for this purpose. Knowing that there was no hope of securing official initiative, although the Governor was strongly in favor of it, Franklin wrote and published a pamphlet called "Plain Truth" in which he recounted the dangers of invasion because of the war then waging between England and Spain—which had recently been joined by France, and urged a voluntary association to set up a battery and be ready to defend the city if the enemy should seek reprisals on this side of the Atlantic.

The pamphlet was widely approved, and he then called a public meeting for subscription to the rolls. This was well attended and was presided over by Franklin, who further advocated the plan and provided numerous printed forms bearing the articles of the Association, which he exhorted the audience to sign.

This request was eagerly complied with, and it was found when the papers were collected that over twelve hundred had pledged themselves to membership. Other copies were circulated in the surrounding country, and within a short time the membership was increased to ten thousand. These soon armed and formed themselves into companies and regiments, and met each week to drill and perfect themselves in military knowledge. Franklin was chosen for Colonel of the Philadelphia regiment, but he considered himself unfit for the office and recommended a Mr. Lawrence, who was of fine presence and influential, and he was accordingly elected. Franklin then proposed a lottery to raise money to build a battery and equip it with cannon. Lotteries were at that time fully accredited and popular, and served many worthy purposes. This one soon "filled" and the battery was built of logs filled around with earth. The matter of obtaining cannon was not so easy, as there were comparatively few in the



Franklin's Punch Barrel.

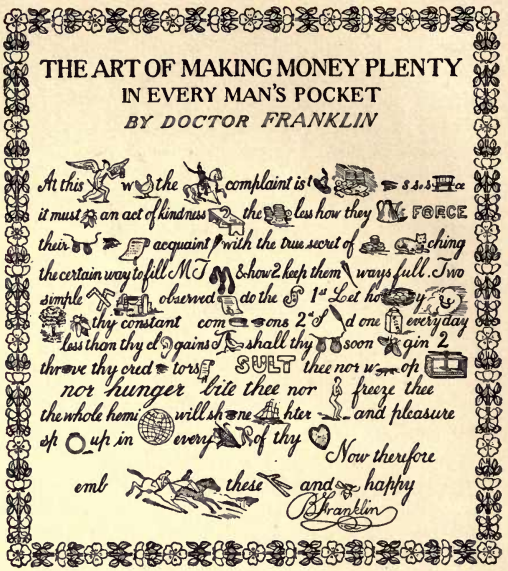
country and no facilities for making them. A few old ones were purchased from Boston and others ordered from England, a somewhat hopeless request being at the same time sent to the Proprietors for assistance in the work. Their greatest accessions resulted, however, from the visit of Franklin, Col. Lawrence and two other leaders to New York to request a loan of ordinance from Governor Clinton. The following, Franklin's account of their experiences, throws a light on many of the operations of the times:

"He at first refused us peremptorily; but at dinner with his council, where there was great drinking of Madeira wine, as the custom of that place then was, he softened by degrees, and said he would lend us six. After a few more bumpers he advanc'd to ten, and at length he very good-naturedly conceded eighteen. They were fine cannon, eighteen-pounders, which were soon transported and mounted on our battery, where the associators kept a nightly guard while the war lasted, and among the rest I regularly took a turn of duty there as a common soldier."

Franklin's activities in these affairs brought him into close touch with Governor Thomas and his council, and he was consulted on every measure by which they proposed to help the organization. At his suggestion the Governor issued a proclamation for a fast to implore the blessing of Heaven on the undertaking. This was the first proclamation of this sort issued in Pennsylvania, and as no one else was familiar with the form, Franklin's New England education was of service and he drew it up in the style to which he was accustomed in youth. This was printed in English and German, for the benefit of the many colonists of the latter nationality, and being published through the clergy was very effective in gaining recruits. It was feared by some of Franklin's friends that this warlike activity would alienate his support by the Quaker members of the Assembly at the next election of Clerk. One young man who sought the office for himself took advantage of this apprehension to inform Franklin that it had been decided to displace him, and he thought he might prefer to resign rather than be turned out. Franklin's reply was: "I have read or heard of some public man who made it a rule never to ask for an office, and never to refuse one offer'd him. I approve of his rule and will practice it with a small addition: I shall never *ask*, never *refuse*, nor ever *resign* an office." No more was heard of the opposition and Franklin was again unanimously elected.

The tenets of the Quaker faith were often a source of embarrassment to its representatives in the Assembly who desired to serve the interests of the province and the crown. They could not consistently vote money for war, and so when the king called for grants for military purposes they satisfied the letter of their creed and the king's requirements by voting sums "*for the King's*

use." Once when the demand came from New England to furnish gunpowder for the king's troops at Louisburg and the above circumlocution was inapplicable, they voted an aid of three thousand pounds "to be put into the hands of the Governor for the purchasing of bread, flour, wheat or *other grain*," and calmly viewed the purchase of gunpowder. This adroitness was remembered by Franklin who planned to use like tactics to their discomfiture on an occasion when it was feared that the Quaker members of the fire company would defeat a proposal to apply the funds of the company, some sixty pounds, to the purchase of tickets in the militia lottery.



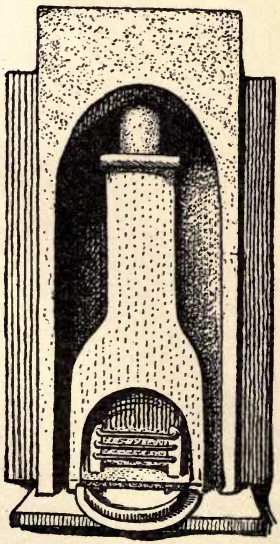
A Famous Rebus

It turned out that only one of them opposed the plan, and that many of the twenty-one of that faith were ready to support it if necessary although they preferred not to attend the meeting. Franklin's plan was to secure their votes for the purchase of a fire-engine, and then by having himself and another, designated a committee for the purpose, to buy a great gun which he asserted was unquestionably a "*fire engine.*" He, doubtless, would have enjoyed giving this lesson of their own teaching.

Soon after this, peace was concluded, and Franklin returned to his project of founding an academy. Following his settled policy of keeping himself in the background in these schemes of public improvement, he secured the co-operation of a number of friends, several of whom were members of the Junto, and in their names he published a pamphlet entitled, "*Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Philadelphia.*" This he distributed among the principal inhabitants and when he thought they had had time to consider it he followed with a subscription for opening and supporting an academy. By making the sum pledged payable in yearly installments for five years he undoubtedly secured a greater aggregate, which he tells us was no less than five thousand pounds. Twenty-four trustees were chosen, and under a constitution drawn up by Franklin and the Attorney-General, Mr. Francis, a house was hired, teachers engaged and the school opened. It soon outgrew the facilities at hand and through Franklin's agency a very large building, which had been erected for the followers of George Whitefield, the evangelist, but which since his departure for other fields had been a considerable burden to the trustees, of which Franklin was one, was secured. During the great enthusiasm of the revival the building was quickly built, and, dedicated to undenominational services, opened to preachers of every faith. By assuming its debts, guaranteeing

the reservation of a large hall for the use of itinerant preachers and the maintenance of a free school for poor children, the trustees of the academy came into possession of this building, and under Franklin's superintendence remodeled and added to it with very gratifying results. The school flourished with a rector of Franklin's selection, but later when politics made Franklin a target for much abuse, both rector and pupils forgot his services in creating the institution and issued many pamphlets opposing and criticising him. After the War of the Revolution, when it had become the University of Pennsylvania, these differences were obliterated, and Franklin again became a trustee and was chosen president of that body.

During the years of his activity in founding these institutions Franklin also found leisure to continue his studies and experiments. His mind was always open to consider any problem that method or chance brought to his attention, and to all these he gave scholarly thought, much of which he carefully recorded, although some of the subjects today appear trivial. This was his mental nature, however, and whether it were rebuses, magic squares, or the newly discovered phenomena of electricity that were uppermost, the results were definite and in many cases valuable. One of his important inventions, made just previous to his taking up of public affairs was what he called the Pennsylvania Fireplace, now known in a modified form as the Franklin stove. The large open fire-places of the period burned great quantities of wood and radiated little heat. Franklin devised a sort of stove to set within the fire-place, with which, through a clear appreciation of the properties of hot and cold air and a skillful application of their governing principles, he was able to create and maintain a draught through a devious passage that radiated a very large percentage of the heat of the wood burning on the grate. The results were much warmer rooms than had been possible before, and a great reduction in the quantity of fuel required. To explain this appliance to his neighbors Franklin published a pamphlet, which is not only an example of his pains-taking research but a delightful essay of permanent interest. He argued the benefits of warm air, reviewed current methods of heating in this and other countries, and demonstrated the superiority of his invention and the manner of installing and operating it. The fire-place became very popular and he gave the patterns to his friend Robert Grace, who was an iron-founder, and who did a thriving business through them. Franklin did not take out a patent on this, as he believed that everyone should freely contribute his discoveries and inventions for the common good, so he derived no pecuniary benefit from it. Some time afterward he learned that an iron-monger in London had appropriated the idea and patented it with great profit.



Franklin's Philadelphia Fireplace.
(From his model.)

Franklin had relieved himself of all the details of his printing business by taking as a partner Mr. David Hall, who had been in his

employ for a number of years and who proved very capable and methodical. He planned to devote the leisure thus gained to the study of electricity and other natural phenomena, and he purchased the physical apparatus of Dr. Spence who had come from England to lecture. Franklin had some time before received as a present from Mr. Peter Collinson of London a glass sphere to be rubbed with silk to generate electricity, and he had been greatly interested in the new force, for the study of which he had built improved apparatus, and had entertained many people with exhibitions of its working. He entered upon systematic experimenting with keen delight, but he was destined to be seriously interrupted, as no sooner was it known that he had retired from his printing office than the public seized upon him for all sorts of services. The Governor put him on several important commissions, he was elected successively a member of the Common Council, Alderman, and as a Burgess of the House of Representatives. He found the latter office very congenial and was re-elected for ten years, until he again went to England, without solicitation or other effort on his part, and through this membership he was enabled to accomplish a great deal of good for various causes. One of the first of these was the making of a treaty with the Indians, for which he, with Mr. Norris, the Speaker of the House, and two members of the Governor's council journeyed to Carlisle. They found the Indians very disorderly through drink, and they immediately forbade any rum to be sold them until after the treaty was concluded, promising them their fill when the business was over. By this means a very satisfactory treaty was secured, the Indians deliberating in a very dignified and orderly manner; but they turned again to savages of the most abhorrent type when the promised rum was delivered; men and women making a pandemonium of the night, dancing and shouting frantically around a huge bonfire in the center of the Square, and chasing one another with fire-brands in their quarrels.

Another project which he was enabled to realize was the establishment of a hospital in Philadelphia, the first institution of this kind in the country. The idea had been conceived by his friend, Dr. Thomas Bond, but this gentleman had been unable to convince the people of its benefits and so had secured few subscriptions. Many whom he solicited asked him what Franklin thought of it, and so he appealed to the latter for assistance although he had at first thought it out of the other's line. Franklin subscribed for himself and entered heartily into the work, soliciting of others, and then secured the passage of a bill in the Assembly authorizing an appropriation of two thousand pounds to be paid to the managers of the fund when they had obtained pledge of an equal sum from individuals. This was a plan to overcome the decided opposition of many representatives who believed that the conditions could not be met, and that they would thus appear public spirited without expense to the treasury. Franklin and his associates then went to the people with the argument that by this enactment the donation of each would be doubled and soon raised the full sum. A suitable building was erected and the Pennsylvania Hospital favorably established. It proved such a blessing that Franklin says in his Autobiography: "I do not remember any of my political manœuvres, the success of which gave me at the time more pleasure, or wherein, after thinking of it, I more easily excused myself for having made some use of cunning."

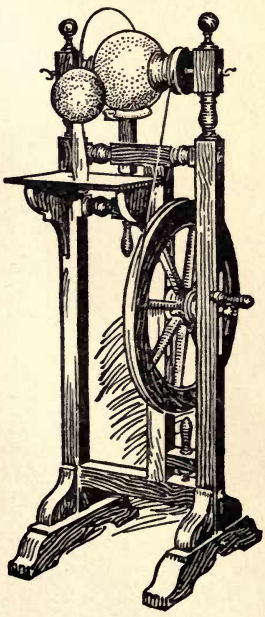
From these important works we find him turning to minor conveniences with equal enthusiasm and effectiveness. He deplored the filthy condition of Philadelphia's important streets, and by means of small experiments and the co-operation of abuttors he demonstrated the benefits of pavements, and

moulded public opinion into approval of taxation for continuing the work. He also called attention to the desirability of street-lamps, by following the example of Mr. John Clifton and placing one before his door. Though Franklin disclaims the initiative in this, he refers to his study of the faults of the London type of lamp for this purpose, the effectiveness of improvements which he devised, and to his efforts as usual, in public discussion of the matter.

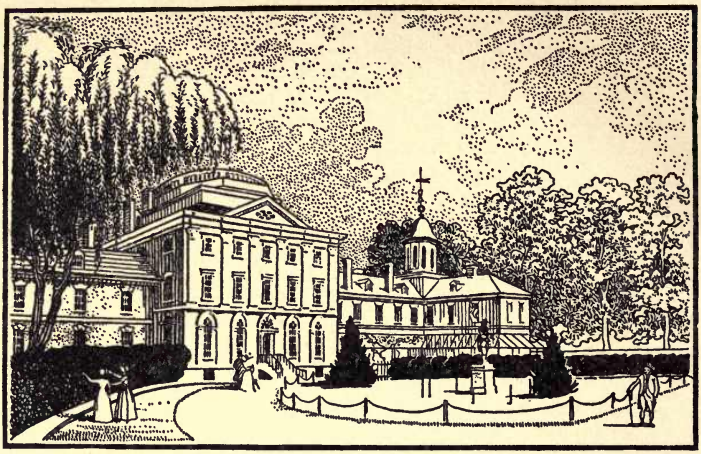
His comments on these activities furnish a wise rendering of a great truth. "Some may think these trifling matters not worth minding or relating,—Human felicity is produc'd not so much by great pieces of good fortune that seldom happen as by little advantages that occur every day."

On the death in 1753, of Colonel Spotswood, the Postmaster-General, Franklin and Mr. William Hunter were jointly appointed to that office. Their salaries were to be three hundred pounds each per annum, if they could make that amount above the expenses of the department, and they succeeded so well in regulating and re-organizing it that the office, which had never before been remunerative to the British government, paid in a few years, a profit equal to three times the revenue of the post-office of Ireland. They took bold measures to accomplish this, and at the end of the first year were obliged to make good, out of their own pockets, a deficiency of over nine hundred pounds, but notwithstanding their later success their efforts were not appreciated by the ministers, and they were subsequently removed, after which the office lapsed to its former unprofitable condition.

In 1754 a congress of commissioners from the different colonies was called to meet at Albany to confer with the chiefs of the Six Nations to arrange for defending the country in the event of the anticipated war with France. Franklin was one of the four chosen by the House to represent Pennsylvania on this occasion, and on the journey to Albany he conceived a plan of union of the forces of the provinces under a central government, which contained the elements of the National Union ultimately developed by the Revolution. When the congress convened he found that others had similar ideas but his was conceded to be superior in its details and was discussed and adopted in the intervals of the business with the Indians. It was then recommended to the Provincial Governments and to the Board of Trade of England, which had proposed the congress, with the result that at home it was rejected for unduly favoring the Crown, while in England it was held to be too democratic. This contrariety of opinion convinced its author of its suitability, as he sought such a basis of mutual concession in the relations of the two countries, and later, when serious differences arose, he worked consistently to this end. Franklin greatly regretted the loss of this opportunity to unite the provinces, and regarding it he observes:—"Those who govern, having much business on their hands, do not generally like to take the trouble of considering and carrying into execution new projects. The best public measures are therefore seldom



One of Franklin's Electrical Machines.



Early View of the Pennsylvania Hospital

adopted from previous wisdom, but forc'd by the occasion."

Hostilities with France were fast approaching and the government of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay projected an expedition to capture the enemy's stronghold at Crown Point. To assist in defraying the expense of this Mr. Pownall was sent to New York, and Mr. Quincy to Pennsylvania, to solicit appropriations from the assemblies of those provinces. Mr. Quincy sought Franklin's aid in the matter and the latter so favorably presented it to the assembly that a grant of ten thousand pounds, to be laid out in provisions, was voted at once. This was included in a general appropriation bill which required the governor's signature to become operative and that official seized this opportunity to enforce the customary demand of his principals, the hereditary proprietors, that their estates be exempted from taxation for these purposes.

This was the perennial bone of contention in Pennsylvania politics and the governor remained obdurate alike to the demands of the house and the solicitation of Quincy. At this juncture Franklin again effected his purpose by finesse and secured the funds without the co-operation of the governor. He recalled a provision of the general laws by which the assembly had the right to issue orders on the Loan Office, a sort of forerunner of the National Banks, whose funds were derived from the interest on paper currency out on loans, and the excise revenue. At his suggestion the assembly authorized these orders for the ten thousand pounds voted to Massachusetts, and through them the money was quickly obtained, to the delight of Mr. Quincy who was deeply grateful to Franklin for his good offices, and became one of his firm friends.

Instead of intrusting the defense of the western frontier to a unification of the provincial forces, the British government sent over General Braddock with two regiments of regulars to accomplish this purpose, and especially to capture Fort Duquesne, a French stronghold on the Ohio river. He landed at Alex-

andria and marched his troops through Virginia and Maryland to the hostile country, insulting and plundering the inhabitants with arrogant freedom.

The Pennsylvania Assembly learned indirectly that the general was strongly prejudiced against it because of supposed antagonism to his service, and Franklin was requested to attend the army, as postmaster-general, under the pretense of solicitude for its postal facilities, but in reality to assure General Braddock of the government's sympathy with his expedition. He took his son with him and they found the army resting at Fredericktown while the surrounding country was being searched for horses and wagons to transport its stores. After spending several days in camp and accomplishing the purpose of his visit, Franklin was about to depart when the details returned with the report that but twenty-five wagons of a very poor sort could be found. General Braddock was dismayed and would have abandoned the campaign but Franklin offered his assistance and promised to gather the one-hundred and fifty teams required. After arranging the necessary details and securing the general's written agreement to pay the owners for their outfits and services, Franklin went to Lancaster and issued an advertisement stating in full just what was desired, and followed it with a letter of appeal in which he commended the purpose of the expedition and pointed out the prudence of voluntarily furnishing at good remuneration what might otherwise be taken by force.

These announcements stirred the farmers, and in two weeks the required number of four-horse wagons, with drivers, supplies, and upward of two-hundred and fifty pack-horses were on their way to the army. General Braddock had supplied eight hundred pounds for advance payment but this proved insufficient and Franklin advanced two-hundred pounds from his own pocket besides giving bonds to the amount of twenty thousand pounds to indemnify the owners against loss of the equipment. The general was very grateful for this support and repaid Franklin for his outlay, thanking him many times for his labor. The success of this undertaking led him to request Franklin to forward supplies to him while on the march, which the latter promised to do, and returning to Philadelphia advanced upwards of one thousand pounds for the purpose. Franklin had modestly offered suggestions as to the Indian method of warfare but Braddock disdained these with the assurance that his seasoned British troops could not possibly be defeated by such tactics, and that Fort Duquesne would be speedily taken and the march continued to Niagara. He was doomed to a fatal enlightenment from this conceit and before reaching Fort Duquesne his army was attacked from ambush, routed with great loss, and the general mortally wounded. The demoralized remnant of the forces returned to Philadelphia for protection, and Franklin found himself besieged for payment for the forfeited property which he had guaranteed. Fortunately he had rendered a bill for the provisions, which had been honored by an order on the paymaster just before the defeat, and he was able to satisfy the claimants until they were indemnified by General Shirley, otherwise he would have been ruined through his zeal.

Although he had no military aspirations, Franklin's inseparable connection with all important public affairs brought him necessarily to the front in plans of defense from the Indians, whose violences were at this time a matter of great concern. He was largely instrumental in drafting and passing, in the Assembly, a compromise bill by which the proprietors were allowed to contribute specifically the sum of five thousand pounds of an appropriation of sixty thousand pounds for defending the frontier, in lieu of submitting to taxation of their

estates for this purpose, and by the act he was made one of the commissioners for expending the fund. At the same time he secured the enactment of a bill for establishing and disciplining a volunteer militia, and published a fictitious dialogue setting forth many objections to the plan, with convincing answers. At a time when the bonds of government were weak and individual independence aggressive, Franklin's consistent reliance upon leading rather than coercing the people in all affairs, was a prime element of his popularity and success, and most gratifying evidence of the wisdom of his long-practiced principles of intercourse, which may be termed diplomacy but which from the benevolence of their intent seem better described as tact. Under the provisions of the first bill it was decided to build three forts on the north-western frontier of the province, and at the urgent solicitation of the governor, Franklin consented to direct the operations. He was commissioned as commander and given full power to appoint all subordinate officers, and he soon raised five hundred and sixty men, many of them proficient in woodcraft; these he assembled at Bethlehem, from whence he set out with the main body for Gnadenhut, a Moravian village which had recently been burned and its inhabitants massacred, while he sent one detachment northward and another southward to fortify other points on the frontier. This was in midwinter and the labor was arduous, but such was the skill of the men and the effectiveness of his directions that in less than a week a fort four hundred and fifty feet in circumference was built of logs placed upright in the form of palisades, with loopholes, and a stage around the inside six feet from the ground. They encountered no opposition from the Indians although evidences were frequently discovered that small parties of them had watched the operations. The fort was hardly completed and its maintenance provided for, when Franklin received a letter from the governor and others from friends in the Assembly, urging him to return as soon as he could be spared, to attend the session, which the governor had found it necessary to convene. It happened that Colonel Clapham, a New England officer, was on a visit to the place at that time, and Franklin turned over the command to him, reading his commission before the men with the assurances that this officer was much more competent to direct them than himself, and started back to Philadelphia. On reaching Bethlehem he decided to rest a few days to recover from the fatigue of camp life, which had become so habitual that it was difficult for him to rest in the good bed here provided. He was much interested in the conduct and customs of this Moravian settlement and left it with increased respect for its people.

The volunteer association was well under way when he arrived again at Philadelphia, nearly twelve hundred men having signed the rolls. The captains and other officers of the various companies having been chosen, they elected him colonel, and this time having become somewhat accustomed to military service, he accepted the command though still somewhat averse to prominence of that sort. On the occasion of the first review of his command, which included a company of artillery with six brass field-pieces, they accompanied him to his home and fired a salute which, he regretfully relates, knocked down and broke several pieces of his electrical apparatus. Soon after this an incident occurred which testified to his popularity with his officers, although it caused Franklin considerable annoyance. Having learned that he was about to start on a journey to Virginia, the officers planned to escort him in state to the ferry, and, to the number of about forty appeared at his door mounted and in uniform, just as he was leaving on horse-back. His description of the incident



Franklin's Escort

clearly indicates his attitude toward such affairs:—"I was a good deal chagrin'd at their appearance, as I could not avoid their accompanying me. What made it worse was, that, as soon as we began to move, they drew their swords and rode with them naked all the way. Somebody wrote an account of this to the proprietor, and it gave him great offence. No such honor had been paid him when in the province, nor to any of his governors; and he said it was only proper to princes of the blood royal, which may be true for aught I know, who was, and still am, ignorant of the etiquette in such cases."

Though Franklin styles this a "silly affair" the proprietor took it very seriously, and made it the occasion of denouncing him to the ministry as planning to usurp the government, also endeavoring to effect his removal from the office of postmaster-general; but his chief enmity toward the offender, of which this incident was an excuse more suited to public protest, was the latter's steadfast opposition to the exemption of the proprietary estates from their due share of taxation. As a result of this outcry, however, or because it was deemed unwise to sanction the beginnings of military strength in the provinces, the law under which the Pennsylvania regiment was recruited was repealed in England, and the commissions of all its officers withdrawn.

By his partnership with Mr. Hall, Franklin had now been relieved from the active cares of business for about six years, during which, in addition to the benevolent and political interests that he had served, he had cultivated his mind in many directions, and had conducted and published a long and varied series of electrical experiments, which had established him as one of the foremost scientists of the world.

He had in turn received the degree of Master of Arts from both Yale and Harvard colleges, and without solicitation he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of London, an unprecedented honor which included special remission of the customary fees, and was awarded its Sir Godfrey Copley gold medal.

He discovered and defined the positive and negative nature of electricity, invented new forms of apparatus for producing and displaying it, and exhibited

A Life of Leisure, and a Life of Laziness, are Two Things. *P. R.*

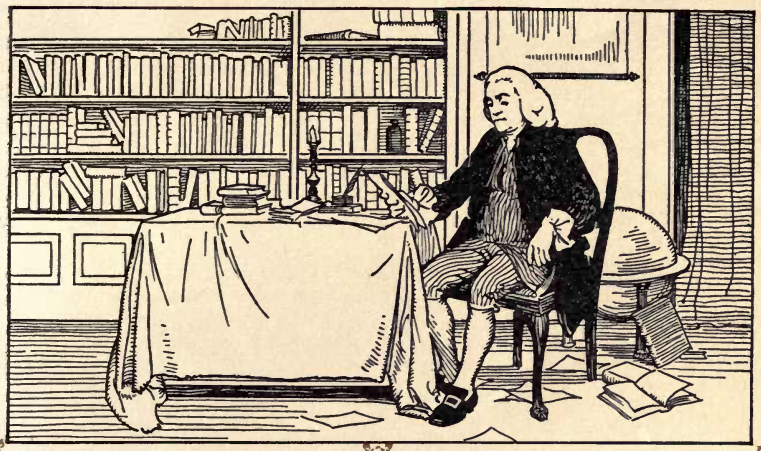


The Memorable Experiment With the Kite

many novel and startling applications of his discoveries. Of these the greatest, and the one that brought his fame to the highest point, was his demonstration of the identity of the phenomena of thunder and lightning, and the spark drawn from the Leyden jar. Long before it had occurred to him to test this theory for himself, by means of a kite—as he did later with such notable success—there being no high buildings in America, he had written to his friend Mr. Collinson of London, suggesting in detail an arrangement of metal rods on some tall structure situated on high ground, and during a thunder storm to connect this with the prime conductor of a Leyden jar in the expectation of its being charged by the electricity of the heavens. This, and other letters recording his experiments were read by Mr. Collinson before the Royal Society but at the time they received little credence, and to accord them the opportunity to which he believed they were entitled, this gentleman arranged for their publication by Mr. Cave the proprietor of the Gentlemen's Magazine, who brought them out collectively in the form of a quarto volume.

A copy of this work attracted the attention of the Count de Buffon, an eminent philosopher of Paris, who arranged for its translation into the French language, which led to the successful trial of the proposed experiment of the lightning conductor, by the Messieurs Dalibard, the translator, and De Lor. The fame of this verification of Franklin's theory spread rapidly over Europe and to England, where, in London, the Royal Society was brought to a realization of the importance of the communications which they had slighted, with the result of welcoming the author to fellowship, as above stated.

In the meantime Franklin had conceived the idea of sending his conductor into the clouds by means of a kite, and before he learned of the success of Messieurs Dalibard and De Lor, at Marly, he had experienced the satisfaction of proving, in Philadelphia, the truth of his theory. There are many dramatic accounts of this achievement, and they are quite justified by the importance, if not by the circumstances, of the fact; but the discoverer restricts himself to the following general directions for performing the experiment:



Franklin in His Library

"Make a small cross of two light strips of cedar, the arm so long as to reach to the four corners of a large thin silk handkerchief when extended; tie the corners of the handkerchief to the extremities of the cross, so you have the body of a kite; which being properly accommodated with a tail, loop and string will rise in the air, like those made of paper; but this being silk is fitter to bear the wet and wind of a thunder-gust without tearing. To the top of the upright stick of the cross is to be fixed a very sharp-pointed wire, rising a foot or more above the wood. To the end of the twine, next the hand, is to be tied a silk ribbon, and where the silk and twine join, a key may be fastened. This kite is to be raised when a thunder-gust appears to be coming on, and the person who holds the string must stand within a door or window, or under some cover, so that the silk ribbon may not be wet; and care must be taken that the twine does not touch the frame of the door or window. As soon as any of the thunder-clouds come over the kite, the pointed wire will draw the electric fire from them, and the kite with all the twine will be electrified, and the loose filaments of the twine will stand out every way, and be attracted by an approaching finger. And when the rain has wetted the kite and twine so that it can conduct the electric fire freely, you will find it stream out plentifully from the key on the approach of your knuckle. At this key the phial may be charged; and from electric fire thus obtained, spirits may be kindled, and all the other electric experiments be performed, which are usually done by the help of a rubbed glass globe or tube, and thereby the sameness of the electric matter with that of lightning completely demonstrated."

Certainly this was a modest way of announcing a discovery that engrossed the world, and was held to menace tenets of religion.

During the long interval that had elapsed since he first left home, Franklin had seldom visited Boston, for which apparent neglect we must find a reason in the multiplicity of his affairs, and the difficulties of the journey, as his affection for his family was constant, and was expressed frequently by letters and remembrances.

Today is Yesterday's Pupil. *Poor Richard.*

His first visit was made when he had been away ten years, and he called on his brother James, who was then in business in Newport, Rhode Island, and healed the differences caused by his injudicious conduct on the occasion of his earlier return at Governor Keith's suggestion. He found his brother in poor health, and promised in the event of the latter's death, which seemed, and was indeed imminent, to take his son James and train and establish him in the printing business, which he faithfully did—after having given him several years schooling—by which he felt that he had made amends for his brother's loss through his own defaulted service.

His father, Josiah Franklin, died in 1744, and his mother Abiah, in 1752. The fullness and character of his regard for them are evidenced by this inscription, which he placed on the monument which he erected over their graves, in the Granary burying-ground, in Boston; it is alike creditable to parents and to the son:—

Josiah Franklin and Abiah his wife
lie here interred.
They lived lovingly together in wedlock fifty-five years;
and without an estate or any gainful employment,
by constant labour, and honest industry,
(with God's blessing,)
maintained a large family comfortably;
and brought up thirteen children and seven grandchildren reputably.
From this instance, reader,
be encouraged to dilligence in thy calling,
and distrust not Providence.
He was a pious and prudent man,
she a discreet and virtuous woman.
Their youngest son,
in filial regard to their memory,
places this stone.
J. F. born 1655—died 1744,—Æ. 89.
A. F. born 1667—died 1752,—Æ. 85.

In August 1756, Governor Morris was superseded by Captain William Denny, and Pennsylvania entered upon an administration destined to imperil the foundations of its liberties, in whose defence Franklin, the recognized leader, was to be called to the beginning of a long and fruitful term of service on the other side of the Atlantic.

Honor Thy Father and Thy Mother, *i. e.* **Live so as to be An Honor to Them Tho' They are Dead.** *Poor Richard.*

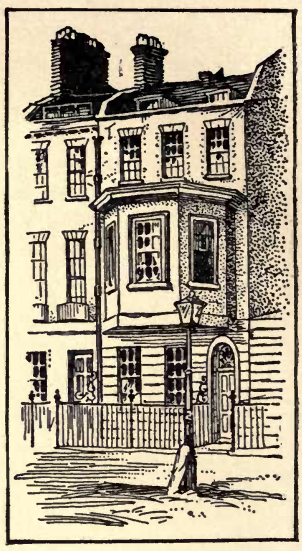
Governor Denny brought to Franklin the gold medal awarded him by the Royal Society, and he took the opportunity, after presenting it on a public occasion, to withdraw with the recipient and endeavor to cajole him into a favorable regard for the demands of the proprietor in matters of taxation, promising him ample reward in money and honors if he would lend his influence in the Assembly toward harmony with his, the Governor's measures.

In reply, Franklin, with his usual courteous directness, assured the Governor that he desired to be friendly with the proprietor, and would do everything in his power to render the administration of his agent easy and agreeable so long as it was not in conflict with the rights of the people, whose interests he should continue to serve; adding, that through God's blessing his circumstances were such as to render unnecessary any favors from the proprietor, and that as a member of the Assembly it would be unlawful for him to receive such. He further expressed the hope that Governor Denny was not bound by the instructions which had been such a source of trouble with the previous administration.

The Governor did not choose to enlighten him on that point, but the course of events soon revealed the obnoxious requirements, and after some months of fruitless effort on the part of the Assembly to secure approval of bills which contemplated taxation of the proprietary estates, and of equally fruitless effort by Governor Denny to obtain specific exemption of these estates, matters reached a crisis on the governor's rejection of a revenue bill based on an excise tax, which the House thought an unobjectional expedient, but which also proved incompatible with the "instructions," the bill being returned to the Assembly with the announcement that as there was in those parts no person to judge between the governor and the House, the former would immediately transmit to his Majesty his reasons for so doing. As all the interests of the province must suffer from a lack of funds following such a deadlock, the House, after recovering from the consternation resulting from this affront, passed the necessary bill in a form acceptable to the governor, having first in a series of resolutions, recorded its sense of injury and the reasons for concession on this occasion. The situation in which it now found itself was regarded as intolerable, and the Assembly further resolved that a remonstrance be drawn up and presented to the King and Parliament and that the two most honored members, Mr. Norris, the Speaker, and Benjamin Franklin, be requested to go to England and urge the redress of their grievences. Mr. Norris, pleading age and ill-health as excuses, begged to be allowed to decline, but Franklin, after protesting that his colleague was well qualified to accomplish the matter without his assistance, offered himself for any service that the House might require. Mr. Norris remaining firm in his refusal, it was resolved, that "Benjamin Franklin be and he is hereby appointed agent of this province, to solicit and transact the affairs thereof in Great Britain." Franklin's son William, then Clerk of the House, was granted leave of absence to accompany him, and the sum of fifteen hundred pounds was voted to defray the expenses of the mission.

Franklin prepared to start immediately, and had engaged passage and sent his stores on board the packet at New York, when Lord Loudon, then in command of the King's forces in the colonies, arrived at Philadelphia for the purpose of reconciling the affairs of the province, and the journey was delayed pending a discussion of the matter. As his lordship was unable to alter the conditions, nothing was accomplished, and Franklin and his son resumed their preparation and started for New York, the packet with their stores having in

the meantime sailed. On account of the dilatoriness of Lord Loudon, to whose orders they were subject, the sailing of other packets was greatly delayed, and months elapsed before the reports for which they waited were ready and they were allowed to depart. Franklin's ship, though at first handicapped by faulty stowage of the cargo, proved, when that was remedied, to be the fastest of the fleet, and after a somewhat eventful voyage of thirty days, during which they were several times chased by hostile craft, and at the end narrowly escaped shipwreck on the Scilly Isles, they arrived at Falmouth, where Franklin and his son disembarked and traveled overland to London, arriving on the 26th of July, 1757.



Mrs. Stevenson's Home
Craven Street, London

After resting a while at the home of his friend Peter Collinson, and there receiving many of his old friends, and those with whom his scientific works had brought him into correspondence, Franklin and his son took up their abode with Mrs. Margaret Stevenson in Craven Street, Strand, William Franklin entering at once upon the study of law, while his father set to work upon the business of the Assembly. He obtained an interview with the Messrs. Penn and endeavored to conciliate and show them the injustice of their restrictive instructions to the Governor, but they refused to bend, and kept him at a distance with quibbling objections to the form of his petition, asserting that it would be impossible to take any action for a long time, as it was the beginning of the vacation season and the lawyers upon whom they depended for advice were away.

Following this damper to his hopes Franklin was taken with a serious illness in the form of an intermittent fever, which, with the misguided medical treatment of that day, incapacitated him for eight weeks. On his recovery he engaged the services of leading councillors and sought to prosecute his mission, but it was a year before the Proprietaries took any action, and then they ignored Franklin and sent an unconcessional reply to the Assembly through Governor Denny.

During this time and later, he vainly attempted to secure an interview with the powerful and friendly William Pitt, Lord Chatham, and another year passed without any advancement of his cause. With the help of his son he had replied in the newspapers to many calumnious articles inspired by the Proprietaries, and had published and distributed hundreds of copies of a large volume giving the full history of the controversy between the Assembly and the Governors. This work attracted considerable attention favorable and other-



John Knox's House
High St., Edinburg

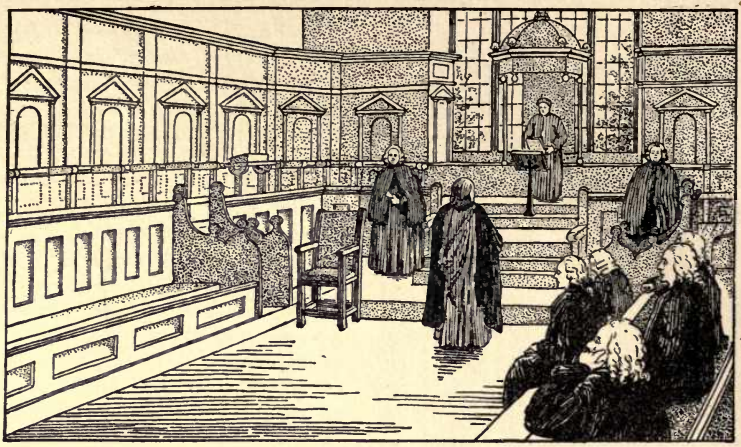
wise, but did not appreciably improve the situation, and Franklin settled down to a life of social and scientific gratification, varied with vacation trips which included a visit to Wellingborough and Ecton, where his ancestors had lived, and where he yet found several cousins. On one of these occasions Franklin and his son spent six weeks in Scotland, and were lavishly entertained and honored by the universities and the leading people. The University of St. Andrews had previously conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws, which in its essential became his recognized title. He also visited Cambridge and was flatteringly received and entertained by the chancellors and the heads of the colleges.

He wrote many interesting letters to his wife and daughter, and frequently sent them presents of dress goods and household furnishings, while in return they sent many delicacies such as he was accustomed to in America.

His first real success in his work came in 1760 when the Proprietaries raised great objection to a recent act of the Assembly in issuing notes to the amount of £100,000 which were to be met by taxation of all estates and property not excepting those of the brothers Penn.

Governor Denny had given up the struggle, and had been replaced by Mr. James Hamilton, a Philadelphian, who was a little less hampered by proprietary restrictions, and in the absence of Franklin, the Assembly went to greater lengths of self-assertion. A ponderous committee was appointed by the Privy Council to pass upon the measure before it was submitted for the approval of the King, who, by the terms of the charter, had the power to repeal obnoxious acts. This committee reported very harshly and recommended that the act be repealed.

When the news of this was received, Franklin was about starting on a visit to Ireland, but he unpacked his satchels and gave all his energy to securing a reversal of the recommendation, as the act had been in force for some time before knowledge of it reached England and much of the currency was already issued. By promising to urge an amendment which, apparently, would somewhat relieve the Proprietaries, he secured their assent, and from the committee a strong recommendation for approval of the measure. This was in due course placed before King George II and the Privy Council, and readily allowed. The amendment was never passed by the Assembly, though it was frequently addressed to this end by Governor Hamilton, acting for the



Taking His Degree at Oxford University

Penns, it being contended that a fair consideration of the original bill would show it based on the elements called for in the amendment. Besides preventing the embarrassment that would have resulted from the recall of outstanding currency, this victory was important in its bearing on the subservience of the Assembly to the brothers Penn, whose powers were thereafter much lessened.

Although Franklin remained in England two years after this, he accomplished little more for the cause of the province. He took a prominent part in the controversies resulting from the change in the ministry and policy at the death of George II, and the ascension of George III, and was credited with much good influence on important questions. He continued his scientific and literary pursuits, and in the summer of 1761, he and his son made a tour of the Low Countries.

Franklin planned to return to America early in the spring of 1762, but owing to affairs of his own, and the unreadiness of the vessel, it was late in autumn before he arrived in Philadelphia. During this interval he visited Oxford and received from the university the honorary degree Doctor of Canon Law, and William Franklin, who had completed his legal studies and had been admitted to the bar, was granted that of Master of Arts. William had gained a considerable following on his own account, through his undoubted abilities and his close association with his father, and his crowning triumph came just before the date set for their departure, in the appointment to the governorship of New Jersey. This was judged to have been obtained for him without solicitation, and in the face of many aspirants, by his friend Lord Bute, then the most powerful man in Parliament, and it aroused considerable protest in England, although it was well received in the Province, where the new Governor was highly honored on his arrival the following February.

Dr. Franklin left Portsmouth, without his son, in the latter part of August, and after a very pleasant voyage of nine weeks in a merchantman sailing with a large fleet, arrived at Philadelphia on the first of November, having been absent six years from his home and friends. A few days after his father sailed,

but with his knowledge and consent, Governor Franklin was married to Miss Elizabeth Downes, a young woman who had come to London from the West Indies, and it was with the announcement of this in the *London Chronicle* that his new appointment was first published. He entered matrimony, having an illegitimate son, William Temple, then about two years old, thus repeating his own relation to his father.

Franklin greatly enjoyed the reunion with his family and old associates, and took especial comfort in the society of his daughter Sarah, a beautiful girl of eighteen. With full honors bestowed upon him, he planned to live the rest of his life in ease, and gratify all his yearnings for hospitality and recreation, but the disturbances that led to the inevitable conflict with the mother country soon claimed his services and drew him into his former activity.

In October, 1763, Governor Hamilton resigned, and John Penn arrived from England to take his place. It was thought by the Pennsylvanians that this would facilitate the work of the Assembly, as it seemed probable that a member of the Penn family would be less restricted by instructions and likely to act more on his own judgment, which a direct knowledge of conditions would incline favorably to the public cause. Like his predecessors, he showed great consideration at first, but this proved of short duration, and he soon seized an opportunity to ally himself with the party in opposition to liberty and advancement. This opportunity was the outcome of the deplorable massacre of a few friendly Indians, the last of a tribe that had made the treaty with his grandfather, William Penn. They were murdered by a party of fanatics from the district of Paxton, and when a second raid on a larger band of another such tribe was imminent, he called on Franklin for help, and through the latter's writings and personal efforts in bringing these civilized and Christian aborigines to Philadelphia, protecting them with a garrison hurriedly raised, and then meeting and discouraging the attacking party as it neared Philadelphia, the Indians were saved and another blot on the history of the province was averted. As a reward for this help in an extremity, the Governor turned against Franklin and having found, in the country districts, a considerable approval for the indiscriminate extermination of the Indians, he set his seal on a proclamation offering a large bounty for the capture or scalping of any Indian, male or female. From this point of departure he lent his influence to the demands of two minority parties, the landed aristocrats, of which he was naturally one, and the lowest dregs of a half assimilated peasantry.

All the old differences he intensified with greater arrogance, and matters reached such a pass that the Assembly adjourned to test the sentiment of the people on a proposed address to the King, begging him to assume the direct government of the province according to the terms of the original grant, making to the Proprietors such compensation for the cession of their vested rights as he might deem wise. The Assembly met again on the 14th of May, 1764, after an interval of seven months, and it was found that an overwhelming majority of the voters had signed the petitions approving the address to the King. The venerable speaker, Mr. Isaac Norris, weakened at the last moment and resigned his office rather than sign so radical a measure, and Franklin, one of its steadfast champions, was elected to the place and signed the petition.

At this time the suggestion of a stamp tax for the colonies, to help meet the large debt resulting from the war with France, was made by George Grenville, the prime minister of England, but the opposition to this form of tribute was so pronounced that the plan was for a time abandoned.

He Has Chang'd His One Ey'd Horse for a Blind One. *Poor Richard.*

At the election in the following October, Franklin met his first defeat at the polls. All through the summer a vigorous campaign was waged by the conservatives who formed the Penn government, and by the liberals who desired to free the province from it. Tactics of all kinds were employed to prevent the re-election of Franklin, who, as usual, depended entirely on a dissemination of his principles and arguments in pamphlet form. So great was the attendance at the polls that they were kept open from nine o'clock, October first, until three o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, and when the counting was finished nearly twenty-four hours later, it was found that the new ticket had triumphed and Franklin and nearly all his Philadelphia associates were defeated, the former by a majority of twenty-five votes only. In view of the fact that he had been elected to the Assembly for fourteen years, during six of which he was absent from the country, without seeking the place or asking any one to vote for him, and that in spite of extensive fraudulent voting by his opponents the majority against him was so small, Franklin found little to depress him in the result, and when the House, which, by a return of most of the old members from other counties, still had a majority over the Proprietary party, immediately elected him again to the office of agent of the Province in England, he willingly accepted and prepared to take up the work, notwithstanding his advanced years and the sacrifice of his hoped for leisure.

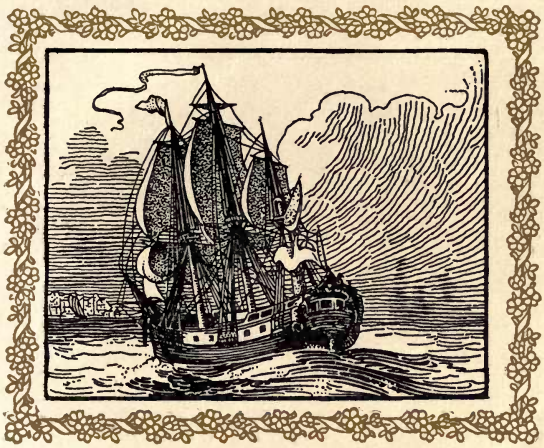
This appointment aroused bitter protest from the Penn adherents, and he was assailed with violent criticism, both political and personal, but complacent in his knowledge of its falseness, he bore this with his usual equanimity.

On the seventh of November, but twelve days after his election as agent, he was escorted to Chester, a few miles below Philadelphia, by three hundred citizens on horseback, and there embarked once more for England, which he reached after a short but stormy passage. He hoped to make his stay abroad short on this occasion, a prospect which somewhat mitigated the pain of leaving his wife and daughter, for whom his solicitude was tenderly expressed in a parting letter despatched from the ship as it was leaving the Delaware.

The news of his safe arrival in London was hailed with great joy in Philadelphia, and the bells were rung until nearly midnight, the cheering knowledge of which he received in one of his first letters from home.

Franklin returned at once to his old lodgings with Mrs. Stevenson, in Craven street, and in a very short time was actively working to prevent the passage of the Stamp Act, which he found the all absorbing topic in political circles. With the other American Agents he had interviews with Prime Minister Grenville, and personally, he employed all his resources of acquaintance and argument to avert this strain between the home government and the colonies, but entirely without avail, as Grenville had promised Parliament that he would present such a measure, and he was firm in this determination, although courteous in his reception of the remonstrants, and fair enough to request from them an alternative measure that would accomplish the purpose without occasioning resentment. He did not, however, choose to so regard Franklin's announcement that he was authorized to promise that the Pennsylvania Assembly would vote and pay its proportionate part of the desired funds, if requested by the King, in the constitutional manner.

The act passed almost unanimously, with little thought that it would excite anything more serious than a temporary grumbling at the burden of the tax. This was to be raised almost wholly upon paper books and documents, and affairs pertaining to the transaction of business, and the American agents



Franklin Nearing England on His Third Voyage

were requested to name suitable residents of their several provinces for appointment as Stamp Officers, which they did as a matter of expediency; Franklin observed at the time that he could not be sure that his nominees would serve, but in the clamor that arose throughout the colonies on the receipt of the news of the passage of the act and the appointment of the deputies, the agents were immoderately blamed for thus approving the enactment. While such was not their intention, Franklin privately advised a friend at home to submit to the oppression without resistance, trusting that it would be only transient and that England might be made, by peaceable methods, to realize its error; and without doubt this was then his sincere attitude, resulting from a deep-rooted attachment to the mother country, and an inherent tendency toward expediency rather than impetuosity.

Later, when the question of repeal came up, his attitude had undergone a marked change, influenced, no doubt to a large degree, by a knowledge of the implacable opposition which the act provoked. He was, however, calumniated as a traitor, and the safety of his family and property menaced, when he, believing no other course available, was simply a peacemaker.

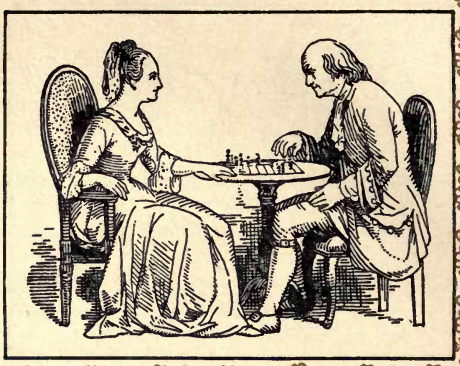
With the fall of the Grenville ministry before the time appointed for the inauguration of the stamp régime; the tremendous non-importation reprisals and the accession of a more liberal ministry under the Marquis of Rockingham; with Mr. Edmund Burke, a fervent friend and admirer of America and private secretary to Lord Rockingham, elected to Parliament,—the fortunes of the colonies seemed likely to speedily improve, and such was indeed the outcome. The British merchants that were suffering severely from the loss of American trade, assailed Parliament from without, while Rockingham, Pitt, Burke, and General Conway worked within, and Franklin, called to the bar, underwent an examination by friends and foes, championing his country in argument and presentation in a manner to arouse the admiration and enthusiasm of his friends on both sides of the ocean, and so to confound his enemies that they entered heartily into the general applause, when, as a result of all these favorable conditions, and in spite of royal disapproval and minority intrigues, the odious act was repealed and the yoke of tyranny lifted from the revolting colonists.

It is difficult to believe that any man could undergo such a catechising as this and not in some slight degree fail through the inadequacy or weakness of his answers to the varied questioning of successive inquirers, but he did not once give the opening that his opponents hoped to secure,—some of his ex-

Without Justice Courage Is Weak. *Poor Richard.*

temporaneous replies being marvels of non-committal adroitness, while his arguments and answers to friendly questions brought out every pertinent fact and figure, every sentiment, result, and possibility bearing on his cause.

After this monumental triumph Franklin hoped that he could be excused from further service, and asked permission of the Assembly to return home, but instead of granting this, it elected him for another year. He continued in London, and in 1768 he was elected to a similar agency by Georgia, and later by New Jersey, and Massachusetts, which gave him a considerable standing as spokesman for America. In the absence of particular crises following the repeal of the Stamp Act, he employed much of his time in attempting to win the British public to a sympathy for the American cause, in the course of which he wrote and published in the newspapers brilliant anonymous articles of questionable propriety for an ambassador, and his authorship becoming known, lines of division were more sharply drawn between the Whigs, who favored his cause, and the Tories, the governing party which antagonized it, with the result that little good and much harm ensued.



Franklin Playing Chess with Lord Howe's Sister

While endeavoring to convince a member of Parliament of the tractability of the Americans under reasonable conditions, he learned that inflammatory letters had been written to an English official by Governor Hutchinson and Lieutenant Governor Oliver, of Massachusetts. These letters placed the people of America in a very quarrelsome and unfavorable light, and recommended repressive measures. As these were averred, and held, to be the sentiments of a majority of the best people of the Colony, they carried much weight and were exhibited privately to Franklin to prove his misunderstanding of the situation. Knowing fully their unreliability and baseness, Franklin secured these for discreet exhibition in America, under the promise that they would not be copied or published, and they were sent to Boston for the edification of a few chosen patriots. By being passed from one to another of the leaders, and read in a secret session of the Assembly, they soon became commonly known, and were published on both sides of the ocean. In Massachusetts the feeling was very strong against Gov. Hutchinson, who was a native American, and had been much honored by the people before his appointment by the Crown.

A petition for his removal, and that of the Lieutenant Governor, in the interest of peace and harmony, was sent to the King, but its effect was only to inflame the already avowed opposition which was pleased to believe every

word of Hutchinson's arraignment, and which welcomed the opportunity presented by the compromising situation in which Franklin was placed by his acknowledgement of responsibility for despatching the letters.

The strained relations following this episode culminated at the meeting of the Privy Council called to act upon the petition of Massachusetts. Franklin in his capacity as agent presented his case through counsel, but it was a foregone conclusion that the request would be refused; it would, in fact, have received no official attention had it not been for the opportunity it offered for arraigning Franklin on the score of securing and imparting the letters; Many distinguished members and visitors were present and the resentment of the Tories, who formed the council, was intense. Alexander Wedderburn, a Scotch barrister, represented Hutchinson and Oliver, and when his turn arrived he launched into a comprehensive speech eulogising the officials and denying any ground for dissatisfaction with his clients. He then expatiated on the culpability of Franklin, the acknowledged offender, and denounced his entire conduct from the secret procuring, to the final return of the letters. His attack was offensive personally and crushing politically, but during its delivery Franklin maintained a serene dignity that was proof against all accusation and innuendo. He could not, however, combat the charges, as he would not disclose the identity of the one who had given him the letters, and the council had no sympathy with his mollification proposals.

Having broken Franklin's power, the Ministry sought, through indirect channels, to weaken his purpose. It was arranged that he should play chess with Mrs. Howe, sister of Admiral Lord Howe, and at one of these games she, with seeming inadvertence, urged upon him his fitness to act as mediator between the two countries. This idea was also broached by Dr. Fothergill, and David Barclay, a Tory member of Parliament, and led to frequent meetings and consultations with intimates of the Ministers, particularly with Lord Howe, who was one of the closest of these; and at their request Franklin prepared a schedule of terms upon which he thought it possible to secure peace. This was unswerving in its provision for the rehabilitation and liberties of the colonies, and, as might have been expected, was almost wholly distasteful to the Tory leaders, who then endeavored to bribe Franklin, by personal considerations of patronage and financial regard, to lend his influence to the Crown for the unatoned acquiescence of his countrymen in America. Franklin spurned the advances, and, after witnessing in the House of Lords a violent denunciation of everything American, he put his affairs in the hands of Arthur Lee, who had been sent to take his place when he should give up the work, and quietly leaving London he embarked for home.

His discretion in this respect was warranted, and it was a matter for congratulation that he escaped arrest for treason on account of the ramifications of the Hutchinson affair, as the Government was only waiting for direct evidence of this, which it hoped to secure in the return of certain of his letters to the Colonies, to finally dispose of him.



Early American Currency.

During this time the breach between the two countries had materially widened. While Franklin was being arraigned in England, the Colonists had rejected British tea, and at Boston had thrown it overboard, with the result of the closing of that port by Parliament as a retaliatory measure. Before he reached Philadelphia the battle of Lexington had been fought, and all hope of peace and reconciliation had passed.

His wife had died during his absence, and his daughter, Mrs. Sarah Bache, was in charge of the new house, which also had been built while he was away.

The first fruit of his discredit in England, had been his dismissal from the office of Postmaster General, but he was not suffered to realize his leisure, as on the day after his arrival he was elected by the Assembly as one of Pennsylvania's deputies to the Continental Congress, which was soon to meet again in Philadelphia.

Now that the die was cast, he entered heartily into the struggle for independence, and at once became a leader in the Congress and the Committee of Safety, beside which he was elected to the Pennsylvania Legislature, and made Postmaster-General of the united colonies. Events moved rapidly, and soon the American army was organized at Cambridge, with Washington at its head. While this was taking place, Franklin was one of three commissioners who waited on the army to arrange for supplies and settle other matters relating to the war. Soon after this he was called upon to visit Canada, in the hope of winning that colony to the cause of independence. Charles Carroll, of Maryland, was chosen to go with him, and they induced the former's brother, John Carroll, a Roman Catholic priest, to accompany them and use his influence with the clergy of the French Canadian church. This journey was begun late in the winter of 1775–76, and its hardships bore heavily on Franklin, now seventy years of age. He believed it unlikely that he would reach home again, and wrote several farewell letters from Saratoga, where he had an attack of the gout, which disease had, at various times in his life, caused him much suffering and confinement. They reached Montreal, however, though to no purpose, as the Canadians had become strongly prejudiced against the revolutionists, on account of an unsuccessful campaign by General Montgomery against the British stronghold at Quebec, and the bills which his army had contracted and left unpaid.



William Temple Franklin,
Son of Governor Franklin.

No Man E'er Was Glorious
Who Was Not Laborious. *P. R.*

On his return to Philadelphia, Franklin was made a member of the convention called to frame a constitution for Pennsylvania, and in Congress he was an ardent advocate of the declaration of independence, soon to establish this nation before the world. He also went to New York, at the request of Lord Howe, who had arrived there in command of the British fleet, and who still hoped to make peace. Other commissioners were in attendance, and the party was very courteously received by Lord Howe, but as the Americans now demanded recognition of the United States, and he had authority only to receive the submission of the Colonies, no result could be reached.

Franklin's trials and labors, at this period, were augmented by the position of his son William, who, as royal governor of New Jersey, was unalterably opposed to all that his father was working for. Many conferences took place between them, but without avail, and Governor Franklin was eventually, by order of Congress, sent to Connecticut, and there held under guard until the end of the war, to the great distress of his wife, who finally succumbed to her sorrow and privations, and died before he was released.

The prosecution of the war of the revolution was a tremendous and discouraging undertaking for the new and but half amalgamated nation. Many supplies, for which England had been their only source, now must be manufactured or drawn from other countries. The moral support of these countries must also be obtained and, if possible, their financial and physical aid. This necessitated agents abroad, and later, on apprisal of a friendly disposition of France, recommended an embassy at the French Court. Congress appointed to this service Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, who was then in Paris as secret agent, and Thomas Jefferson. Mrs. Jefferson was in ill health, and the brilliant author of the Declaration of Independence was unable to accept the position, which was given to Arthur Lee, Franklin's successor in London, who was also acting as agent in Europe.

Franklin took his appointment with equanimity, although another ocean voyage and a renewal of ambassadorial labors could not but be a tax on the waning strength of a man of seventy years. As a parting testimonial of his faith and liberality he collected and loaned to Congress all of his funds that were available at short notice,—upwards of three thousand pounds; an example that was beneficial beyond its pecuniary importance. Just one month after the vote of Congress, on the 26th of October, 1776, he passed cautiously down the river, with his grandsons, William Temple Franklin and Benjamin Franklin Bache, and the next day reached Marcus Hook, where the "Reprisal," a swift recruit to the new navy, waited in readiness to smuggle them through the cordon of British ships and bear him once more across the Atlantic.

Good luck attended the voyage, although it was stormy and dangerous, and in thirty-three days they were landed at Auray, on the coast of France, with two prizes, British merchantmen with valuable cargoes, to contribute funds for the mission.

He had for years enjoyed great popularity in France, and his reception was correspondingly generous and enthusiastic. Auray was a small and unattractive place, and although Dr. Franklin was very weak from the confinement and roughness of the passage, they set out for Nantes as soon as they were able to obtain a post-chaise, which was not until the next day. At Nantes they were entertained by Monsieur Gruel, an active friend of America, at his spacious country house, and at his earnest solicitation Franklin remained there upwards of a week to recuperate before continuing his journey.

He That Won't Be Counsell'd
Can't Be Help'd. *Poor Richard.*

His arrival at this important and flourishing port was honored by a large gathering of friends of the American cause, and personal admirers of Dr. Franklin, who arranged a "grand dinner" which Franklin attended. His stay with M. Gruel was a continuous ovation, and he met many well informed persons who advised him as to the progress and state of affairs — particularly those of America — at Court.

After a sufficient rest, he continued toward Paris, and without notable adventure arrived there on the twenty-second of December.

His coming, which until his arrival at Nantes was unexpected, had been widely heralded, and Paris, with its accessible world, was in a flutter of expectation regarding this wonderful old man and the momentous cause he was to advocate. He came to the world's capital of elegance and luxury; he brought simplicity and directness of a most accomplished and engaging type. He found learning, culture, and humanity of an old world fullness, and he reflected all these with an added lustre, individuality, wisdom, and humility. He personified a type which the philosophy and affections of a people sated with convention and display, eagerly accepted as the ideal of agreeable democracy. His endowment of their own graces was the medium which made his unique qualities intelligible, and the cause he represented was to France personified in Franklin, and accordingly beloved. From Louis XVI to his humblest subject there was admiration and respect for this kindly old man who labored unceasingly for the enfranchisement of a people, but in the brilliant circles centering at Versailles he found his most sympathetic confrères and associates. His marked partiality for the society of clever women found ample opportunity, and his relations with the Countess d'Houdetot, Madame Helvetius, and Madame Brillon, as revealed in delightful epistles and essays, were intimate and affectionate.

Painters, sculptors, and engravers, in endless succession, reproduced his features or glorified him in extravagant allegory, testifying alike their own enthusiasm and the market value of everything pertaining to the adored American. His popularity was instant, and remains without an equal in the relations of the two countries.

The immediate practical necessities of the American government were arms and equipments for its troops, and when Franklin settled down to his work in Paris the machinery for supplying these had been well organized and set in motion.

Following the earlier movements of Congress, commercial agents, one after another, had departed for Europe and busied themselves to secure credit for these goods, and the means of forwarding them. Among those so commissioned was Monsieur Penet, a French merchant then in Philadelphia, whose enthusiasm was abundant, but whose personal resources



Silver Pot, with motto "Keep bright the chain," presented by Franklin to a friend.

If You Have No Honey in Your Pot Have Some in Your Mouth. *Poor Richard.*



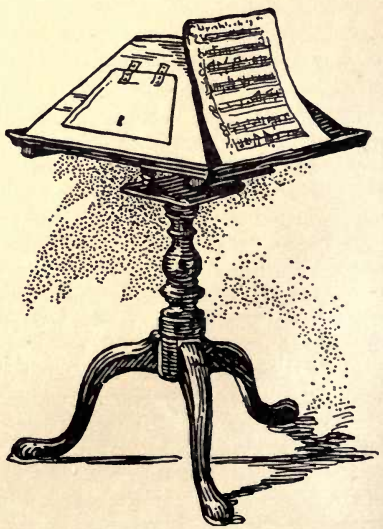
Allegory of Franklin Subduing the Lightning and Destroying Tyrants. (*From a French Print.*)

were not great. Franklin, who had at that time no expectation of visiting France, supplied him with letters of introduction to influential people, and in particular to Dr. Duborg, a scientist with whom he was closely associated and who was zealous in the American cause. M. Penet reached Paris without his credentials, which he left in Holland through fear of being intercepted and robbed of them in traveling to France, but he succeeded in convincing Dr. Duborg of the authenticity of his agency, and the latter at once introduced him to a number of high officials of the French Court, who showed a disposition to grant secretly the financial aid on which his efforts depended. Dr. Duborg proved so well situated to influence the Court that M. Penet prevailed on him to assume the responsibility of forwarding the business at that end, while he, personally, visited the manufactories and seaports to procure and ship the supplies. Dr. Duborg accepted the charge temporarily, and was of great assistance pending the arrival of Silas Deane, a duly accredited commissioner to Europe, who sailed a few months after M. Penet. Dr. Duborg related his operations in a long letter to Franklin, which, being read before Congress, gratified most opportunely its waning hopes of foreign assistance. At this time a star of exceptional power dominated the firmament of the French court, in the person of Caron de Beaumarchais, author of The Barber of Seville, horologist, musician, financier, gallant, and favorite, who espoused the cause of the Colonies, and was made the agent under whose cover

Money and Good Manners Make the Gentleman. *P. R.*

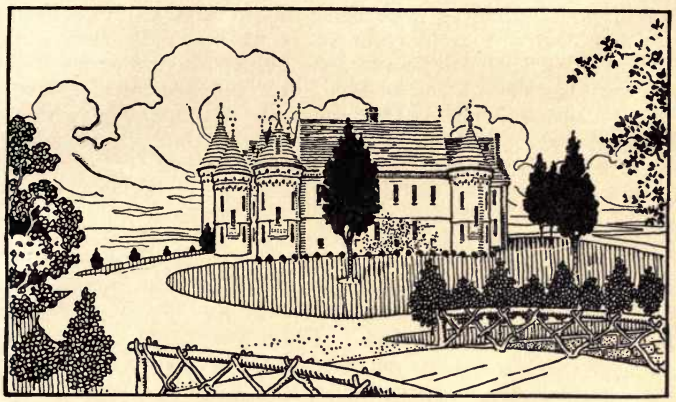
the King dispensed his aid. The house of Hortalez & Co. was organized and imposingly located in Paris, and there Beaumarchais, its sole visible executive, received loans from France and Spain, and expended them for guns, ammunition, and clothing, which were, in one way or another, landed in America, despite the watchful and seemingly effective remonstrance of Lord Stormont, the English ambassador. Though more brilliant than profound in the arguments by which he won the King's support, and actuated by motives not wholly philanthropic, Beaumarchais entered heartily into this undertaking, and staked his own resources and interests to a greater degree than he was then credited with. The French funds were provided as a loan, to be repaid by the Colonies in tobacco and other products as was convenient, but, through misinformation supplied by Arthur Lee, who had arrived at Paris, Congress regarded them as a gift, and did not seriously heed its benefactor's requests for an equivalent, with the result that he was caused financial distress from which he never wholly recovered. Silas Deane, whose resources, dispatched by Congress in the form of cargoes of tobacco, fish, and rice, failed to arrive, availed himself eagerly of Beaumarchais' assistance, and became the medium of the latter's dealings with Congress. Though Deane was useful in many ways, and subsequently friendly and helpful to Franklin, he was unduly blamed in America for his part in sending to this country an embarrassing accession of unwelcome and incompetent French officers — among whom LaFayette, DeKalb, and Steuben were notable exceptions — which, with the troubles resulting from impaired credit and the indifference of Congress to his services and claims, ultimately induced him to forsake his country and join his friend Benedict Arnold in England.

While others had been able to gather material succor for the Colonies, it remained for Franklin to win the moral support which should dignify and ensure the results of the struggle. He was content to leave the details of commercial transactions with Silas Deane and the agents assigned to the several ports where prizes were condemned and cargoes shipped, although it was to him that all these looked for funds when other sources failed, and his wisdom and diplomacy were continually drawn upon to smooth the way for these affairs. A few days after his arrival he was received, with Deane and Lee, by the Count de Vergennes, the minister for foreign affairs, to whom they presented the main features of a treaty which it was desired to conclude with France. They asked the open assistance of the French navy to raise the blockade on American commerce, which in return was to be consigned to French ports. They were listened to with great respect by the minister, and assured of the protection of the king while established in France, but only vague promises could be obtained in regard to the treaty, which they were requested to draw up in due form



Franklin's Music Stand.

You May Give a Man an Office but You Cannot Give Him Discretion. *Poor Richard.*



Franklin's House at Passy

and present to Monsieur Gerard, the chief secretary of the foreign office.

For a few weeks Franklin resided with Mr. Deane, in the Rue de l'Université, but as so central a location exposed him to many distractions he availed himself of the offer of a house at Passy, a suburb in the direction of Versailles, on the estate of Monsieur de Chaumont, a gentleman of much influence and a steadfast friend of America. Here he established himself, with a retinue of servants,—for, although simple in his own tastes, he must follow the manner usual for a public personage,—and this was his home during the nine years that he remained in France. He was on terms of most cordial intimacy with M. de Chaumont and his family, a fact which contributed materially to his welfare and contentment, while his host's position in court circles was of benefit in the early days of his mission.

The proposed treaty was delivered to M. Gerard, but its consideration was impracticable at that time, as France was unwilling to risk a war with England while the issue in America was so doubtful. Financial aid was, however, extended, and greatly facilitated the labors of the envoys.

As the months passed, amid the difficulties of their multifarious affairs, only disheartening news of their country's events and prospects reached them, and the announcement of Gen. Burgoyne's departure from England with a large army, was the occasion of especial apprehension. Notwithstanding this, Franklin maintained a cheerful demeanor, although he felt keen anxiety, and insisted, in reply to all doubters, that America was strong and would yet triumph.

Among the expedients devised at this time was that of sending advocates to Spain and the Netherlands, and Arthur Lee was dispatched to Madrid, but got no farther than Burgos, where he was met with the intelligence that the Government could not receive an American ambassador, although sympathizing with his cause, and with this and a promise of supplies he returned to Paris. He followed this immediately with a visit to Berlin, but received no aid from Frederick the Great, and returned finally to Paris without appealing to Holland.

Blessed Is He That Expects Nothing, for He Shall Never Be Disappointed. *P. R.*

Franklin found time to write and publish many articles bearing on the necessities and prospects of his country, as had been his custom while in England, but it needed positive successes by the American army to raise the cause with the governments and bankers. A slight measure of this was experienced when Captain Hammond arrived as a special messenger with the news of the British defeat at Trenton. At this time, also, the Marquis de la Fayette departed secretly for America with a considerable quantity of supplies and, entered upon the career of usefulness which, with his charming personality, endeared him to all.

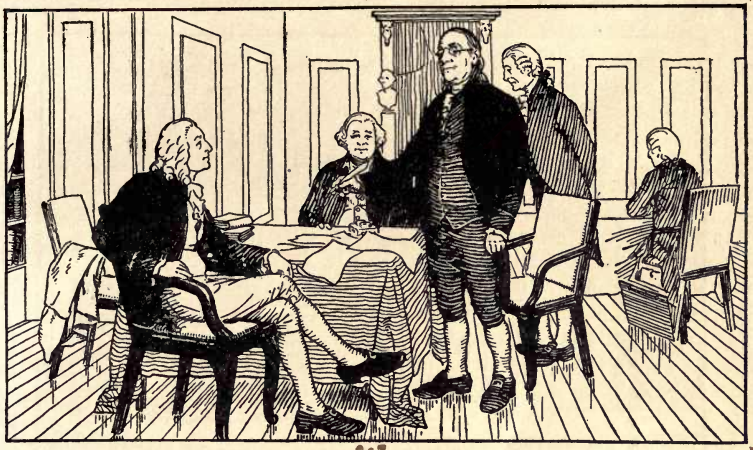
These incidents were made the most of, but it was not until a swift messenger from Massachusetts, Mr. Jonathan Austin, arrived at Passy with the astounding news of the capture of Burgoyne's army, that the clouds parted and the outlook of the envoys was illumined. From the depths of despair, which suggested even a proposition looking to terms with England, they rose instantly to heights of favor and success. Beaumarchais, who was on the verge of ruin, was at Passy, and in his unbounded joy drove so furiously to Paris that he was thrown from his carriage and severely injured. Within two days of the arrival of Mr. Austin, M. Gerard called on the envoys to convey the congratulations of the Count de Vergennes, his assurance of a large loan from Spain, and to request them to renew immediately their proposals for an alliance with France. In a short time this was done, and the dream of the envoys became an assured fact, awaiting only the outcome of certain affairs which should permit Spain to participate in it, to become an accomplished one. In anticipation of this, and at the request of the envoys, a strong squadron of French frigates was ordered to sail with a fleet of supply ships then awaiting convoy at Nantes.

Arthur Lee had for months chafed under his personal lack of influence and imagined lack of consideration, and in the rapidly moving events of this period he appears as a continual critic of all that transpired or was accomplished, of no use in the affairs, and constantly intriguing to lessen the influence of his companions and increase his own with Congress. His jealousy of Silas Deane's confidential relations with Beaumarchais led him to discredit the latter as a principal, asserting that he was only a dispenser for the king, with the result that the first cargo of rice and indigo to arrive from America in one of his own ships was consigned to Franklin, Deane, and Lee, regardless of the distracted merchant, who finally convinced the others of his right to the cargo, which was delivered to him in spite of Lee's protest.

With the recognized prospect of a completion of the alliance, the British government caused inquiries to be made as to conditions for peace between England and America, to forestall the continental arrangement, but nothing suited to her desires was now possible, and on the sixth of



Portrait of LOUIS XVI.
Given by Him to Franklin.



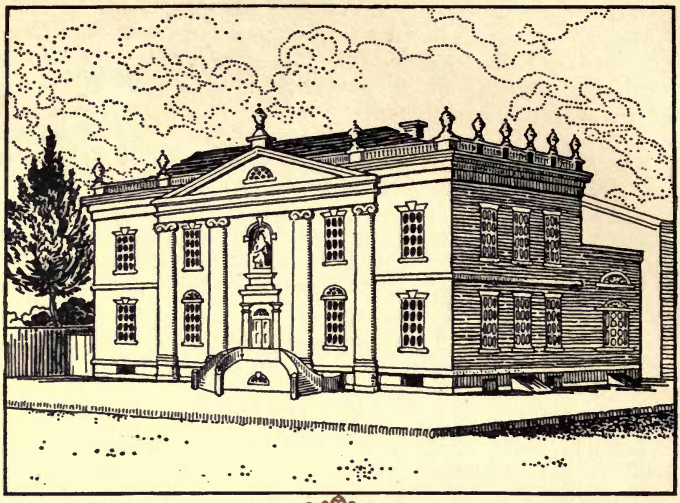
Signing the Treaty of Peace

February, 1778, the treaties, which were the first to recognize the United States of America, were signed at Versailles. This meant to America the practical success of the Revolution, and it was celebrated throughout the country with great rejoicing. What it meant to Franklin is well shown by the fact that he wore on this occasion the suit of black velvet which had served him but once before, when Wedderburn denounced him at the Hutchinson inquiry, and which he never wore again.

Paul Jones, the intrepid commander who was to devastate English commerce, arrived in the Ranger soon after this, and his affairs were added to Franklin's burden. He expected to receive a fine frigate which the envoys had been building in Holland, but which their necessities had obliged them to sell to the French Government; this was a great disappointment to Captain Jones but he soon made the best of it and cruised in the Ranger around the west coast of England, taking prizes, burning shipping and spreading terror on all sides. In about two weeks he returned to Brest with the Drake, a British ship of twenty guns, captured after a hard fought battle. This victory was received with wonder and admiration, and Captain Jones became preëminently the hero of the hour, a glory perpetuated by his later exploit of capturing the powerful Serapis with his own ship, the Bon Homme Richard, practically a condemned hulk. His timely capture of the Drake was of great benefit to Franklin and the American cause, being evidence of a most unexpected prowess in a wholly improbable direction, and as such particularly gratifying to the new allies. Arthur Lee found in it an opportunity to assert his peevish authority, and caused Jones much inconvenience, which only the warm and helpful friendship of Franklin could dispel.

With the formal signing of the treaties of commerce and alliance came changes in the status of two of their promotors, Mr. Deane being recalled by Congress, and M. Gerard going to America to represent France before that body. On the day that Mr. Deane left, Mr. John Adams of Boston arrived to take his place in the embassy. He was an honest man of unquestioned ability,

The Brave and Wise Can Both Pity and Excuse;
When Cowards and Fools Shew No Mercy. *P. R.*



Philadelphia Library, Founded by Franklin

but he was by temperament unsuited for a diplomat, and by his sympathies disqualified for service at the French court. His punctilious logic, forced upon the king, excited resentment that required all of Franklin's soothing tact to allay, and caused him eventually to be entirely disregarded by the court. He accepted many of Arthur Lee's prejudices and frequently joined with the latter in affairs antagonistic to Franklin, but in these he was prompted by his judgment, and he retained the respect of the senior envoy.

Arthur Lee continued increasingly to oppose Franklin, and he derived much sympathy and assistance from Ralph Izard, who like Lee, was from the South, and who held the commission of envoy to the court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany but was debarred from Florence by this ruler and remained a member of the American colony in Paris. Their opportunities for mischief were soon lessened by the revocation by Congress of the commissions of the joint envoys in Paris, and the appointment of Franklin as sole plenipotentiary. Adams was not aggrieved, and immediately settled his affairs and returned to America, but Lee, by virtue of a commission to Spain, remained with Izard in Paris until both were recalled by Congress a few months later.

Franklin was left to prosecute, undisturbed through quarrels, the work of his mission, but in the still greater financial responsibility put upon him he paid dearly for his preferment. All obligations from America and Europe which others could not pay, were sent to him in the form of drafts, which the credit of his country and the stability of former loans made it imperative to meet. These required enormous sums above his receipts from prizes and cargoes, but he was always able to secure a further loan from the French treasury, notwithstanding its already overtaxed generosity. As a final effort he was requested to solicit a loan of twenty-five million francs, in addition to a large supply of campaign stores.

Act Uprightly, Despise All Calumny; Dirt May Stick to a Mud Wall, but Not to Polish'd Marble. *P. R.*

He presented the appeal most ably, and was soon joined by Col. John Laurens, who came as a special envoy for this purpose. After some weeks of waiting, they were informed that the king could not, notwithstanding his good will to the United States, loan the sum asked for, but that he would grant them a free gift of six million francs, and furnish such supplies as were immediately needed. This gift proved the salvation of American finances, and brought the total of French advances to upward of twenty-six million francs, an enormous sum in those days, and an undoubted drain on the resources of that government.

The culmination of the long struggle for independence, in Cornwallis's crushing defeat at Yorktown, lessened the necessity for Franklin's services abroad, and he felt that he should be allowed to transfer the burden to other shoulders, and return to his home for the remnant of his life. He wished to resign at the close of the year 1781, and appealed to Congress to relieve him, but instead he was appointed joint commissioner, with John Adams and John Jay, to negotiate for peace with England.

To bring about this much desired condition was a long and laborious work, and one that taxed to the utmost Franklin's sagacity and tact. England would readily have treated with America alone, but such an abandonment of their ally was abhorrent to the commissioners, while the prospect of craving the forbearance of her hereditary enemy was equally so to England. Gradually, through slight opportunities and unofficial channels, the leaders learned each other's "mind," and after nine months of informal proposition and argument, during a considerable part of which Franklin was incapacitated by serious illness, nine preliminary articles of peace were signed on the thirtieth of November, 1782, by Dr. Franklin, John Adams, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, on the part of the United States, and by Richard Oswald, on the part of England. This treaty was a manifest victory for America, and lacked but Franklin's cherished plan of the acquisition of Canada, to include all that was proposed by this country, while its demands in regard to Maine and the Newfoundland fisheries,— the two chief points in contest,— were unreservedly included. This was subject to ratification by the French government, and a little friction was occasioned by the fact of its having been signed before the approval of the ally had been obtained, but this was alleviated by Franklin, and another large loan secured for his impoverished country.

On September third, 1783, the final treaty was signed by the American commissioners, and by Mr. David Hartly on the part of England. Its ratification by Congress and by King George III followed in due course, and then, the work of the commission being accomplished, Franklin once more requested the privilege of returning to America, but, for a year and a half, this request was unheeded. He spent this intervening period in pleasant intercourse and reunion with old friends who sought him at Passy, and he became, to a degree, reconciled with Governor Franklin, then in England. Thomas Jefferson arrived at Paris in August, 1784, and in March, 1785, when Dr. Franklin's resignation was finally accepted by Congress, Jefferson was appointed in his place. He had anticipated this to the extent of settling his affairs, and he left Paris on the twelfth of July, after a cordial interchange of devoirs with the king and ministers. His last public act in France was the signing, a few days before his departure, of a most enlightened treaty with Prussia. Louis XVI, as a parting token, presented Franklin his portrait, in the form of a miniature surrounded by four hundred and eight diamonds.

The Sun Never Repents of the Good He Does, Nor Does He Ever Demand a Recompense. *P. R.*



Franklin's Grave, Philadelphia.

Franklin's infirmities were such that he could not ride in a carriage, and he traveled in one of the queen's litters, borne by two mules, accompanied by his grandsons, William Temple Franklin, who had been his constant companion and secretary, and Benjamin Franklin Bache, just returned from studying in Switzerland, as well as by M. de Chaumont and other friends who were loth to part from him. He took the journey to Havre by easy stages, and from there crossed to Southampton, to await the arrival of the ship which was to take them home. Here he was visited by many old friends, and the reconciliation with Governor Franklin was completed, the latter on this occasion transferring to his son William Temple, the title to his property in New Jersey. They sailed July twenty-eighth, and after a voyage of seven weeks, during which Dr. Franklin greatly improved in health, and which he occupied as usual with scientific researches, they reached Philadelphia, where he was received with great affection and enthusiasm.

Even now he was not permitted to enjoy a rest from public life, but was soon elected President of the state of Pennsylvania, and continued in this office for three years, which was the limit set by the constitution. He was chosen a member of the convention which met in 1787 to draft a constitution for the United States, and was, as usual, a leader in the work. He saw the commencement of the imposing building for the Philadelphia library, an outcome of the Junto, and he took part in a protest against slaveholding, an institution repugnant to many at that early day.

In the fullness of his achievements and honors, loving and beloved, he passed away on the night of the seventeenth of April, 1790, after suffering for some days with a recurrence of a lung trouble that had threatened his life in youth. He was buried beside his wife, as he had desired to be, his funeral attended by almost the entire city, in reverent procession. His life was an element in the progress of the world, and indispensable in the establishment of the United States of America.

Fear Not Death; for the Sooner We Die, the Longer Shall We Be Immortal. *P. R.*



THE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Pattern of Table Flatware illustrated in the following pages, is, in its graceful simplicity, representative of the character of its illustrious namesake who, throughout a long life whose influences ranged from the humble conditions of his Puritan birthplace to the magnificence of the court of Louis XVI., maintained his inherent and cultivated simplicity of dress and demeanor.

It is a perfected arrangement of characteristic Colonial elements, especially distinguished by the pronounced embossment which reinforces the handles while contributing greatly to their beauty.

This design is made in sterling silver, 925/1000 fine, and may be had in chest combinations of a few dozen or many hundred pieces.

TOWLE MFG. COMPANY

Silversmiths

NEWBURYPORT MASSACHUSETTS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS — NEW YORK CITY

42 MADISON STREET — 41 UNION SQUARE

THE TOWLE MFG. COMPANY DOES NO RETAIL BUSINESS ANYWHERE

Tea Spoon, P.M.

Tea Spoon, Nos. 15 and 18

Pap Spoon

Ne'er take a wife till thou hast a house (and a fire) to put her in. *Poor Richard.*

Table Spoon, Nos. 39 and 45

Dessert Spoon, Nos. 24, 28 and 32



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Design Patented

Dessert Fork

Table Fork,
Nos. 36 and 42

Soup Spoon,

ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Design Patented

Anoint a villain and he'll stab you, stab him and he'll anoint you. *P. R.*

Bouillon Spoon

Chocolate Spoon

Coffee Spoon

Ice Cream Spoon.

ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

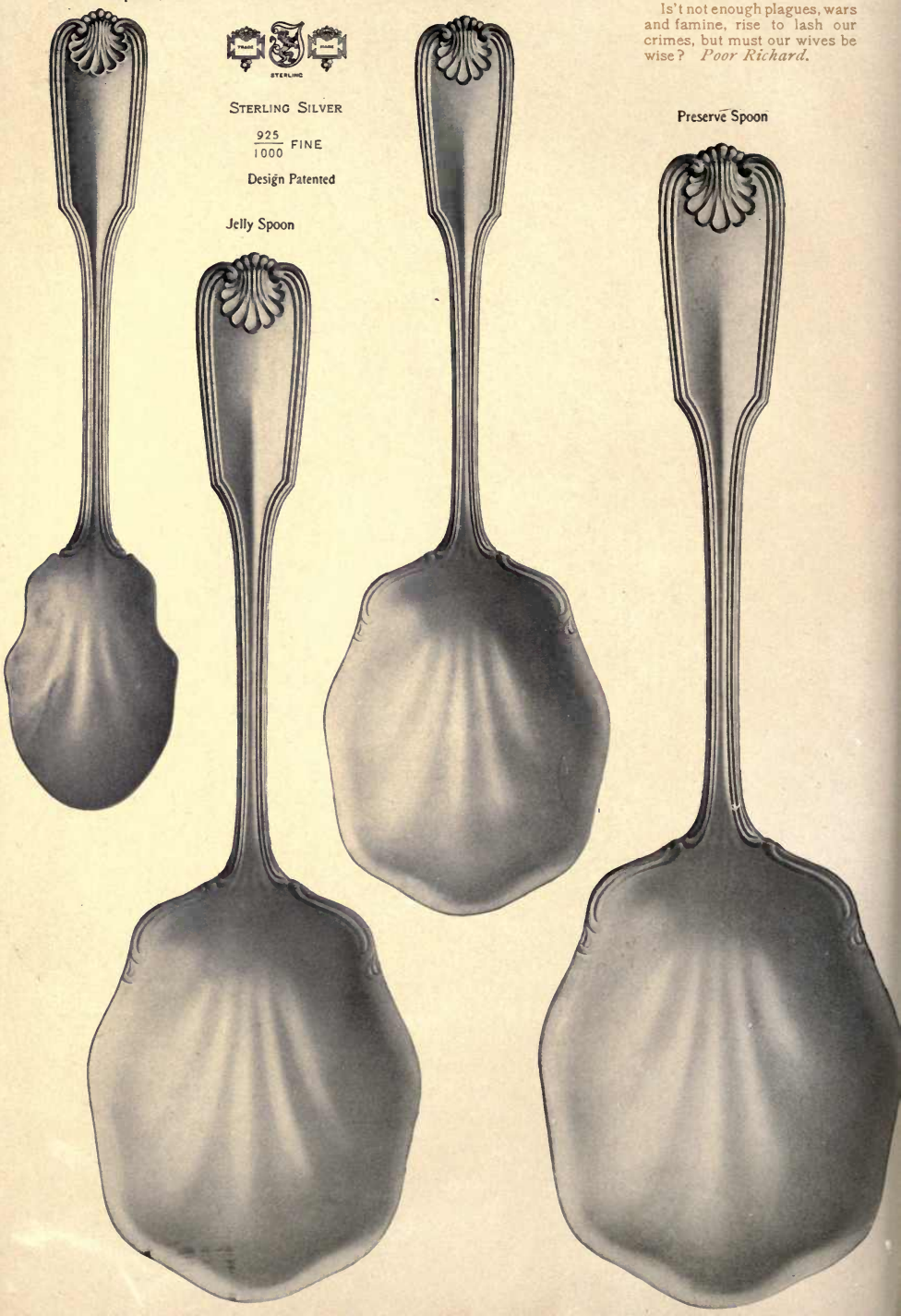
Design Patented

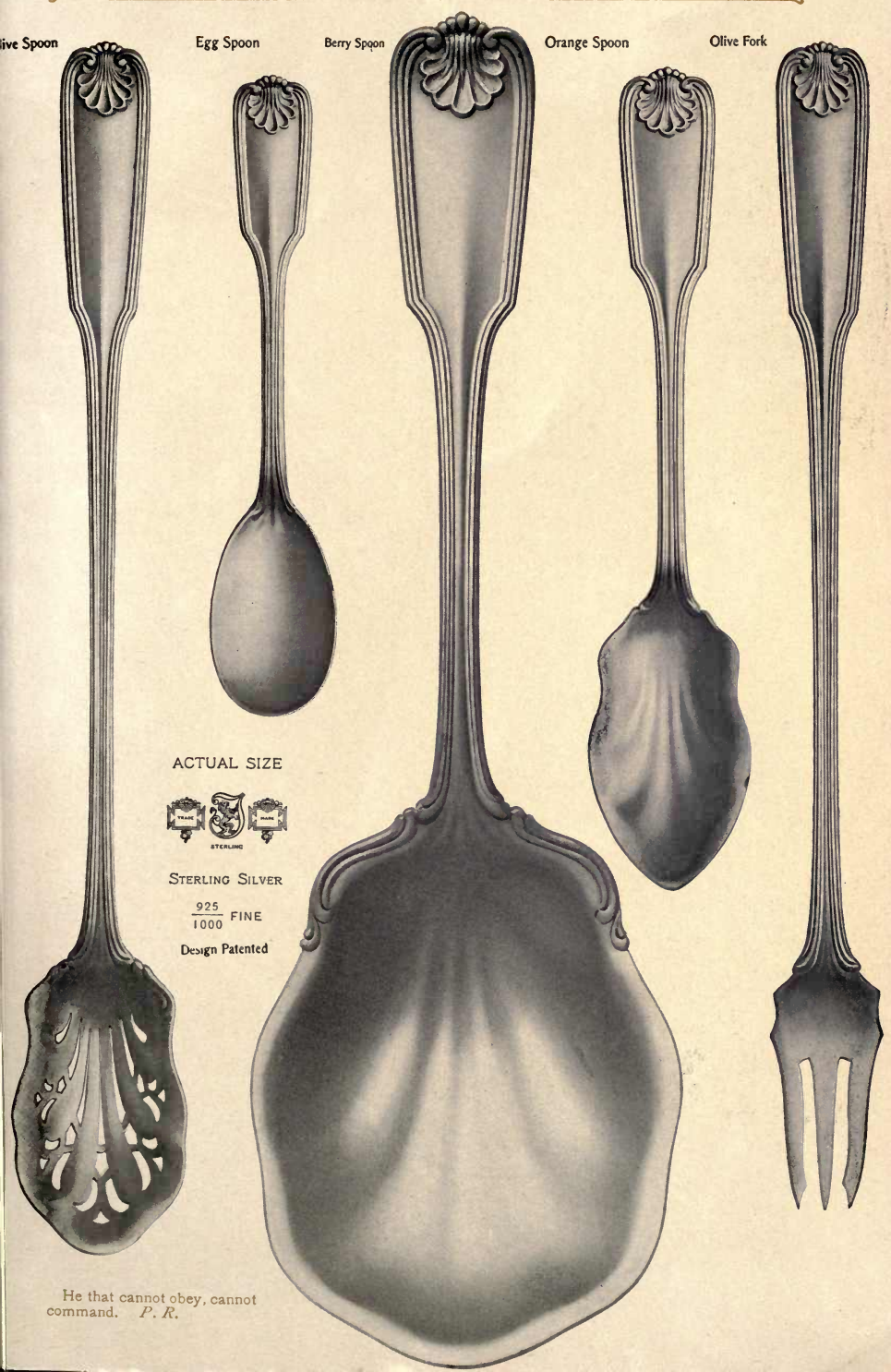
Jelly Spoon

Sugar Spoon

Is't not enough plagues, wars and famine, rise to lash our crimes, but must our wives be wise? *Poor Richard.*

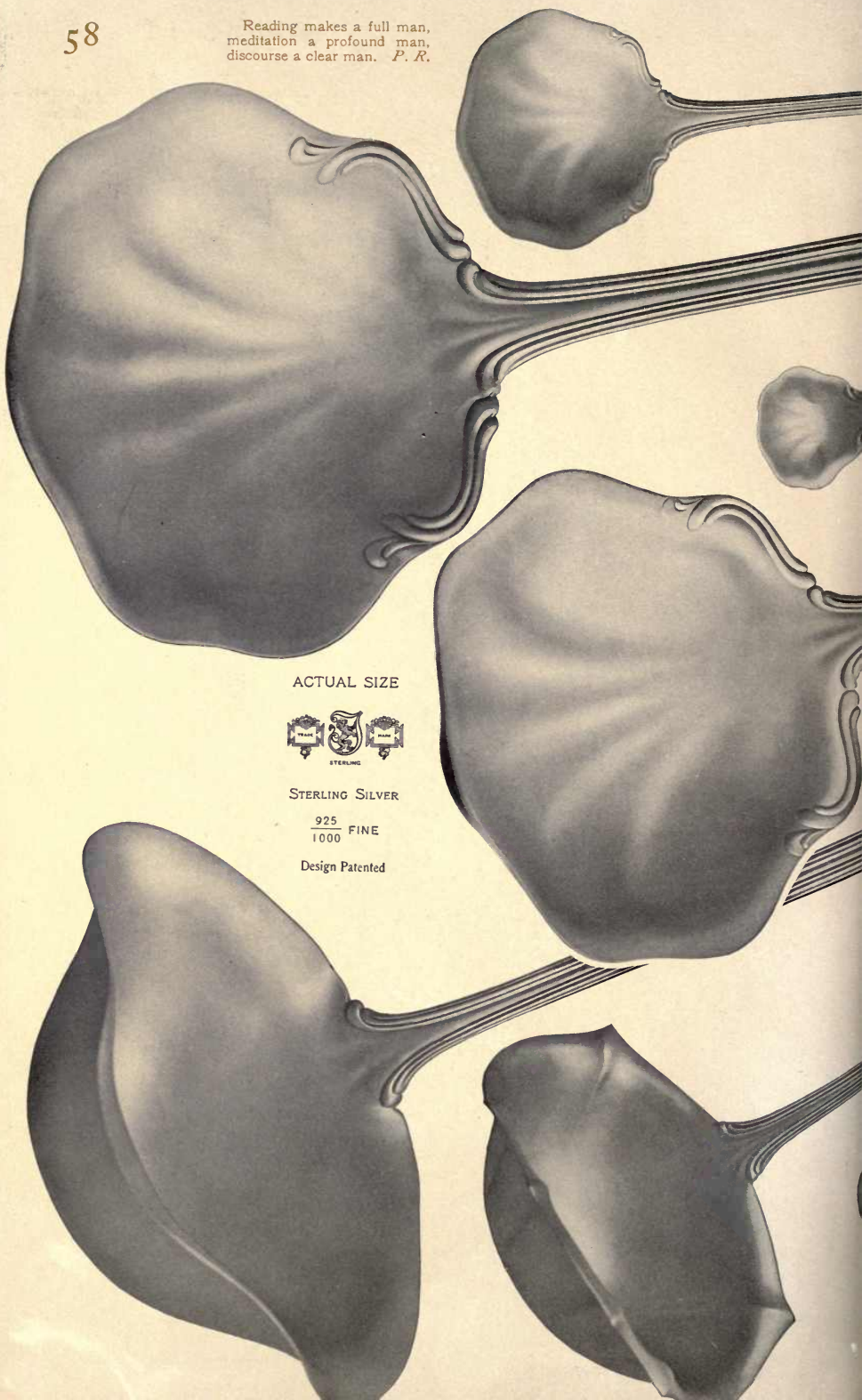
Preserve Spoon





He that cannot obey, cannot command. *P. R.*

Reading makes a full man, meditation a profound man, discourse a clear man. *P. R.*

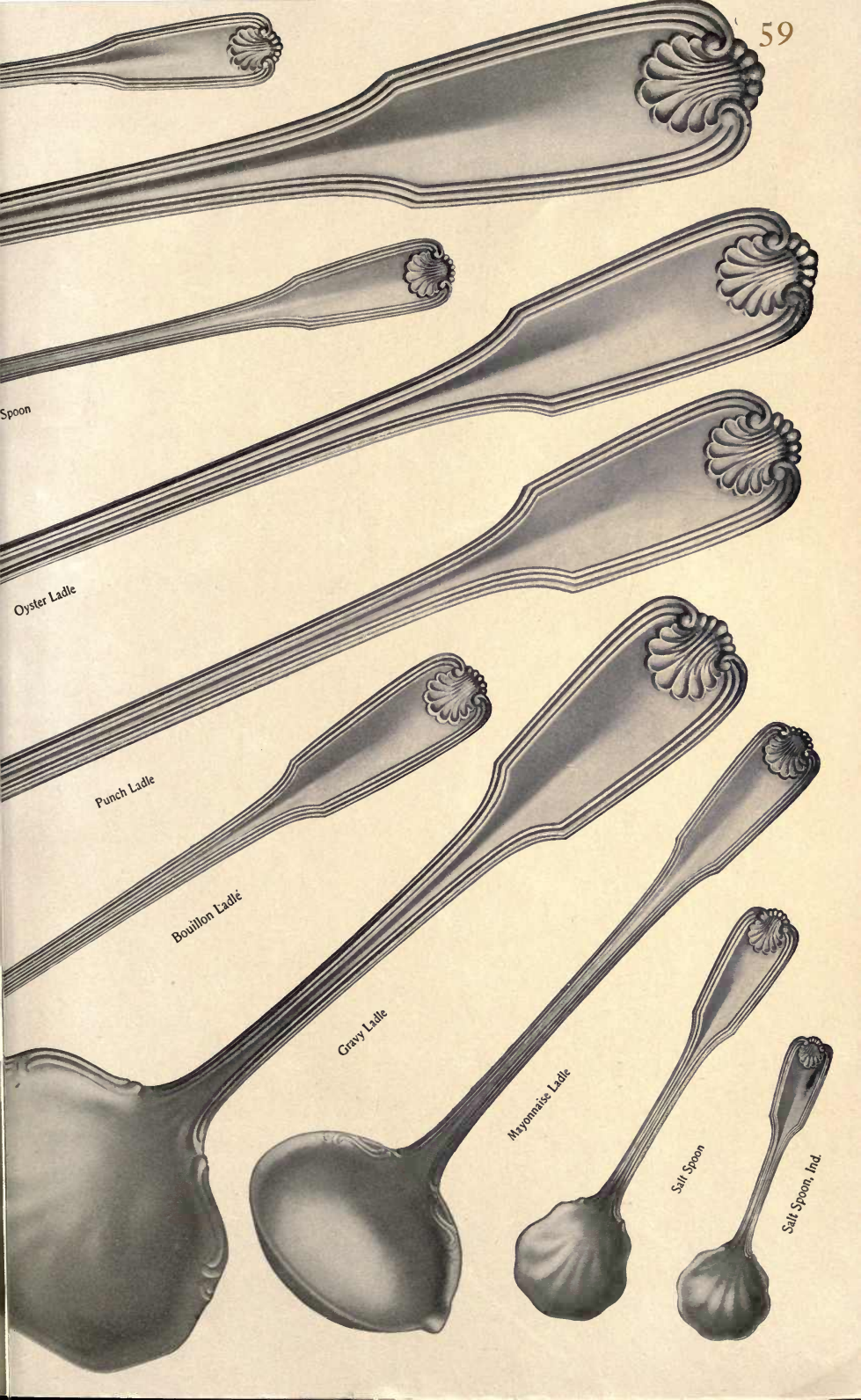


ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Design Patented


Spoon
Oyster Ladle
Punch Ladle
Bouillon Ladle
Gravy Ladle
Mayonnaise Ladle
Salt Spoon
Salt Spoon, Ind.

Lobster Fork

Ideal Olive Spoon and Fork

Horse Radish Spoon

Early to bed and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise. *P. R.*

Butter Pick

Chow Chow Fork

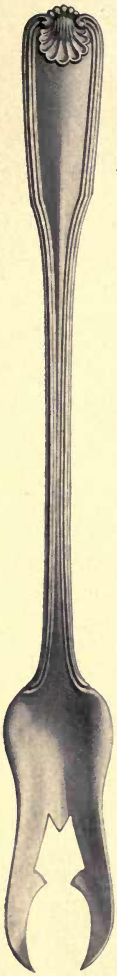
ACTUAL SIZE

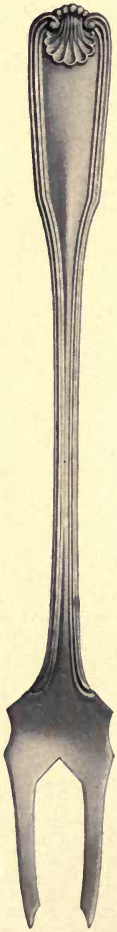
STERLING SILVER

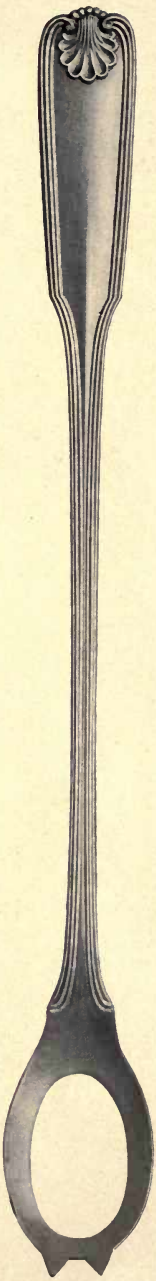
925/1000 FINE

Design Patented

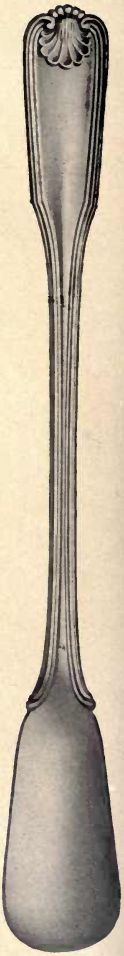
Nut Pick













Terrapin Fork

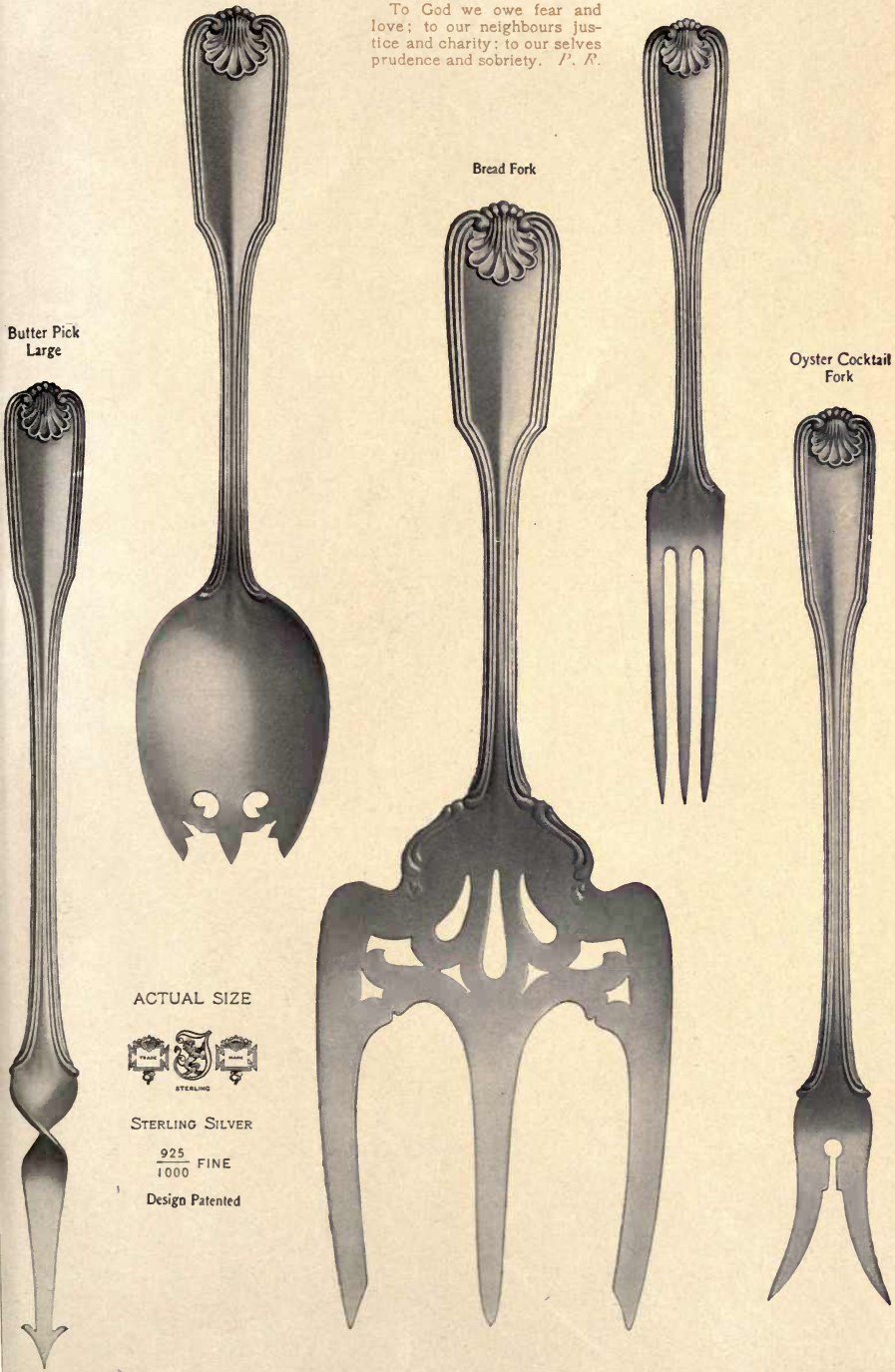
To God we owe fear and love; to our neighbours justice and charity: to our selves prudence and sobriety. *P. R.*

Berry Fork

Bread Fork

Butter Pick Large

Oyster Cocktail Fork

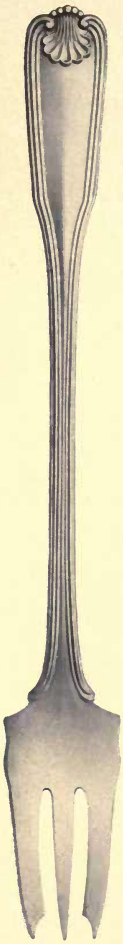


ACTUAL SIZE

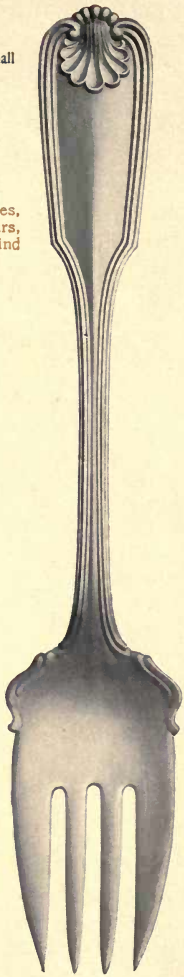
STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

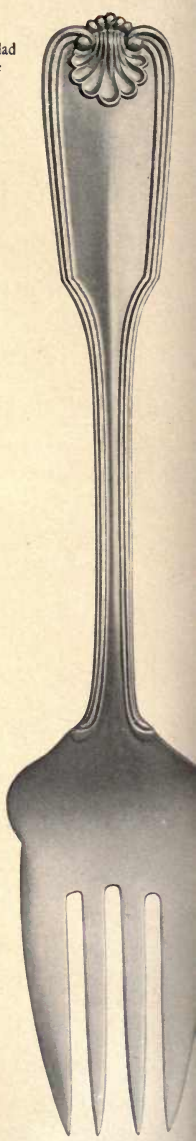
Design Patented



Oyster Fork

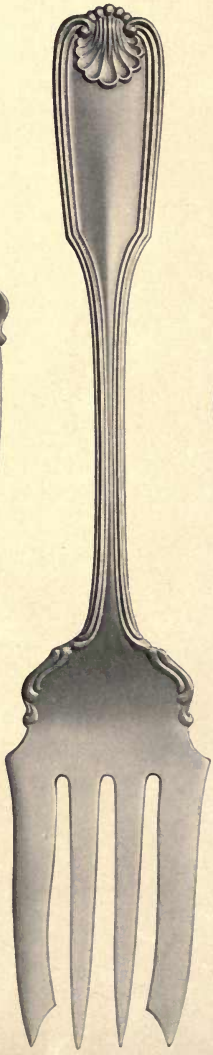


Individual Salad Fork, Small

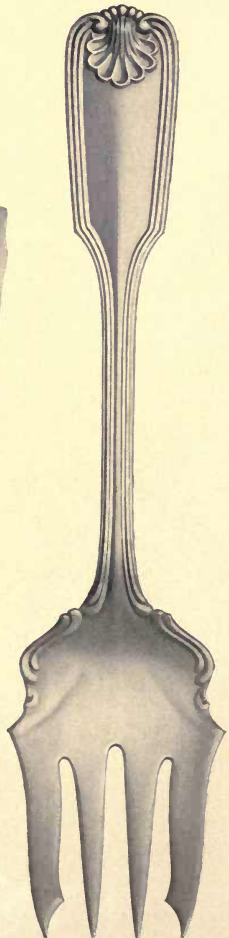


Individual Salad Fork, Large

Be at war with your vices, at peace with your neighbours, and let every new-year find you a better man. *P. R.*



Individual Fish Fork



Beef Fork,

ACTUAL SIZE

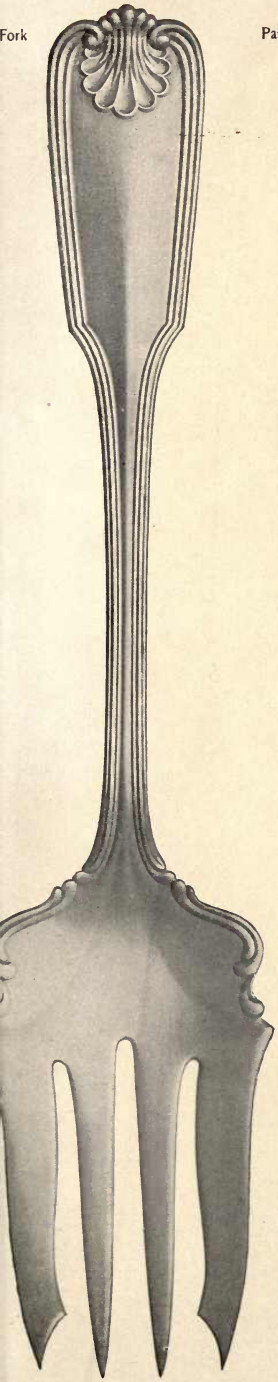
STERLING

STERLING SILVER

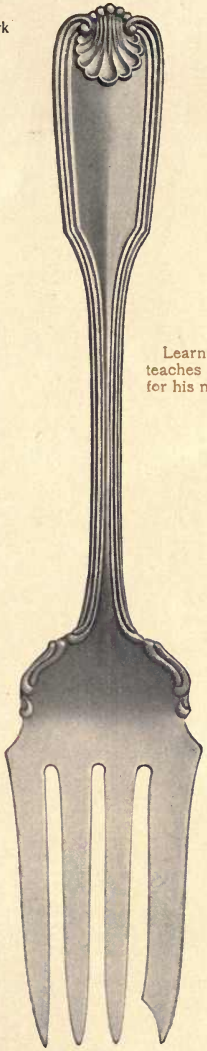
925/1000 FINE

Design Patented

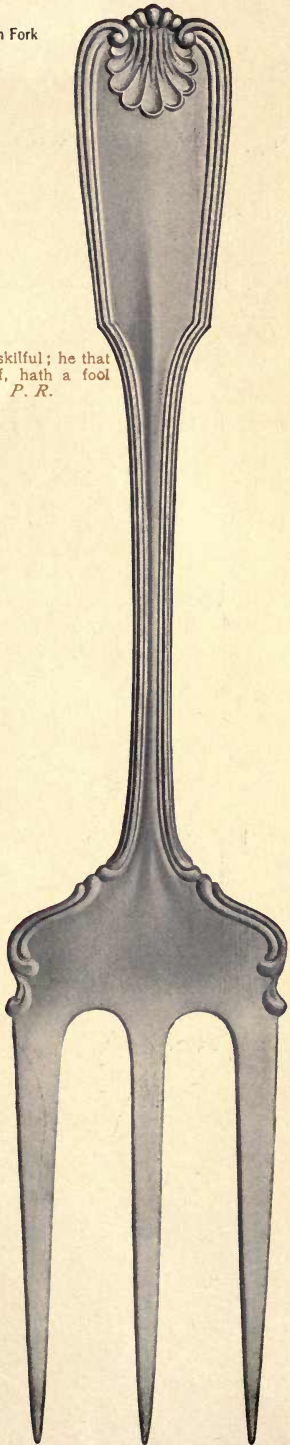
Fork



Pastry Fork



Spinach Fork



Learn of the skilful; he that teaches himself, hath a fool for his master. *P. R.*

ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Design Patented

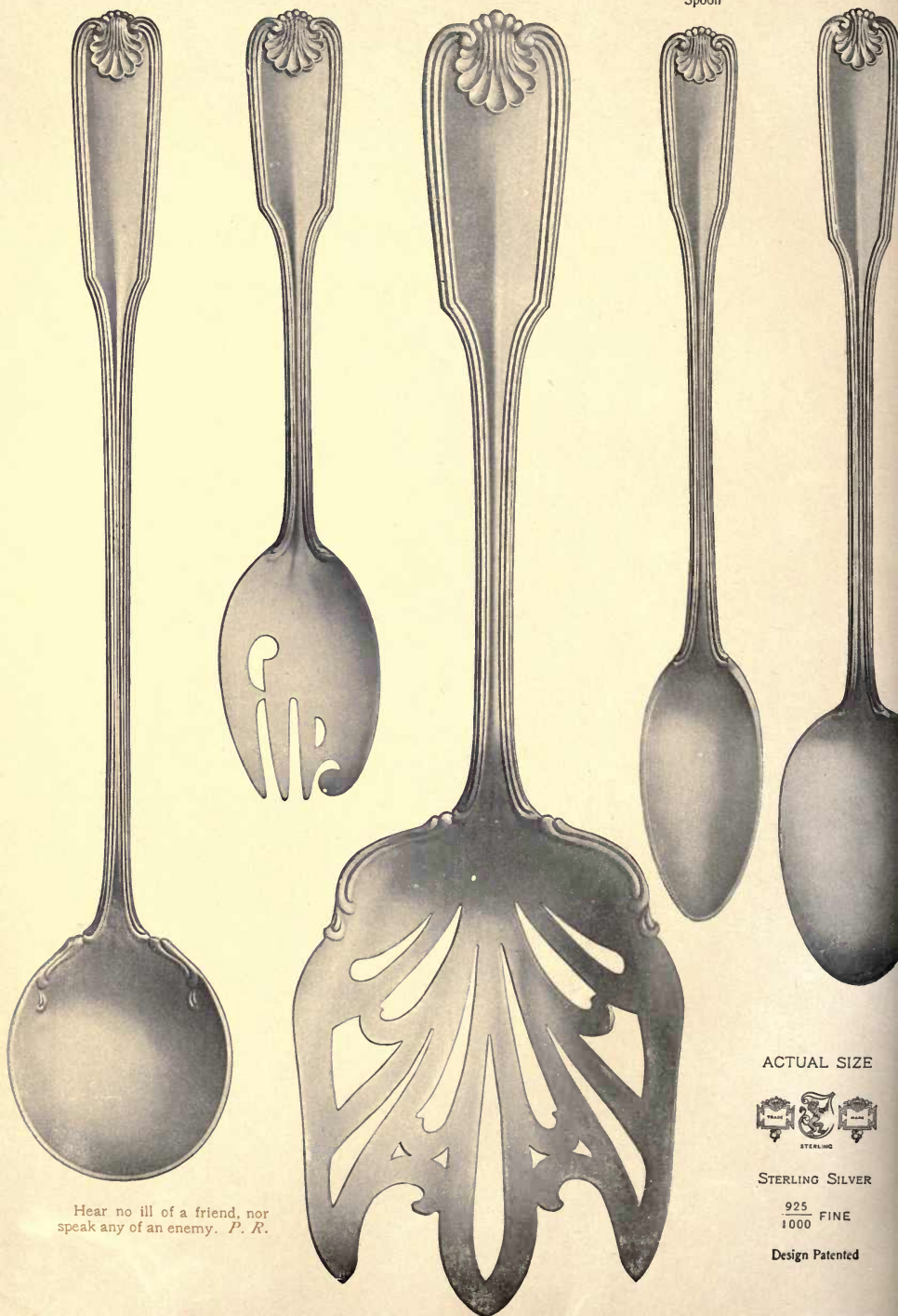
Chocolate Muddler

Ramekin Fork

Vegetable Fork

Chow Chow Spoon

Iced Tea Spoon



Hear no ill of a friend, nor speak any of an enemy. *P. R.*

ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

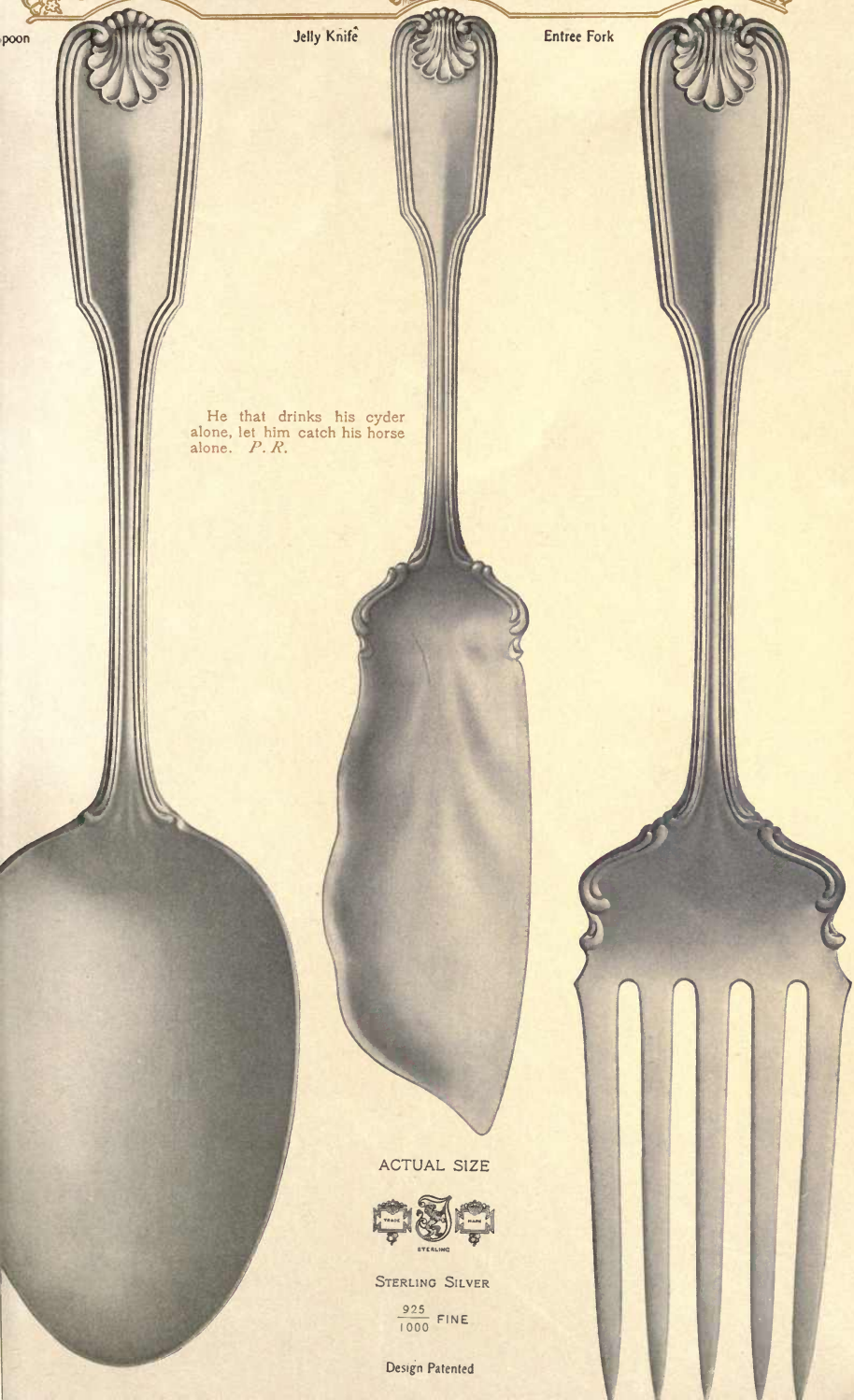
Design Patented

poon

Jelly Knife

Entree Fork

He that drinks his cyder alone, let him catch his horse alone. *P. R.*



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING

STERLING SILVER

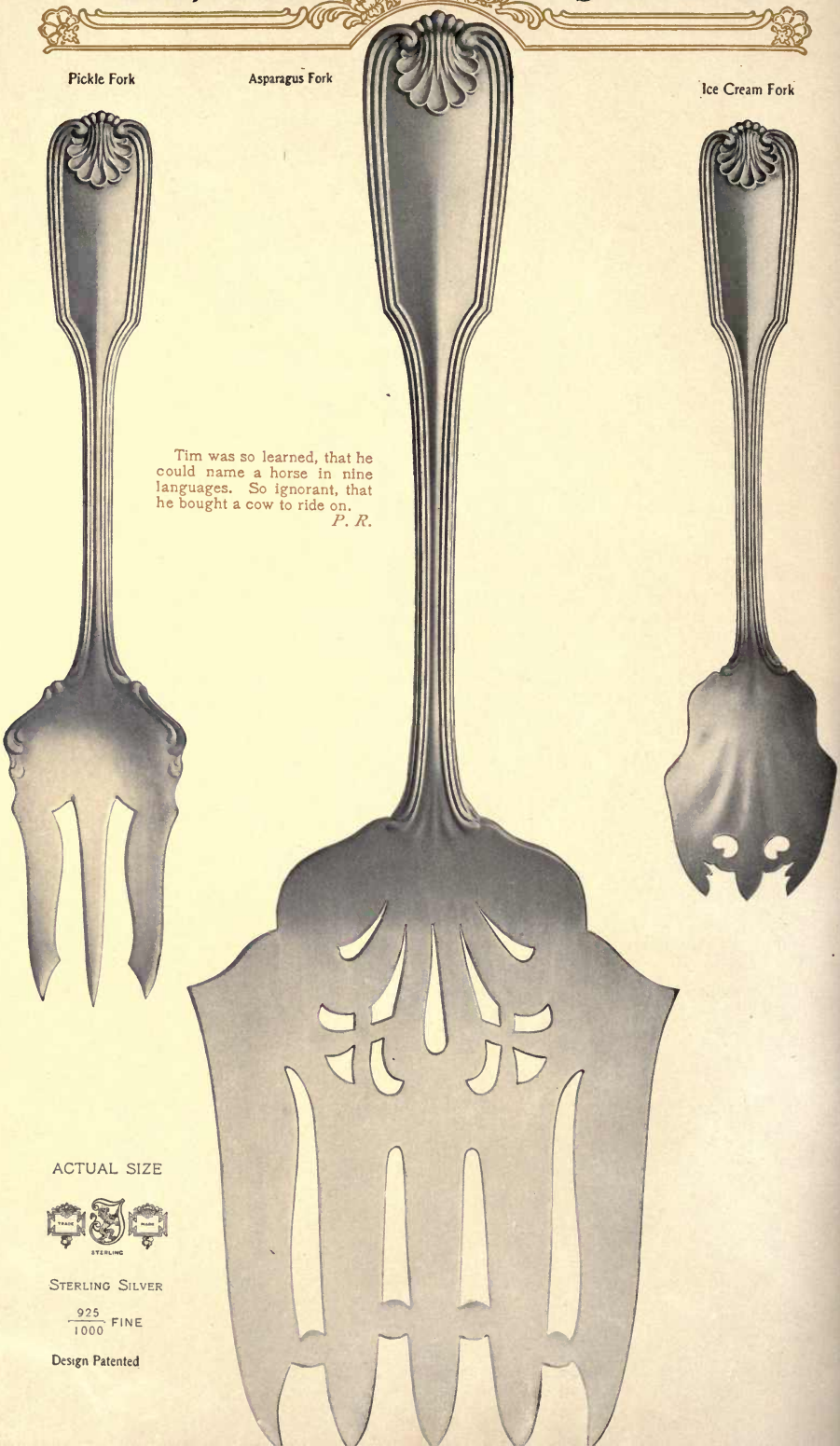
925/1000 FINE

Design Patented

Pickle Fork

Asparagus Fork

Ice Cream Fork



Tim was so learned, that he could name a horse in nine languages. So ignorant, that he bought a cow to ride on.
P. R.

ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

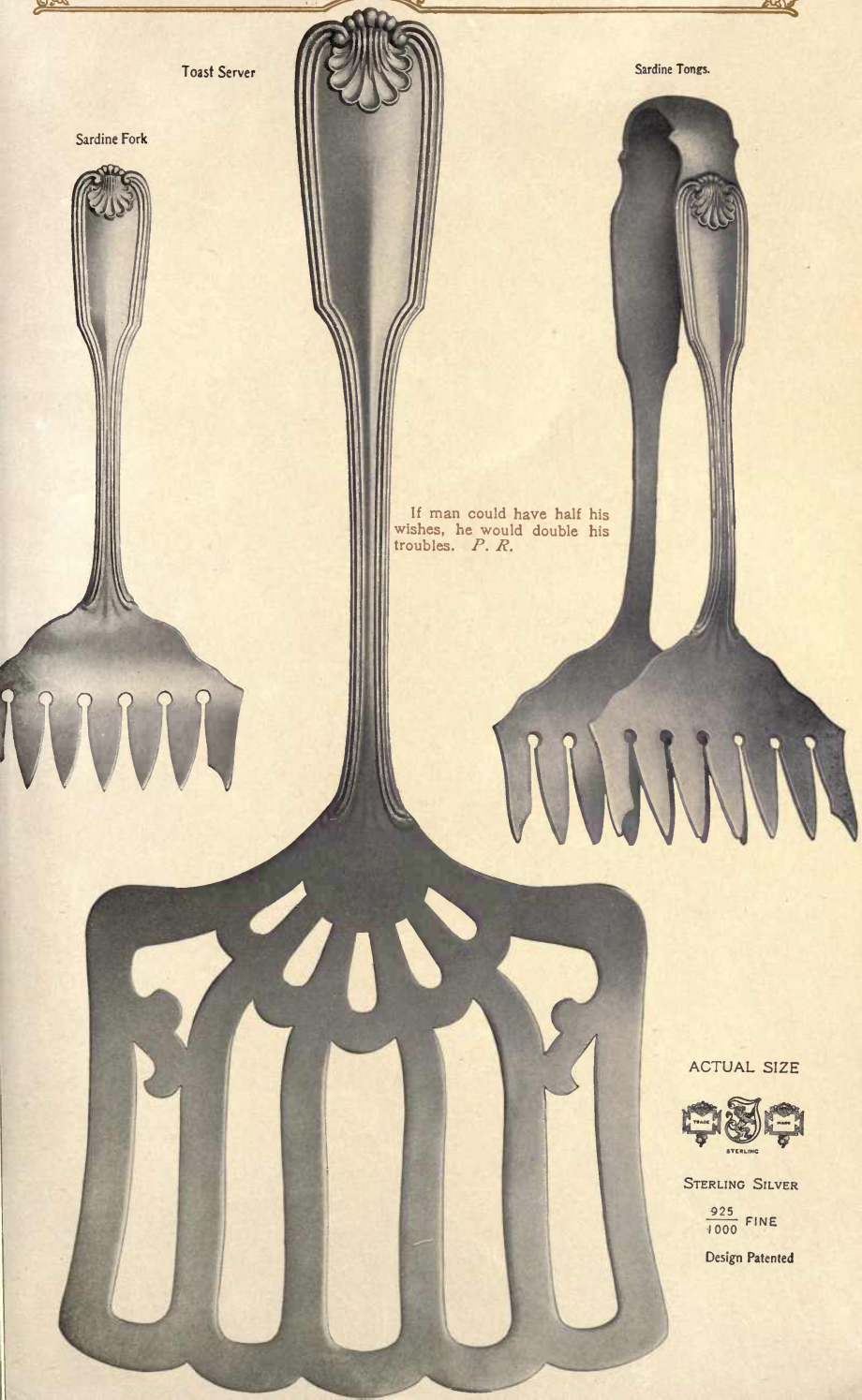
925/1000 FINE

Design Patented

Toast Server

Sardine Fork

Sardine Tongs.



If man could have half his wishes, he would double his troubles. *P. R.*

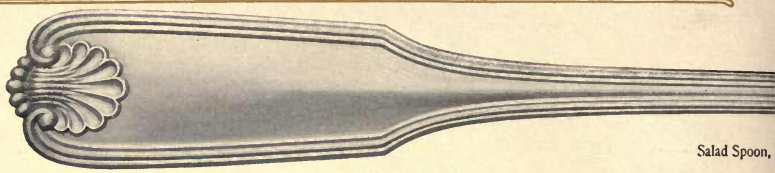
ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING

STERLING SILVER

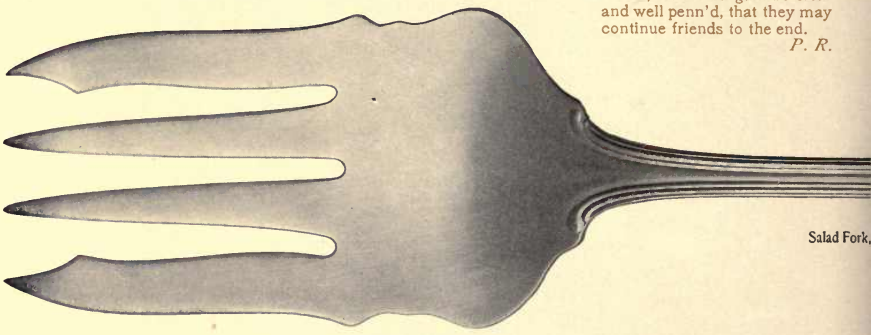
$\frac{925}{1000}$ FINE

Design Patented

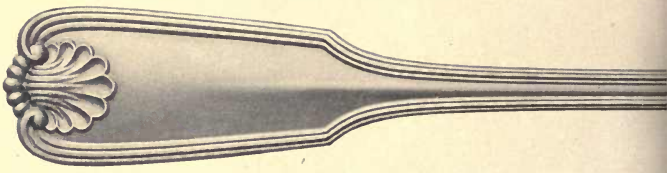


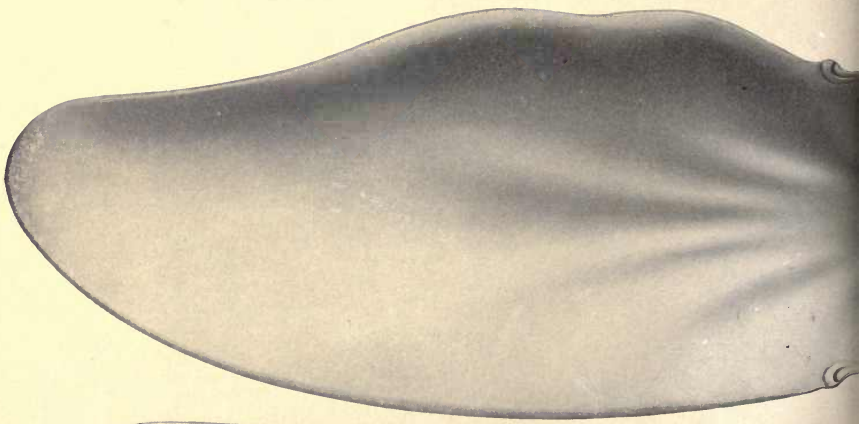
Salad Spoon,

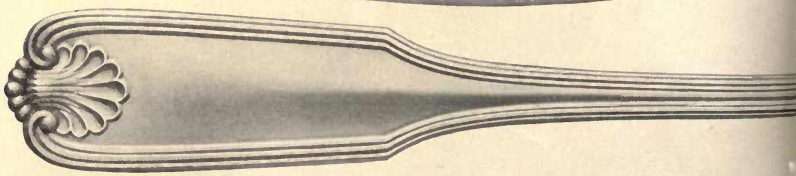
When a friend deals with a friend, let the bargain be clear and well penn'd, that they may continue friends to the end.
P. R.



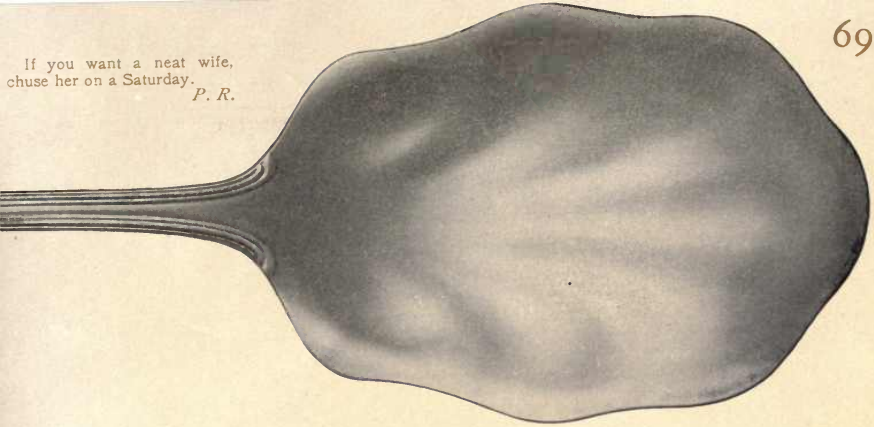
Salad Fork,

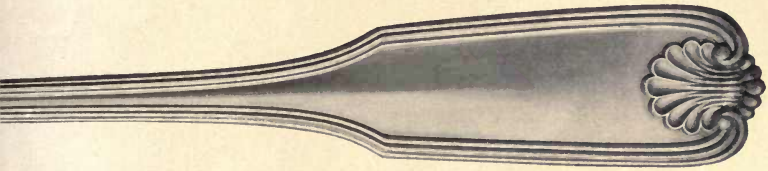






If you want a neat wife,
chuse her on a Saturday.
P. R.





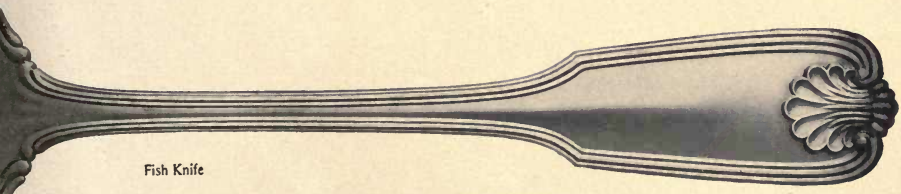


ACTUAL SIZE

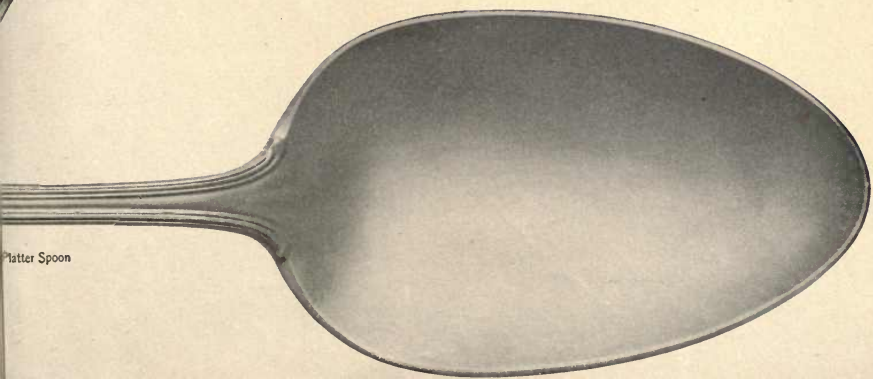
STERLING SILVER.

925/1000 FINE

Design Patented



Fish Knife



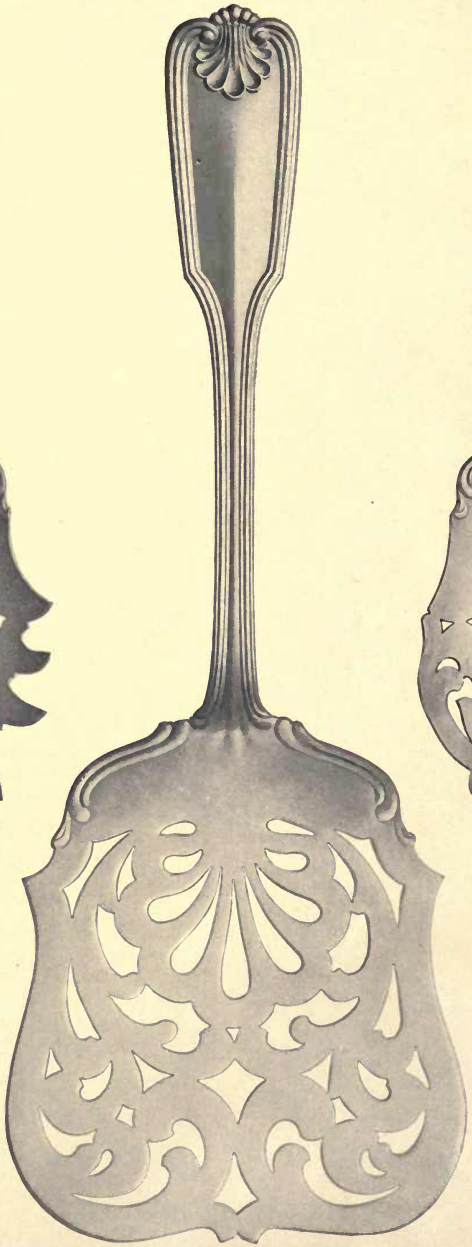
Platter Spoon

Most people return small favours, acknowledge middling ones, and repay great ones with ingratitude. *P. R.*

Cheese Server



Waffle Server



Lemon Server



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Design Patented

ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Design Patented

Patty Server

Confection Spoon

Don't go to the doctor with every distemper, nor to the lawyer with every quarrel, nor to the pot for every thirst.

P. R.

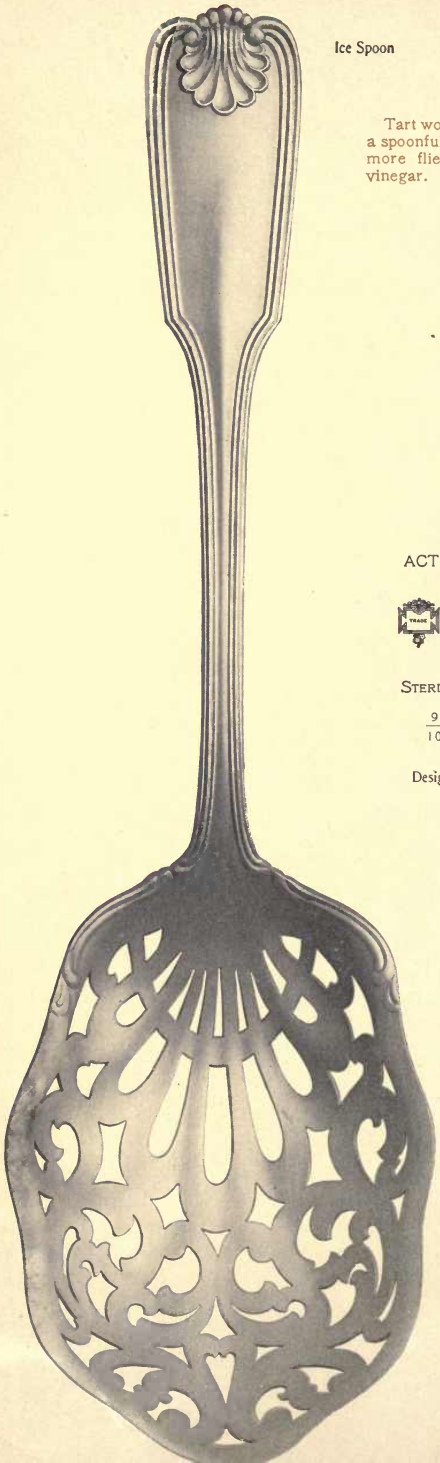
Tomato Server

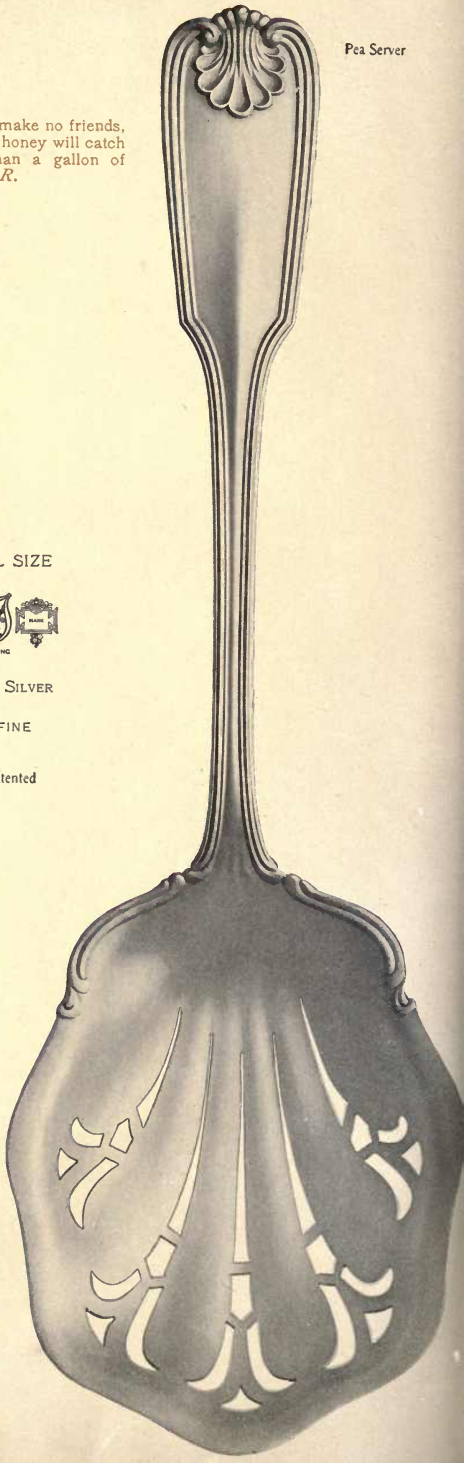


Ice Spoon

Pea Server

Tart words make no friends, a spoonful of honey will catch more flies than a gallon of vinegar. *P. R.*





ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING

STERLING SILVER

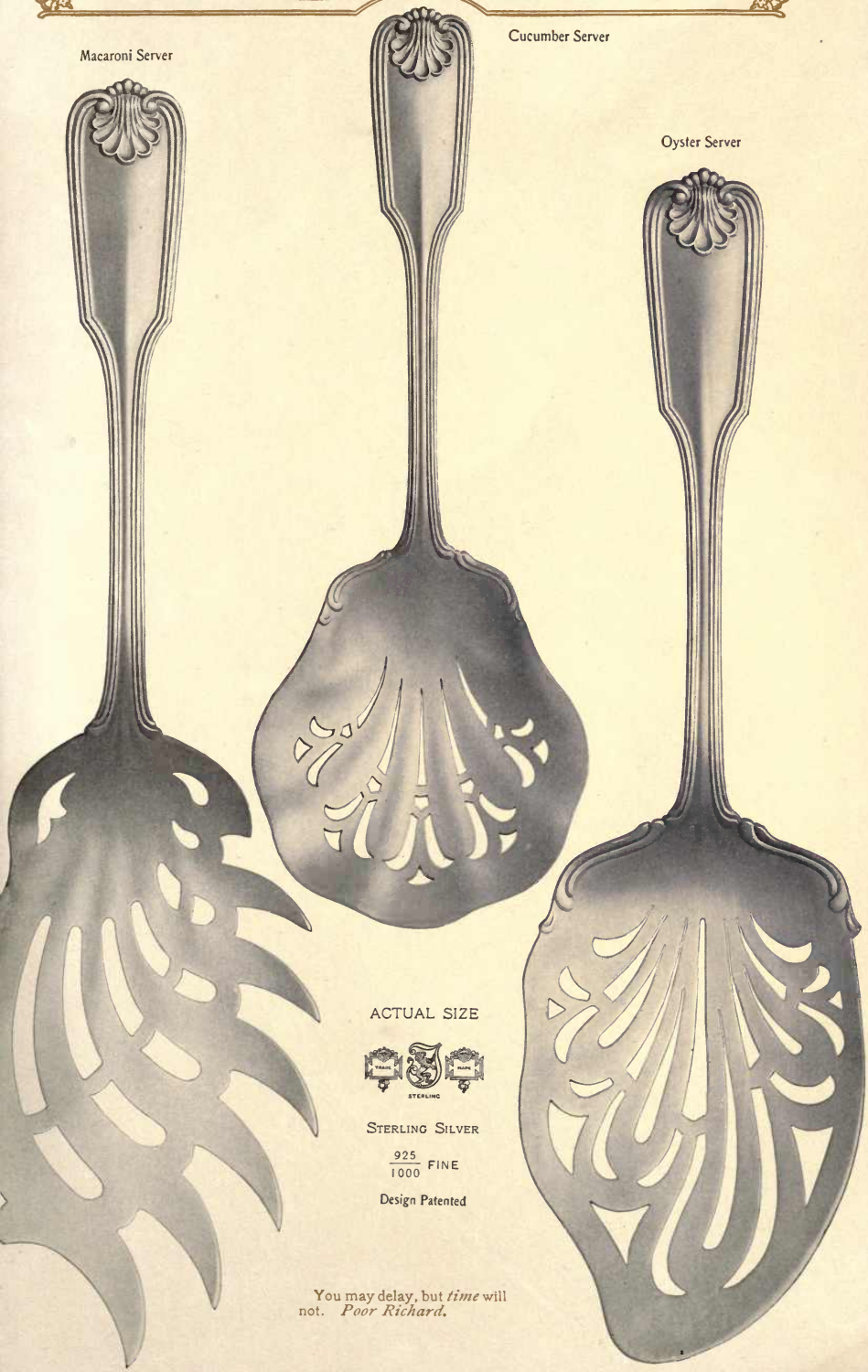
925/1000 FINE

Design Patented

Macaroni Server

Cucumber Server

Oyster Server



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

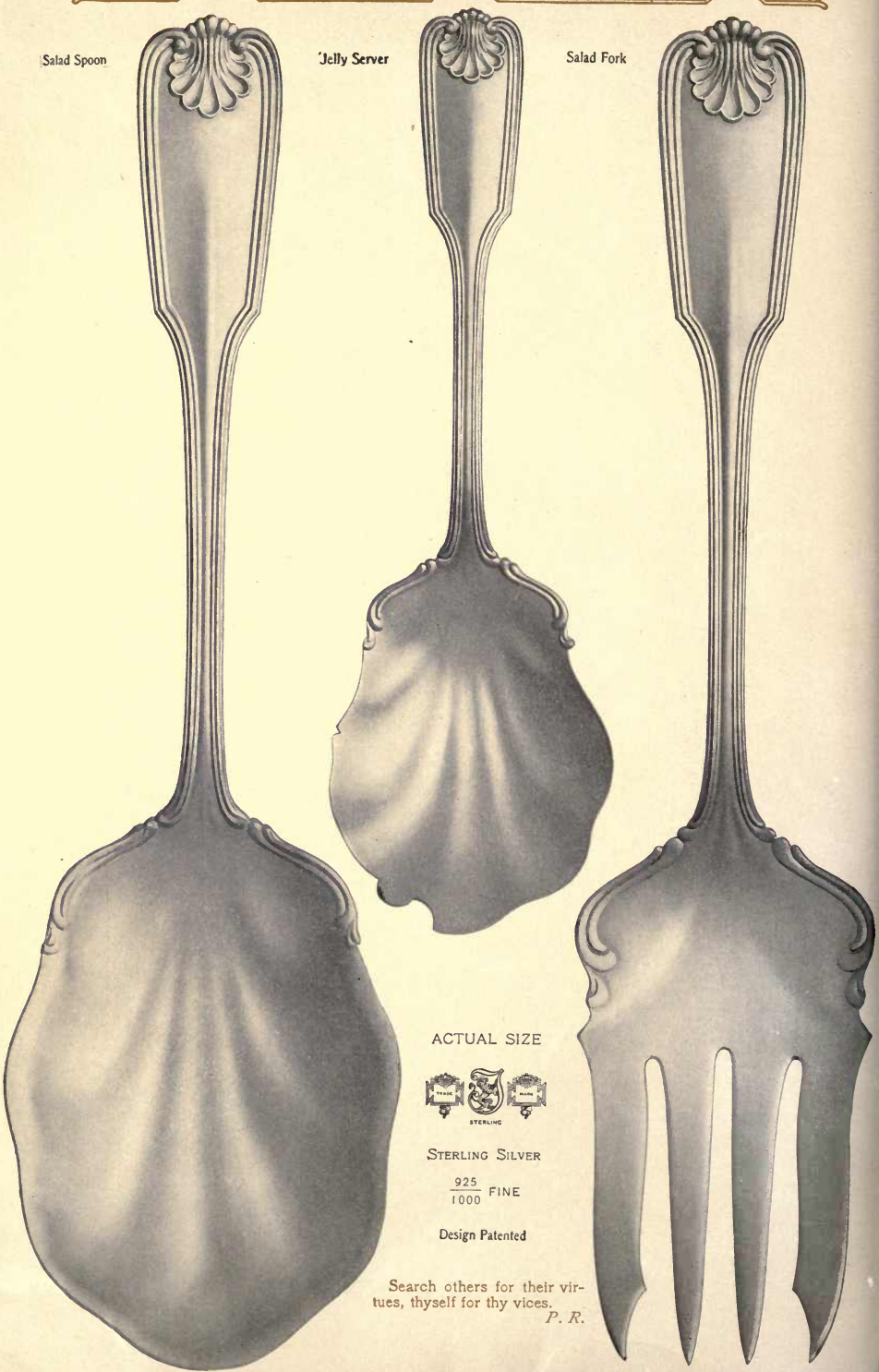
Design Patented

You may delay, but *time* will not. *Poor Richard.*

Salad Spoon

Jelly Server

Salad Fork



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING

STERLING SILVER

$\frac{925}{1000}$ FINE

Design Patented

Search others for their virtues, thyself for thy vices.
P. R.

Vegetable Spoon

Pudding Spoon

If worldly goods cannot save
me from death, they ought not
to hinder me of eternal life.
P. R.

ACTUAL SIZE

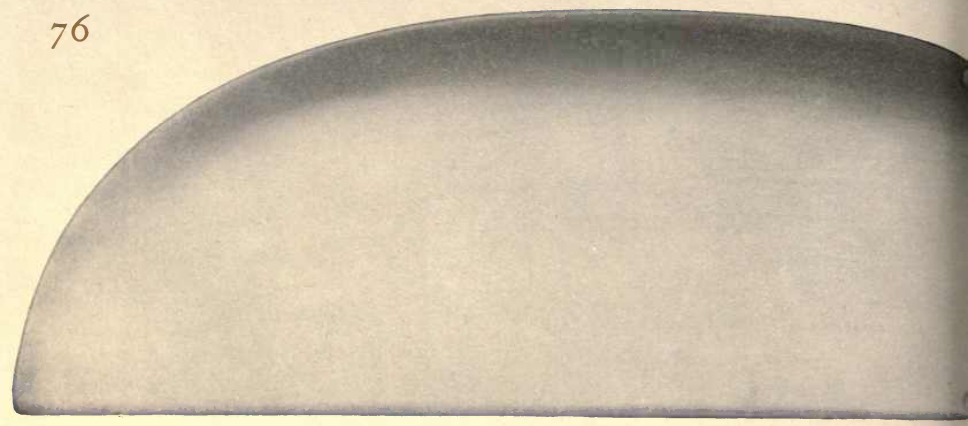
STERLING

STERLING SILVER

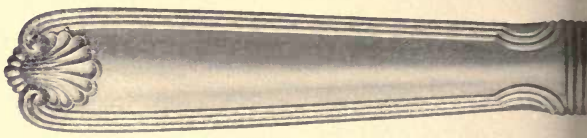
925/1000 FINE

Design Patented

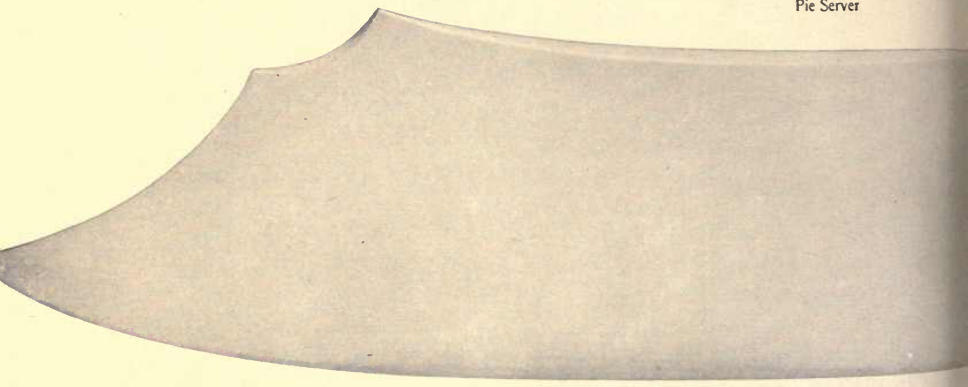




Experience keeps a dear school, yet fools will learn in no other. *P. R.*



Pie Server



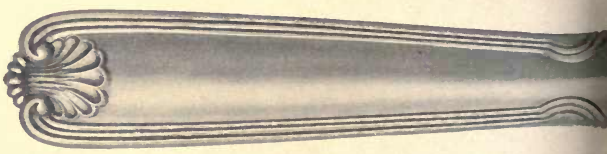
ACTUAL SIZE

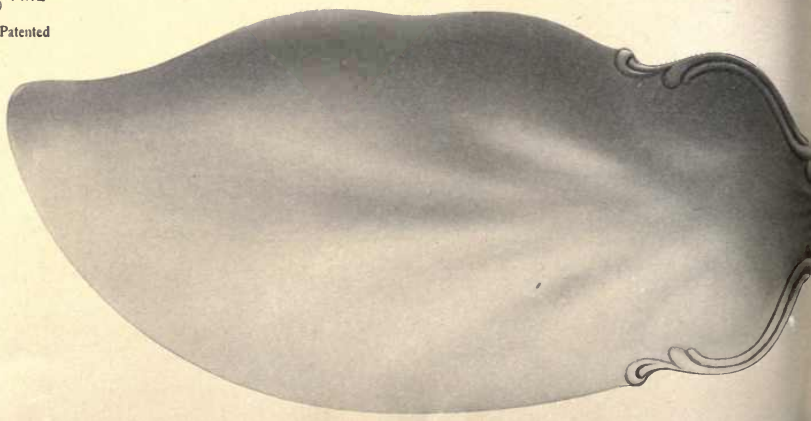


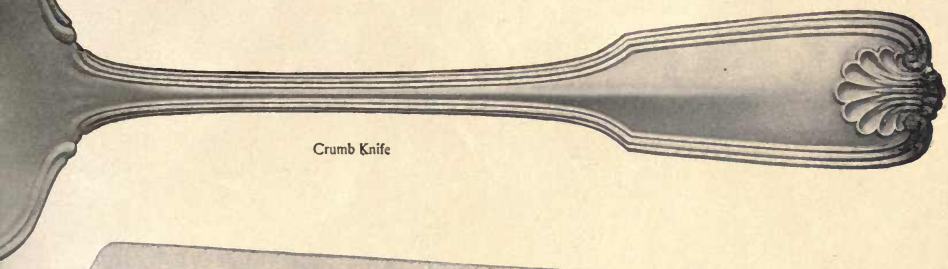
STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Design Patented





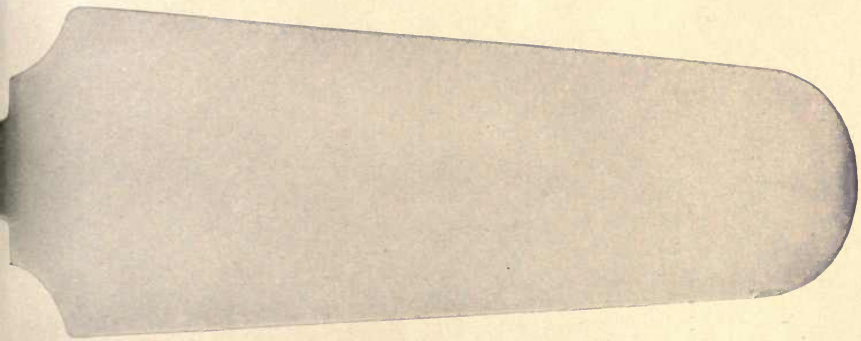


Crumb Knife

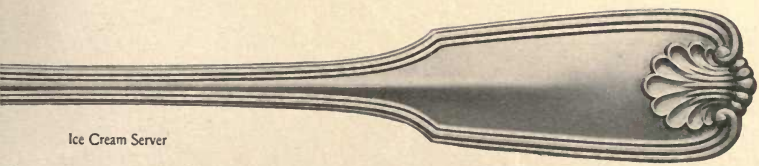




Ice Cream Slicer, H.H.



Ice Creeam Slicer, H.H.
Plated Steel Blade



Ice Cream Server

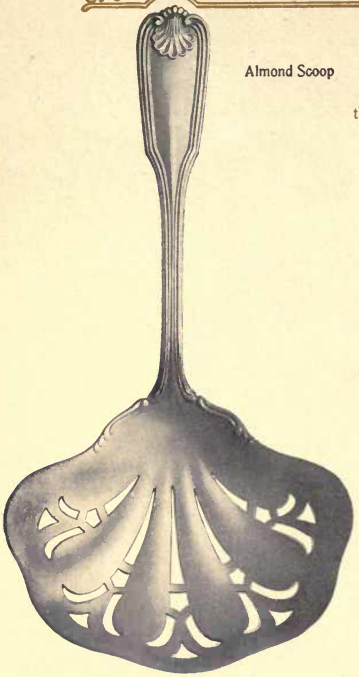
What you would seem to be,
be really. *P. R.*

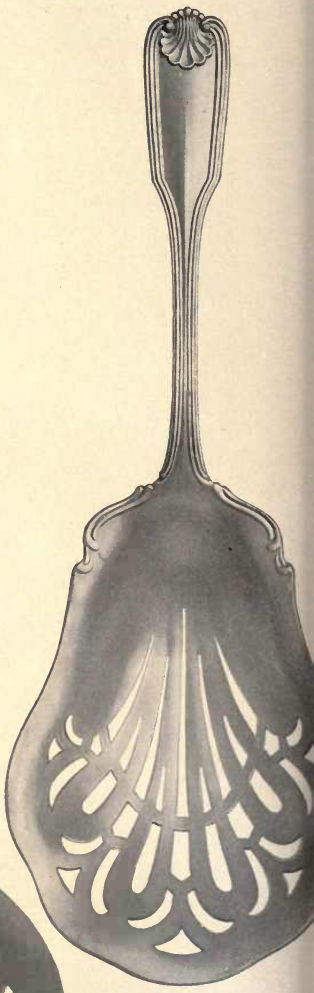
Almond Scoop

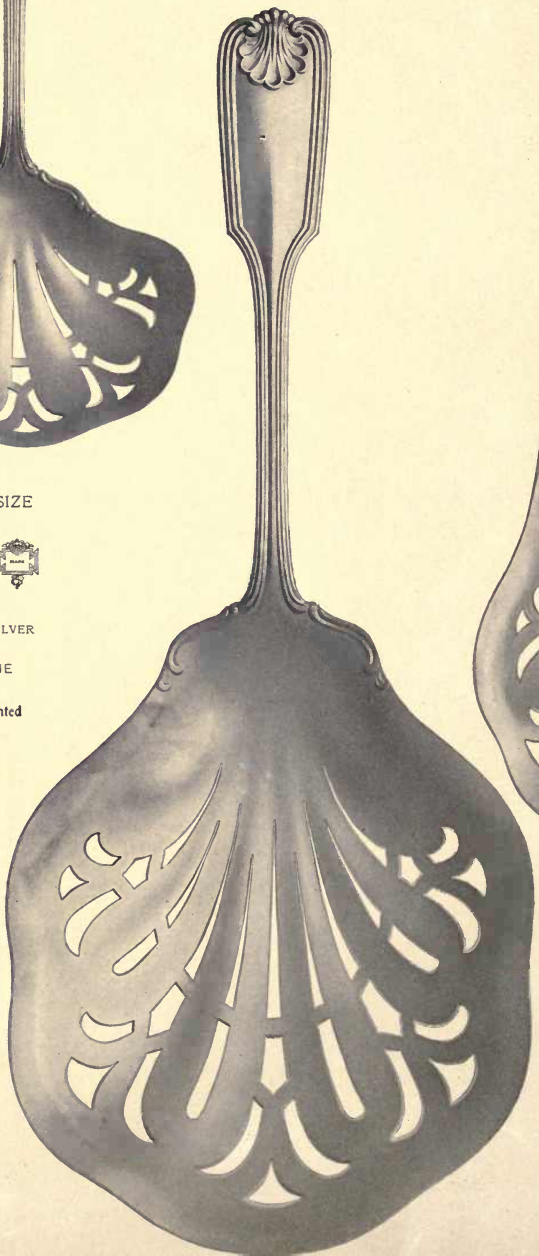
Bonbon Scoop

Better is a little with content
than much with contention.
P. R.

Cracker Scoop







ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

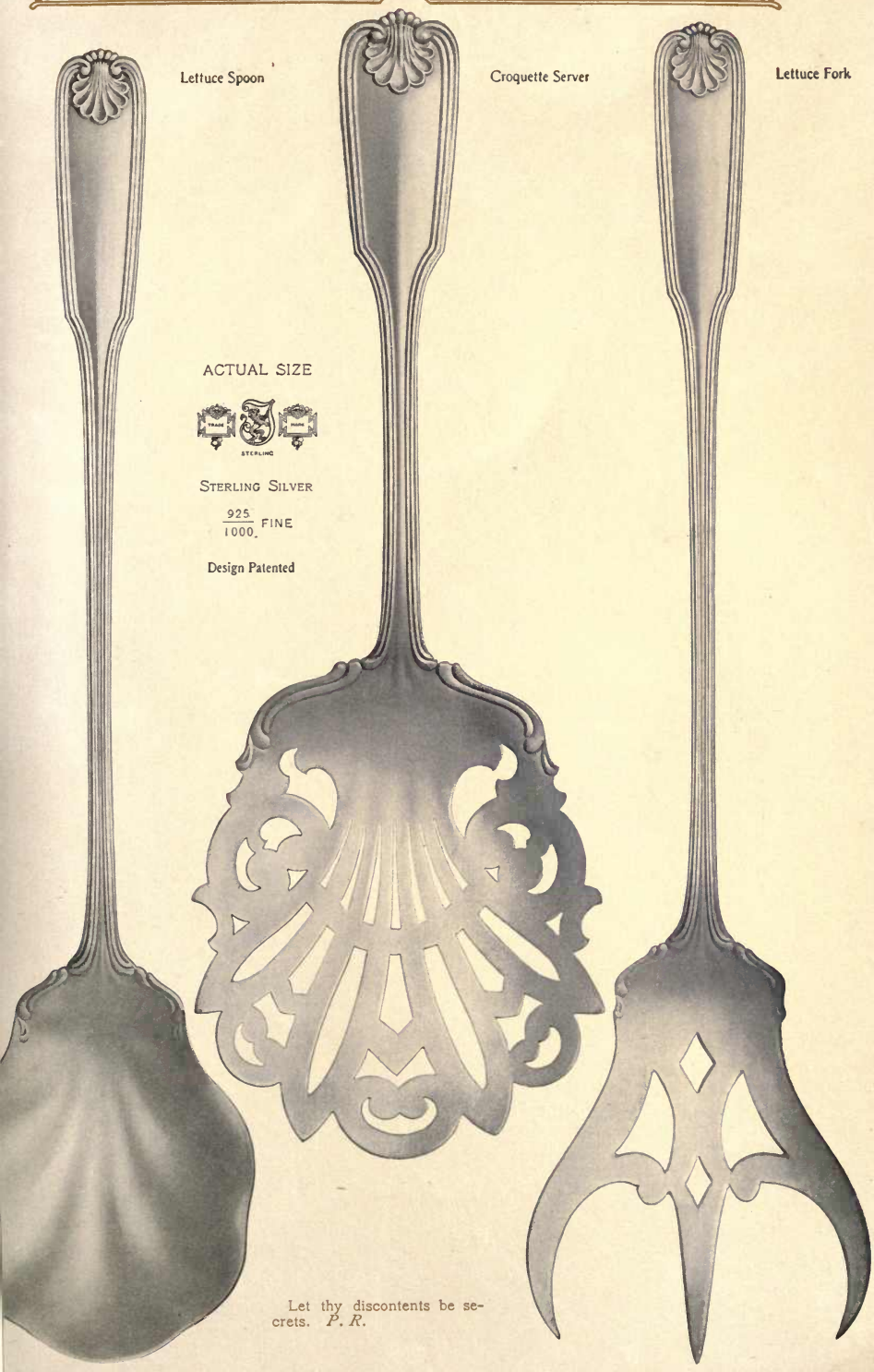
925/1000 FINE

Design Patented

Lettuce Spoon

Croquette Server

Lettuce Fork



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Design Patented

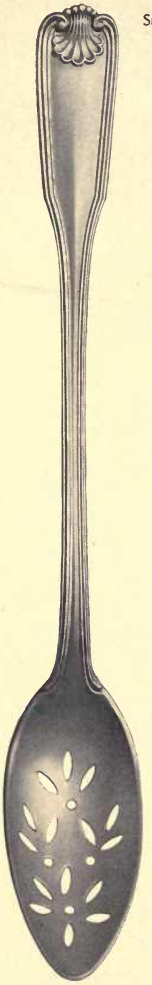
Let thy discontents be secrets. *P. R.*

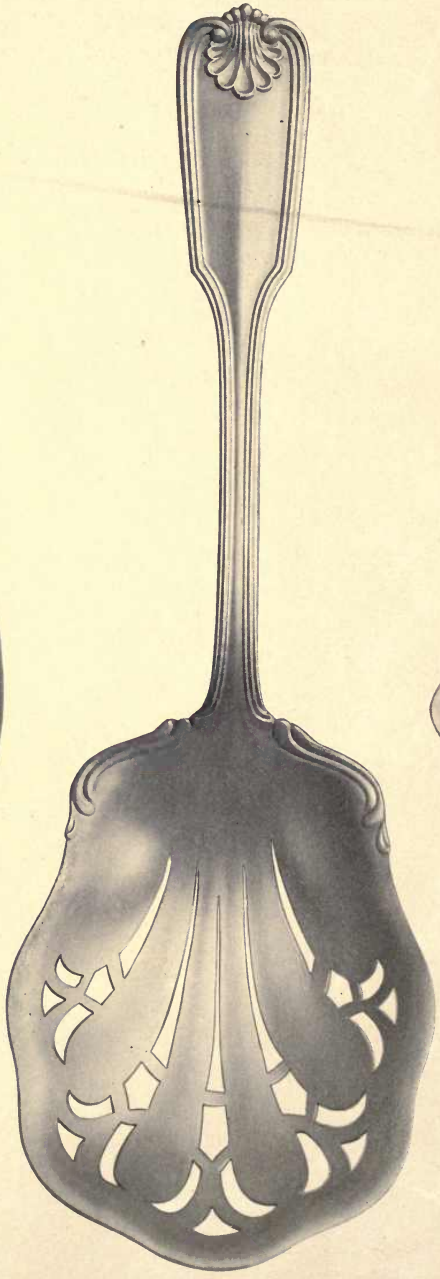
Small Olive Spoon

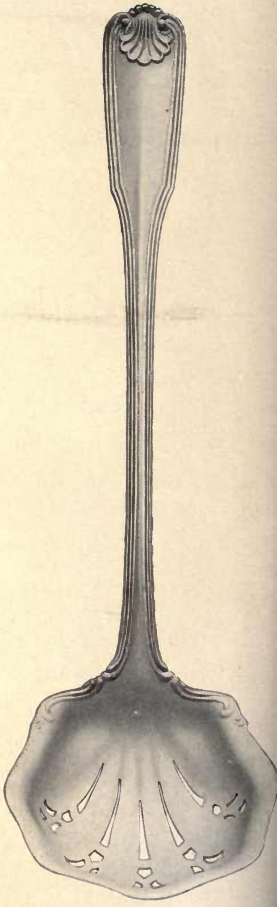
Wealth is not his that has it
but his that enjoys it. *P. R.*

Nut Spoon

Sugar Sifter







ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

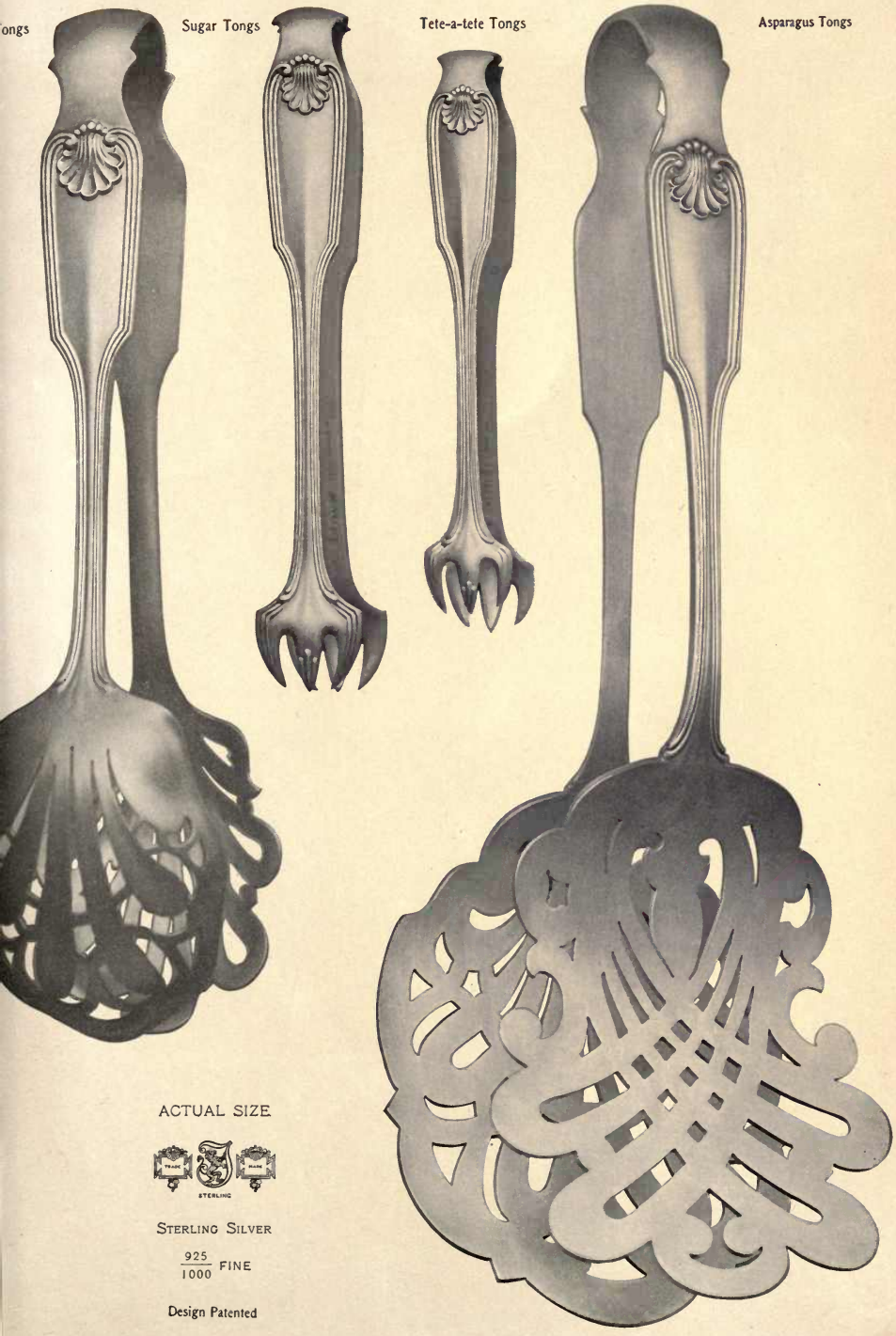
Design Patented

Tongs

Sugar Tongs

Tete-a-tete Tongs

Asparagus Tongs



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING

STERLING SILVER

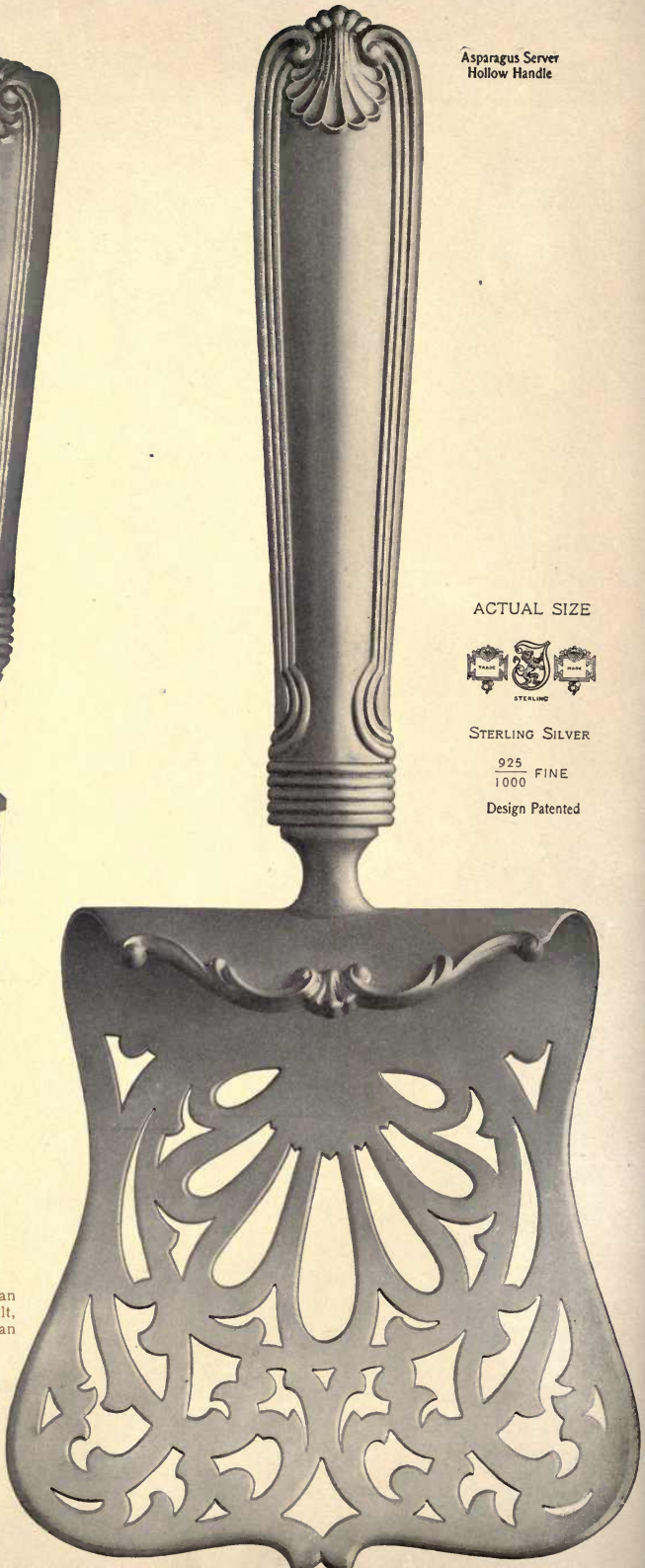
925/1000 FINE

Design Patented

Nut Crack



Asparagus Server
Hollow Handle



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

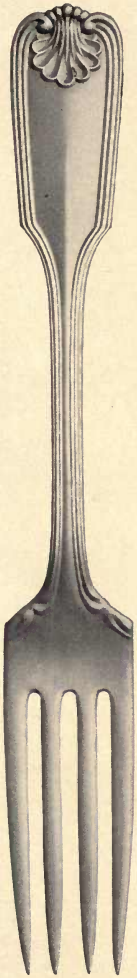
Design Patented

None but the well-bred man knows how to confess a fault, or acknowledge himself in an error. *Poor Richard.*

Child's Knife



Child's Fork



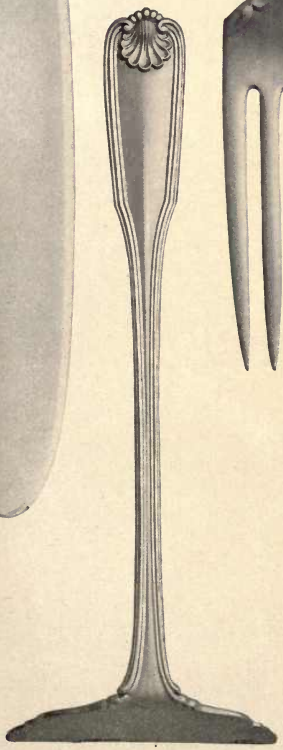
Fruit Fork
Hollow Handle
Plated Steel Tines



Child's Knife, H.H.



Food Pusher



Cheese Scoop



Hunger never saw bad bread.
P. R.

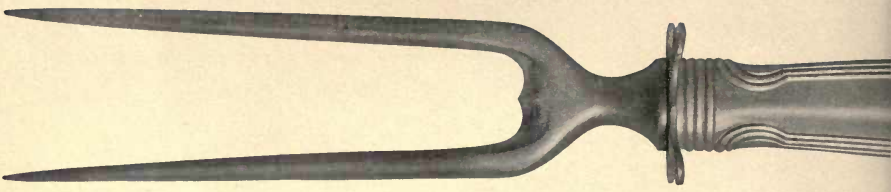
ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Design Patented



Roast Holder, Sma

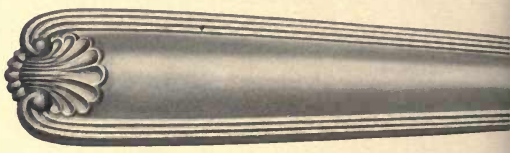
ACTUAL SIZE



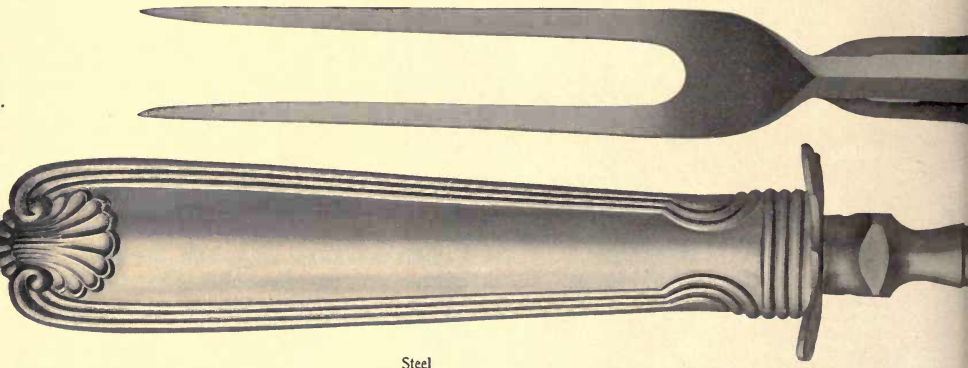
STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

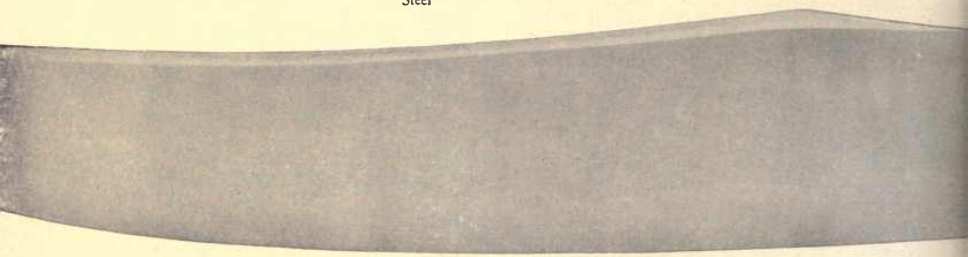
Design Patented

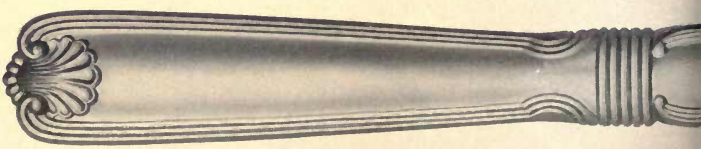


Roast Holder, Larg

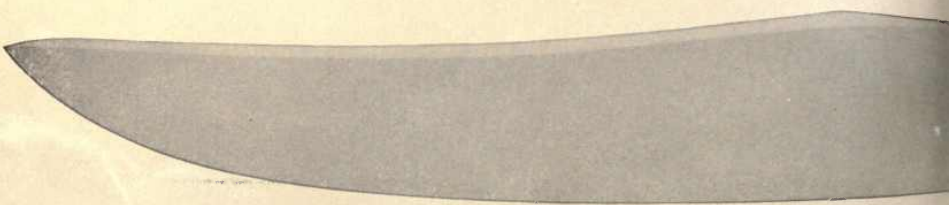


Steel



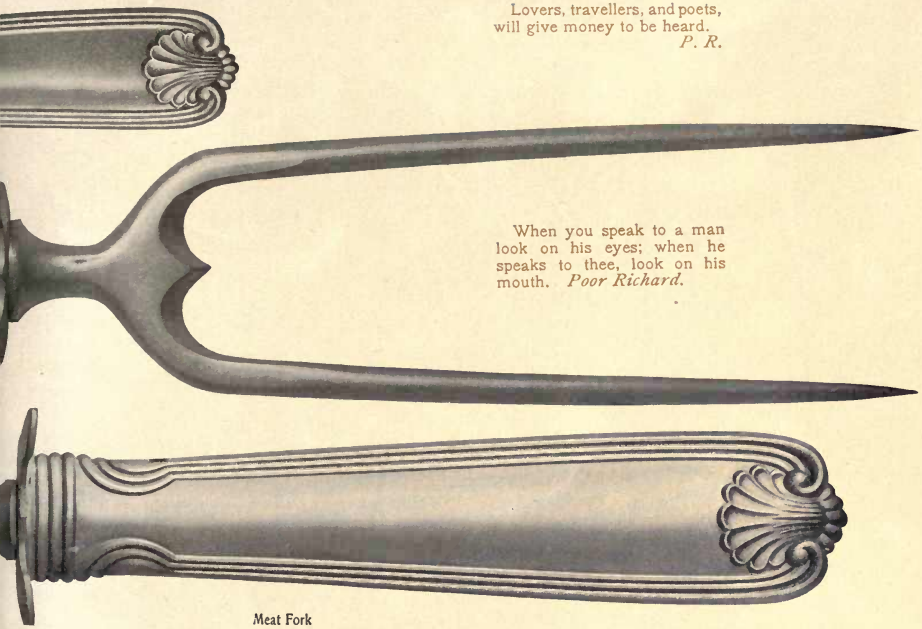


Game Fork

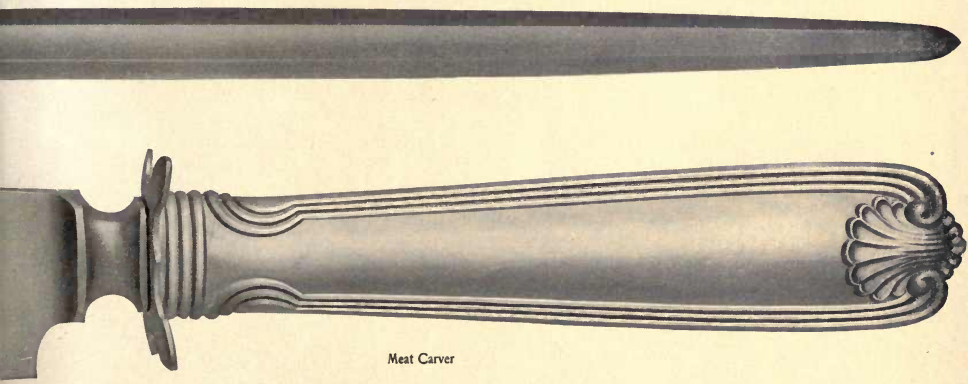


Lovers, travellers, and poets,
will give money to be heard.
P. R.

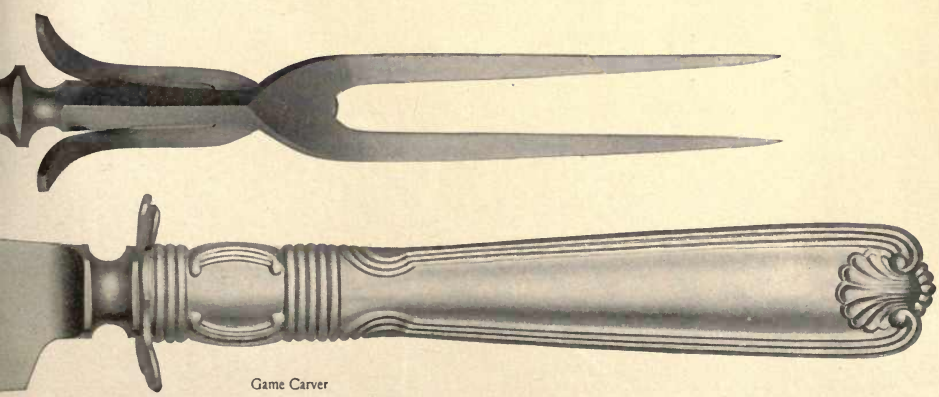
When you speak to a man
look on his eyes; when he
speaks to thee, look on his
mouth. *Poor Richard.*



Meat Fork



Meat Carver



Game Carver

Individual Fish Knife

Butter Knife Bent

Fruit Knife

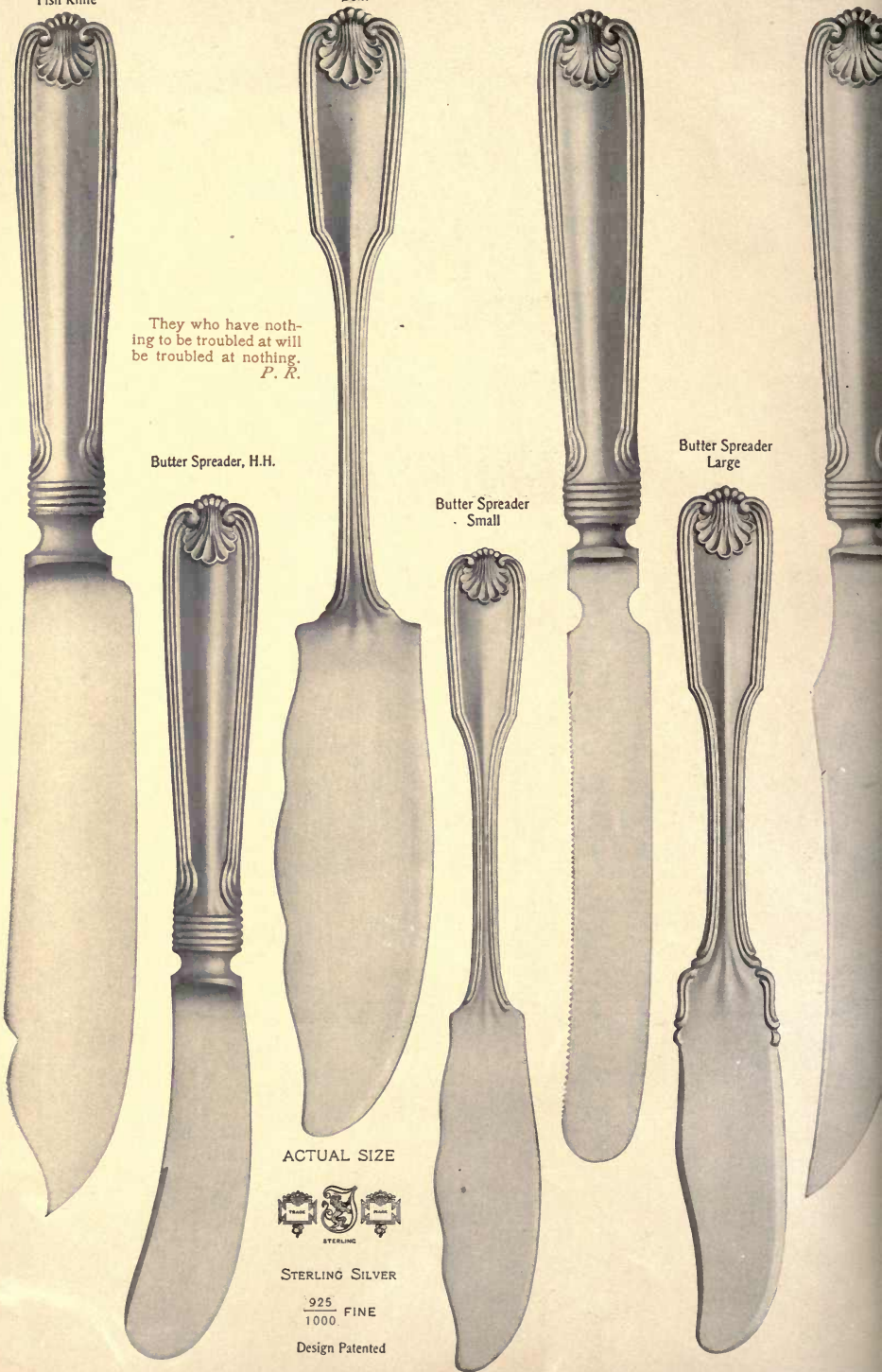
Duck Kni

They who have nothing to be troubled at will be troubled at nothing.
P. R.

Butter Spreader, H.H.

Butter Spreader Small

Butter Spreader Large



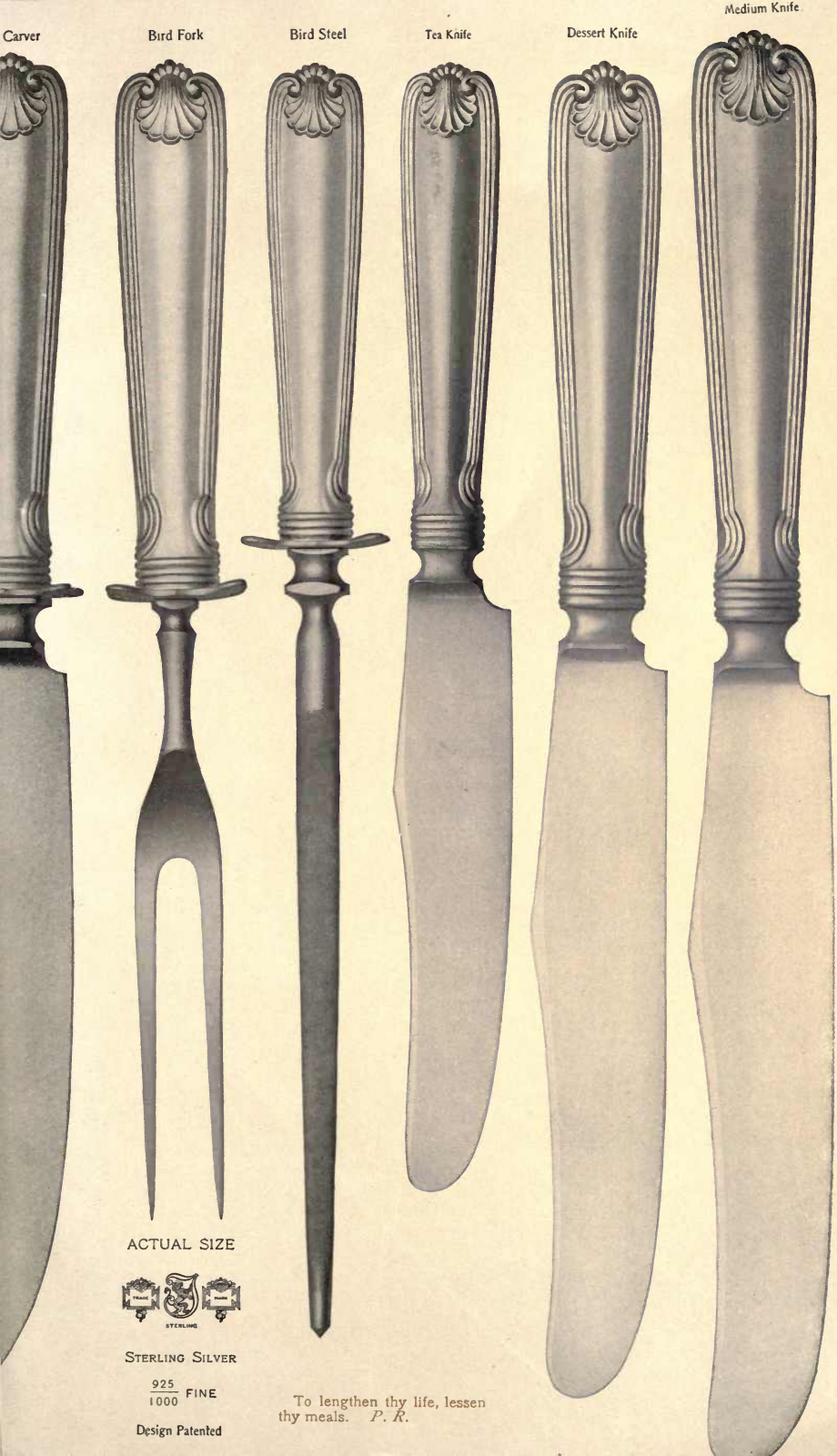
ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Design Patented



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Design Patented

To lengthen thy life, lessen thy meals. *P. R.*



MAHOGANY CHEST, No. 358

Deck and four Drawers. Metal trimmings of Franklin design.
Also made in Oak and Maple.
Height, 18¾ inches; front, 30 inches; front to back, 22 inches.
Accommodates 297 pieces.

DECK

- 2 Salt Spoons
- 1 Mustard Spoon
- 1 Horse Radish Spoon
- 1 Sugar Spoon
- 1 Jelly Spoon
- 1 Berry Spoon
- 1 Ideal Olive Spoon and Fork
- 1 Lettuce Spoon
- 1 Lettuce Fork
- 1 Pickle Fork
- 1 Sardine Fork
- 1 Cold Meat Fork
- 1 Butter Knife
- 1 Chocolate Muddler
- 1 Tête-à-tête Tongs
- 1 Sugar Tongs
- 1 Salad Fork
- 1 Salad Spoon
- 1 Fish Knife
- 1 Fish Fork
- 1 Cream Ladle
- 1 Gravy Ladle
- 1 Soup Ladle

DRAWER ONE

- 12 Chocolate Spoons
- 12 Orange Spoons
- 12 Iced Tea Spoons
- 12 Butter Spreaders
- 12 Ice Cream Forks
- 12 Oyster Forks
- 12 Individual Salad Forks
- 12 Soup Spoons

DRAWER TWO

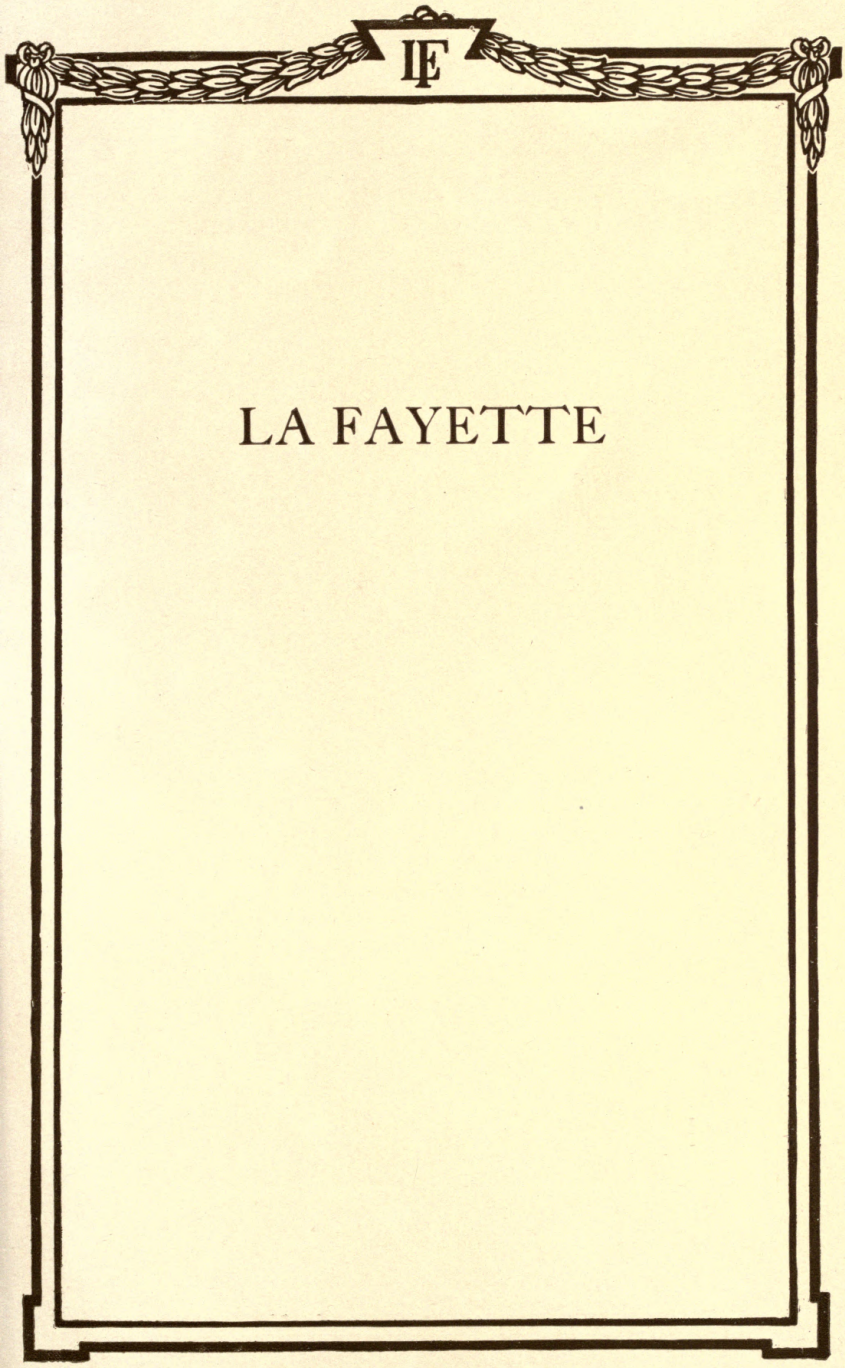
- 12 Tea Spoons, P.M.
- 12 Tea Spoons
- 12 Table Spoons
- 12 Dessert Spoons
- 12 Dessert Forks
- 12 Table Forks
- 12 Coffee Spoons
- 12 Bouillon Spoons

DRAWER THREE

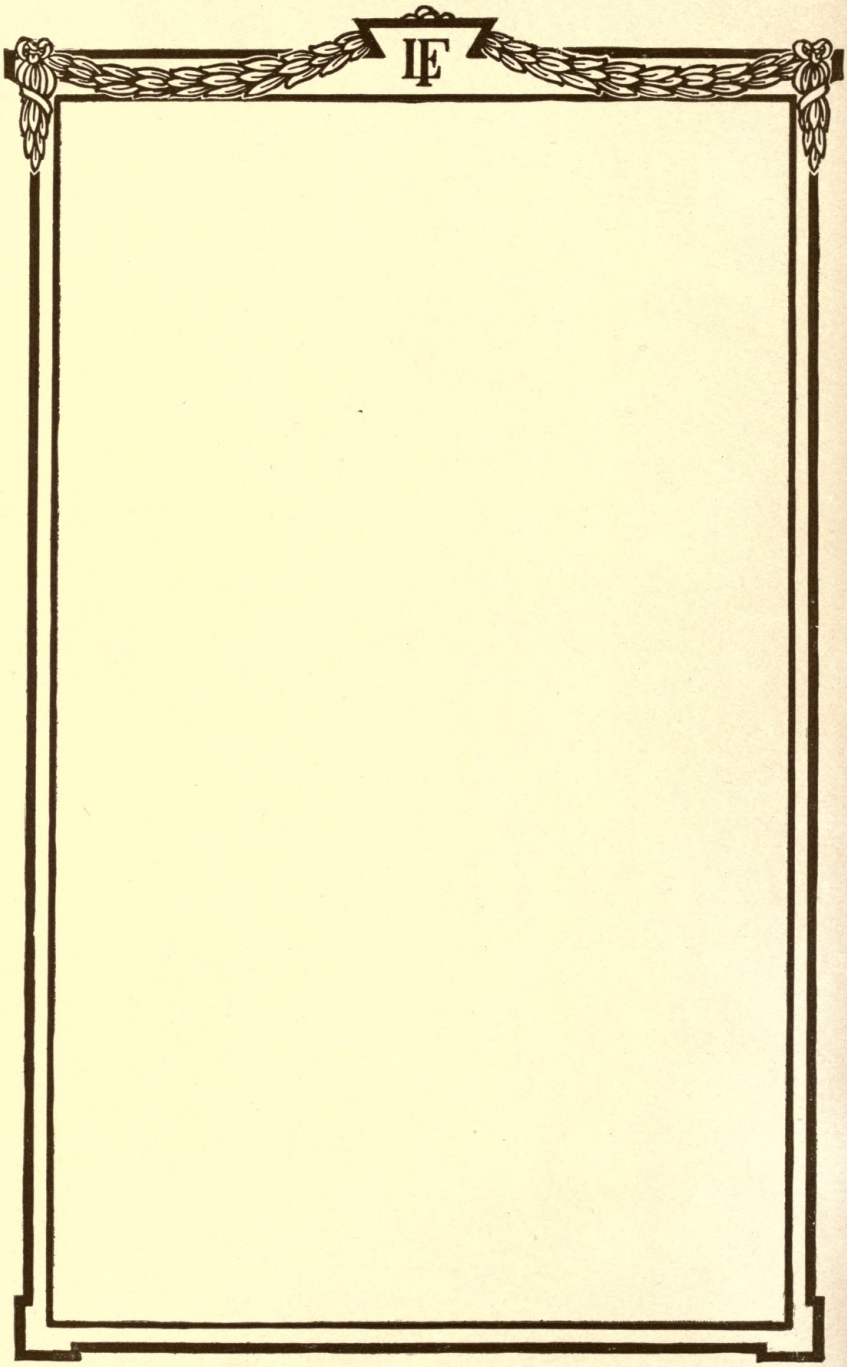
- 12 Tea Knives
- 12 Fruit Knives
- 12 Duck Knives
- 12 Fish Knives
- 1 Roast Holder, Large
- 3–Piece Bird Carving Set

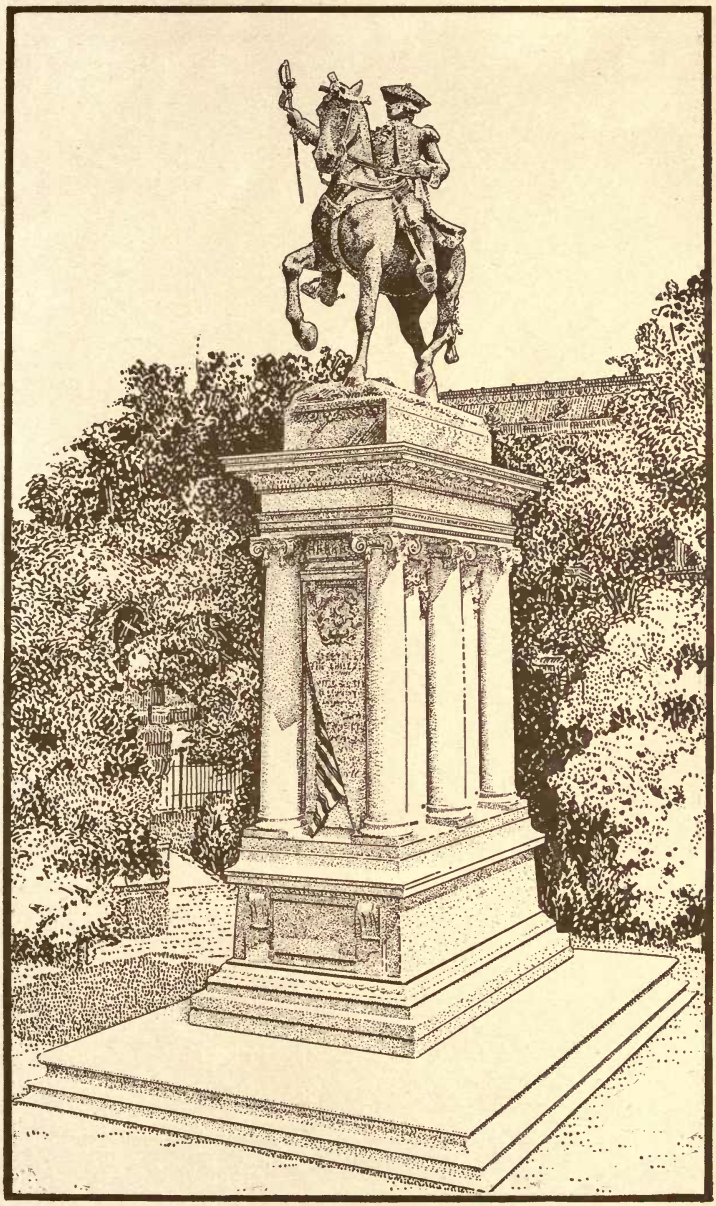
DRAWER FOUR

- 12 Dessert Knives
- 12 Medium Knives
- 5–Piece Carving Set



LA FAYETTE





STATUE OF LA FAYETTE

IN THE COURT OF THE LOUVRE, PARIS: BY PAUL W. BARTLETT

Presented to France by the School Children of America, July 4th, 1900



Copyright 1907 by Edward Virginius Valentine. Reproduced by permission

From the Original in the Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia
Presented by La Fayette to Patrick Henry

Marquis de La Fayette

AN
ACCOUNT OF THE
LIFE OF

MARIE JOSEPH PAUL YVES ROCH GILBERT DUMOTIER

Marquis de La Fayette

MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE SERVICE OF AMERICA AND
NOBLEST PATRIOT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

With Illustrations of the
La Fayette Pattern of Sterling Silver Tableware



TOWLE MFG. COMPANY
SILVERSMITHS
NEWBURYPORT :: MASSACHUSETTS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
42 Madison St.

NEW YORK CITY
41 Union Sq.



BUST OF LA FAYETTE IN THE CAPITOL AT RICHMOND

EXECUTED BY HOUDON FOR THE VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY

A duplicate presented to France was prominent in the French Revolution

Reproduced by permission

Compiled and arranged by GEORGE P. TILTON, of the TOWLE MANUFACTURING COMPANY, of material derived from the following publications, supplemented by local study of the scenes included:

MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF GENERAL LA FAYETTE. Published by his Family

THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Charlemagne Tower, Jr.

THE HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. Louis Adolphe Thiers

MEMOIRS OF THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE. Frederic Butler, A.M.

FIELD BOOK OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Benson J. Lossing

FUND PUBLICATIONS OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 13-32

LIFE OF GENERAL LA FAYETTE. Bayard Tuckerman

THE HOUSEHOLD OF THE LA FAYETTES. Edith Sichel

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. Thomas Carlyle

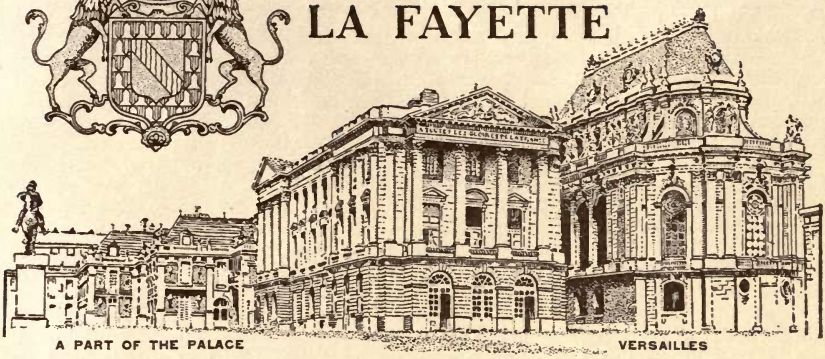
THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY. 1881-1889

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. 1824

Copyright, 1907, by Towle Mfg. Co.

Press of Springfield Printing and Binding Company, Springfield, Mass.

LA FAYETTE



A PART OF THE PALACE VERSAILLES

Amid the sophistry and prodigality of aristocratic France of the waning eighteenth century, La Fayette conceived an ideal of noble humanity, and at the threshold of his life consecrated his efforts and his resources to its realization. It has been given to few men of like impulses to exercise fuller opportunities or ampler means, and none have excelled him in fidelity and constancy.

Louis XIV debauched France, Louis XV flaunted profligacy before its crushed but murmuring people, and Louis XVI paid the penalty of this heritage of extravagance and oppression, in an era of passion and violence unparalleled, as it was unexampled, in the world's history. Such was the background and the field from which La Fayette emerged at the age of nineteen years to espouse the cause of American freedom, and to which, a few years later, he returned to become the chief actor in the momentous events leading to the French revolution.

Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert Du Motier, Marquis de La Fayette, was born September 6th, 1757, at the Chateau de Chavaniac in Auvergne, the home of his mother, to which she had retired while her husband, Michel Louis Christophe Roch Gilbert Du Motier, Marquis de La Fayette, fought for France in the Seven Years' War. The Marquis de La Fayette, Colonel of Grenadiers under Marshal de Broglie, was killed in the battle of Minden at the age of twenty-five, a few weeks after his son was born. The young marquis was reared at Chavaniac and educated in the accomplishments and graces that were the highest aim of the courtier of that period, but the heroic strain in his character early asserted itself, and he dwelt more on the hope of encountering and conquering the wild beasts of the neighborhood than of shining at Versailles. At the age of twelve he was sent to the College du Plessis at Paris and soon afterward was transferred to the Academy at Versailles and made an officer in the Mousquetaires Noirs, which on review days took him from the schoolroom to the active command of men.

Soon after he left home his mother died, and he became possessed of the large fortune of her family, with an income sufficient to determine a less serious character on a life of idleness and ease. He was, however, unattracted by the vicious pleasures then the fashion, and became the suitor of Mlle. Adrienne de Noailles, daughter of the Duc d'Ayen and granddaughter of the Duc and Marechal de Noailles. The Noailles family was of the highest rank and character, and its history amid the vanities and corruption of this period and the trials of the Revolution endures as a monument of Christianity, love and gentleness. The Duc d'Ayen was much in favor of the proposal, but the Duchess, who had made the training and instruction of her five daughters the chief object of her life, was opposed to the match because of what seemed to her traits of impetuousness in the Marquis engendered by the imperfect surveillance of his guardians and the baneful possibilities of his great wealth.

This divergence of desires caused a serious though temporary estrangement between the parents, which the Duke relieved by receding from his position, while, having discovered during the interval the fundamental virtues of La Fayette's character, Madame d'Ayen withdrew her objections. Mlle. Adrienne was not immediately informed of the proposed alliance, but she was brought much into the company of her suitor and fell sincerely in love with him, so that when she

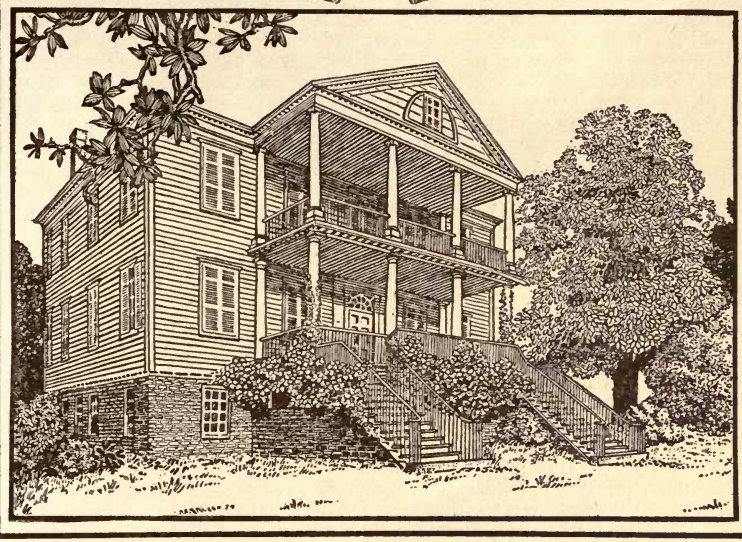
was told of the arrangement she was overjoyed, and the marriage soon took place. The young couple—aged respectively sixteen and fourteen—lived two years happily with the d'Ayens, attending occasionally at the DuBarry-ruled court of Louis XV, and, after his unmourned death, participating in the festivities of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. The latter soon gathered about her the flower of the young nobility, and formed an exclusive set that excited the jealousy and antagonism of the older courtiers, who prevailed upon the king to suppress their innovations. The La Fayettes were of this coterie, and the Marquis was devoted to the beautiful and virtuous Queen, who in turn adopted him as a favorite, a circumstance which is noteworthy in view of her later attitude toward him when he was forced to stand between royalty and the infuriated people.

The Marquis and his wife were now settled in a new home, gladdened by the birth of a daughter, and the Noailles family sought to establish their son-in-law at Court by procuring for him a place in the service of the Duc de Provence, the King's brother, afterward Louis XVIII; but La Fayette had no fancy for such a life, and took occasion at a masked ball, when he could appear impersonal, although he knew that he was recognized, to offend the Duke by liberal opinions and a contemptuous rejoinder, which destroyed any possibility of further association. Soon after this he joined his regiment at Metz, an environment more suited to the growing taciturnity which marked the birth of his definite espousal of liberty, than the crowding gayeties of Versailles.

It was at an officers' dinner at Metz, given by the Comte de Broglie, commandant of the garrison, in honor of the visit of the Duke of Gloucester, in the fall of 1776 that La Fayette formed the resolution of volunteering in the cause of freedom in the new world across the Atlantic. The Duke had been banished by his brother, George III, for marrying the Countess Waldegrave, and being therefore disposed to criticise the British policy, he related, with a degree of sympathy, news of the uprising in America, the evacuation of Boston by the King's troops, and the declaration of independence. The officers who listened were imbued with the abstract philosophy of free government, at that time the fashion in the brilliant salons of Paris, and the general hope was expressed that the rebels would triumph. To them, as to their confrères at the capital, freedom was an idea called up chiefly by Jean Jacques Rousseau in his "Contrat Social," a treatise on free government, which had gained the attention of philosophers of every station, and was arousing the humbler classes to an appreciation of their wrongs. To La Fayette it was the embodiment of the deep feelings which had stirred him from childhood, and had clouded his nature with a mystery inexplicable to his associates and even to himself. The knowledge of a struggling people, gained so casually, precipitated in his mind the nebulæ of unrest, and he went to the Duke and privately declared his intention of going to America to fight in its cause.

This resolution was firm, though so abruptly made, and he immediately took steps to accomplish it. He imparted it gradually to members of his family, all of whom strongly opposed what seemed a mere boyish adventure. Mme. de La Fayette was at first heartbroken at the thought of his absence when their second child would be born, and of the personal danger which he must incur, but realizing the depth of his purpose, and being fully in sympathy with his noble aims, she repressed her sorrow for his absence and encouraged him in his purpose. Her mother, the Duchess d'Ayen, also, from her own high conception of duty to one's principles, was easily brought to acquiesce, and his brother-in-law, the Vicomte de Noailles, and cousin, the Comte de Segur, were enthusiastic to accompany him. The one member of the family who was implacable in his opposition was the Duc d'Ayen, but this, while a matter of regret to La Fayette, was not discouraging. He sought Silas Deane, the American representative at Paris, and negotiated with him through Baron de Kalb, a French officer of German origin, who had been employed to visit America to report on the political situation, and who also was now desirous of enlisting in its cause. The affair was progressing favorably and Deane had promised La Fayette a commission as major-general, when it was interrupted by an order from the King formally forbidding La Fayette to depart.

France, as a penalty of defeat in its alliance with Austria in the Seven Years' War against England, had forfeited to the latter its Canadian provinces, and secretly desired to strike a blow at its hereditary enemy, but was deterred from doing this openly by the depleted state of its finances, which, through the reck-



HUGER MANSION—PROSPECT HILL PLANTATION
NEAR GEORGETOWN, SOUTH CAROLINA

less extravagance of previous reigns had been brought to the verge of bankruptcy. The Ministry saw in the resistance of the American Colonists a hope of punishment for England, but as it was professedly neutral it could not countenance open aid of the cause. It did, however, provide the working field for the American agents and commissioners, promise them personal security, and secretly furnish a large sum of money, which, in the form of an indirect loan, went to purchase ships and supplies for the insurgents, as they were called. Lord Stormont, the English Ambassador at Paris, kept a very watchful eye on all these movements, and succeeded in thwarting many plans, as of course his specific protests required recognition. It was because of this necessity of seemingly strict neutrality that La Fayette and his family, whose station was such that they were liable to be deemed representative of the Government, were peremptorily forbidden to take part in the uprising, while no hindrance was placed on the movements of many other officers of the French army who volunteered.

The result of the royal ban was to frustrate the plans of the Vicomte de Noailles and the Comte de Segur, who were less independently situated, and to impose greater difficulties and secrecy upon La Fayette. The Comte de Broglie, to whom, as an old and experienced friend of his family, La Fayette had early appealed for aid, had at first strongly endeavored to dissuade him with arguments as to the hopelessness of the American cause, adding:—"I have seen your uncle die in the wars of Italy, I have witnessed your father's death at Minden, and I will not be accessory to the ruin of the last remaining branch of the family." He however promised not to betray the plan and later he so far relented that La Fayette wrote:—"Amongst my discreet confidants, I owe much to M. du Boismartin, secretary of the Count de Broglie, and to the Count de Broglie himself, whose affectionate heart, when all his efforts to turn me from this project had proven in vain, entered into my views with even paternal tenderness."

As Benjamin Franklin had, at this time, arrived in Paris and entered upon the career of wonderful popularity that was destined to accomplish so much for his country's cause, La Fayette appealed to him through M. Carmichael, an American merchant who was among the earliest to go to France for assistance, this precaution being necessary to maintain secrecy. The forces under Washington had been recently defeated by Gen. Howe at Long Island, and the dis-

couraging news was presented to La Fayette, but its only effect was to increase his ardor, and the commissioners henceforth devoted their efforts to getting him safely under way. He had previously arranged to visit England with his uncle, the Prince de Poix, ambassador to that country, and after spending some weeks there he returned surreptitiously to Paris, and a few days later, with Baron de Kalb and others seeking passage to America, set out for Bordeaux, where the ship "La Victoire" purchased by him through M. de Boismartin, was being repaired and fitted for the voyage. While waiting the completion of this work, which was unexpectedly delayed, he despatched messages to friends in Paris, and as he received information in reply that his plans and whereabouts were known and that an officer was about to start to intercept him, he suspended the repairs on his ship and immediately sailed for the neighboring Spanish port of Los Passaje.

Lord Stormont had discovered his movements and appealed to the Duc d'Ayen, at whose instigation a *lettre de cachet* had been despatched, of which, and the accompanying letters from his family, La Fayette has this to say:—"The orders of my sovereign were only able to overtake me at Los Passaje, a Spanish port, at which we stopped on our way. The letters from my family were extremely violent, and those from the government were peremptory. I was forbidden to proceed to the American continent under penalty of disobedience; I was enjoined to repair immediately to Marseilles, and await there further orders." He complied with these commands to the extent of returning to Bordeaux, where after some days, having heard no more from the Comte de Maurepas,—as was natural considering the final orders received,—he wrote that he interpreted the prime minister's silence as tacit consent, and started, with two of his companions, ostensibly for Marseilles, to satisfy the commandant that he was obeying the royal injunction; the party drew up, however, on reaching the open country, and La Fayette exchanged his more conspicuous costume for that of a courier, in which disguise he galloped ahead of the coach to order fresh horses. At the first opportunity they turned off toward Bayonne, where they would have again the main road to Los Passaje. Here they halted, as it was feared that they would be intercepted by the duped bearers of the *lettre de cachet,* and for three hours La Fayette secluded himself in the loft of a stable while his companions, passing for ordinary travelers, reconnoitered at the inn. No danger being apparent they resumed their journey and met with no mishap until they reached the village of Saint Jean de Luz, where, in spite of his assumed character, La Fayette was recognized by the innkeeper's daughter—who evidently had a keen eye for youth of the other sex—as a young man who had passed in a carriage a few days before. Her discretion was equal to her acumen, however, as at a sign from the pretended courier, she dissembled her surprise, and the horses being changed, the absconders continued unmolested. Soon afterward the over trustful officers rode hastily up to the inn and inquired of the girl if such a carriage had passed, but her sympathies were with the young stranger, and without falsehood she told them that she had seen the carriage but that the person described was not in it. The pursuers returned and this young woman, all unconscious of the importance of the act, proved the pivot on which hung, for this expedition at least, the fortunes of La Fayette in America. On the twentieth of April, 1777, "La Victoire" set sail from Los Passaje, and with more good luck than her condition or armament warranted, reached the coast of South Carolina after a two months' voyage, in spite of storms and hostile ships. After recovery from the seasickness which affected him severely, La Fayette spent much of his time on the tedious passage in writing letters of tender regret to his wife—whose situation and condition touched him deeply—at the necessity of parting from her so ungallantly, expressing his unbounded love and solicitude, which was only inferior to the duty he felt in behalf of a struggling people; and also in the study of the English language and military tactics. The ship had cleared for the West Indies and the captain, having secretly embarked a considerable venture of his own, was determined to go there and was only dissuaded by a promise of indemnity if the vessel was seized, and a threat to put the mate in charge if he further insisted. When near the coast they were intercepted by a cruiser and La Fayette resolved to blow up the vessel rather than surrender, but their alarm was needless as the other proved to be an American privateer and left them unmolested. The party were anxious to land as soon as possible, so the ship was headed directly for the shore and

anchored, as it proved, near North Island, at the entrance of Winyah Bay. Although it was late in the evening a small boat was launched and they proceeded up the bay until a welcome light indicated a friendly roof. Its nearer aspect was doubtful, however, as dogs set up violent barking and the inmates, fearing a raid from a British war ship, were slow to receive the travelers. After a parley between a voice from an upper window and Baron de Kalb, who spoke a little English, the door was thrown open and La Fayette and his companions were cordially welcomed to the home of Major Benjamin Huger of the Continental Army.

The goal of his absorbing ambition was now at hand, and no better description of his enthusiasm and gratification can be given than these extracts from his first letters to his wife:—"I have arrived, my dearest love, in perfect health at the house of an American officer; and, by the most fortunate chance in the world, a French vessel is on the point of sailing; conceive how happy I am. I am going this evening to Charleston, from whence I will write to you. * * * * * I shall now speak to you, my love, about the country and its inhabitants, who are as agreeable as my enthusiasm had led me to imagine. Simplicity of manner, kindness of heart, love of country and of liberty, a delightful state of equality are met with universally. The richest and the poorest man are completely on a level; and although there are some immense fortunes in this country, I may challenge any one to point out the slightest difference in their respective manner towards each other. I first saw and judged of a country life at Major Huger's house. I am at present in the city, where everything somewhat resembles the English customs, except that you find more simplicity here than you would in England. Charleston is one of the best built, handsomest, and most agreeable cities that I have ever seen. The American women are very pretty, and have great simplicity of character; and the extreme neatness of their appearance is truly delightful; cleanliness is everywhere even more studiously attended to here than in England. What gives me most pleasure is to see how completely the citizens are all brethren of one family. In America there are none poor and none even that can be called peasants. Each citizen has some property, and all citizens have the same rights as the richest individual, or landed proprietor in the country. The inns are very different from those of Europe; the host and hostess sit at table with you and do the honors of a comfortable meal; and when you depart you pay without being obliged to beat them down. If you dislike going to inns you may always find country houses in which you will be received, as a good American, with the same attention that you might expect in a friend's house in Europe. * * * * From the agreeable life I lead in this country, from the sympathy which makes me feel as much at ease with the inhabitants as if I had known them for twenty years, the similarity between their manner of thinking and my own, my love for glory and for liberty, you may imagine that I am very happy: but you are not with me, my dearest love; * * * * Embrace most tenderly my Henriette: may I add, embrace our children? The father of these poor children is a wanderer, but he is, nevertheless, a good husband also, for he loves his wife most tenderly. * * * * Adieu, then, my dearest love; * * * The night is far advanced, the heat intense, and I am devoured by mosquitoes; but the best countries, as you perceive, have their inconveniences."

La Fayette and his companions had nine hundred miles to travel to present themselves before Congress at Philadelphia and they set out in good style with horses and carriages that he purchased, but various mishaps reduced them to the necessity of mounting the horses, and he wrote Madame de La Fayette that he expected to "finally arrive on foot." They were much impressed by the virgin grandeur of the scenery, which was in notable contrast to the poor farms of their own country, and traveling this way for a month, which included a visit to the Governor of North Carolina and short stops at Petersburg and Annapolis, they arrived at their journey's end.



LA FAYETTE SNUFF BOX
Metropolitan Art Museum
Reproduced by permission

Congress was out of patience with the innumerable foreign officers who had come over with promises and credentials from Silas Deane, and high expectations of preferment in the army, and at first no

attention was paid to the letters presented by La Fayette. The great majority of the applicants were adventurers or worse, and some of those that had been commissioned had given unending trouble. They hardly opened La Fayette's papers, and the next day when he came to learn the result, he was met by the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs to whom he had intrusted his case, with very discouraging tidings. Suspecting the true state of affairs, he showed no resentment but wrote this note, which he requested Mr. Lovell, his intermediary, to read before Congress:—"After the sacrifices I have made, I have the right to exact two favours; one is to serve at my own expense,—the other is, to serve at first as volunteer." This astonishing humility and public spirit attracted the desired attention and his dispatches from the envoys were read, with the result that in a very flattering resolution he was given a commission as major-general. Franklin had written in a most appreciative strain of the young man's character, influence and connections, and urged his appointment, at the same time prudently delaying a letter which the envoys were directed to write, by the court of France, requesting that he should not be employed. After his own appointment he used his influence in favor of de Kalb, who was granted a similar commission retrospectively dated, like La Fayette's, July thirty-first; of the remainder of his party some were later accepted, and he relieved the disappointment of the others by gifts from his own purse.

The English under General Howe and Admiral Howe having appeared before the Delaware Capes, Washington came to Philadelphia early in August and at a dinner tendered the Commander-in-chief La Fayette was presented to him. "Although he was surrounded by officers and citizens, it was impossible to mistake for a moment his majestic figure and deportment. * * * * Invited by the General to establish himself in his house, he looked upon it from that moment as his own; with this perfect ease and simplicity was formed the tie that united two friends, whose confidence and attachment were to be cemented by the strongest interests of humanity." (La Fayette's Memoirs.) This immortal friendship was, in the trying years that followed, a source of great solace to both; the one finding a sincere and self-forgetting friend, loyal under every condition, and the other a hero and guardian whom he worshiped as a soldier and as a man.

La Fayette's commission carried no assignment and Washington offered him a place on his staff, which was joyfully accepted. Together they visited the fortifications and the camp at Annapolis where the pitiful aspect of the poorly equipped and half disciplined troops elicited a half apologetic observation from the General on their contrast to the army to which his companion was attached in France, but La Fayette's only reply, "I am here to learn, and not to teach," was indicative of his earnest and modest attitude and at once endeared him to his commander. La Fayette noted the motley and tattered uniforms, of hunting shirt and gray linen coat at the best, and the awkward and unscientific manœuvres, but he also saw and appreciated the intense patriotism of the men and zealous enthusiasm of the officers. He soon found himself a participant in active operations, as the British, although appearing to withdraw after menacing the Delaware, soon returned by the way of Chesapeake Bay and Elkton.

The forces opposed each other gallantly at Chadd's Ford and Brandywine Creek, and after a hard and well planned contest lasting all day and entailing severe losses, the enemy was victorious and the Americans fell back on Chester and later Philadelphia, which, as Washington was unsuccessful in an attempt to again engage Howe, they abandoned, in a few days, to protect their stores at Reading. The British marched on Philadelphia and occupied it, surprising and routing General Wayne, who had been left with fifteen hundred men to check their advance, Congress fleeing to Lancaster and York. At the battle of Chadd's Ford, La Fayette, seeking the thickest action, secured permission to join the right wing under General Sullivan and in a spirited action during which Lord Cornwallis concentrated his attack upon the division to which he had attached himself, he was wounded by a ball in the leg and in the retreat would have been unable to mount his horse but for the assistance of Captain Gimat, his aide-de-camp and friend. He undertook to join Washington, who had arrived with fresh troops, but became so weak from loss of blood that he was obliged to stop and have his leg bandaged, and narrowly escaped capture. He reached Philadelphia by water and had his wound dressed, after which he was taken to the peace-



HOUSE AT CHADD'S FORD
LA FAYETTE'S HEADQUARTERS

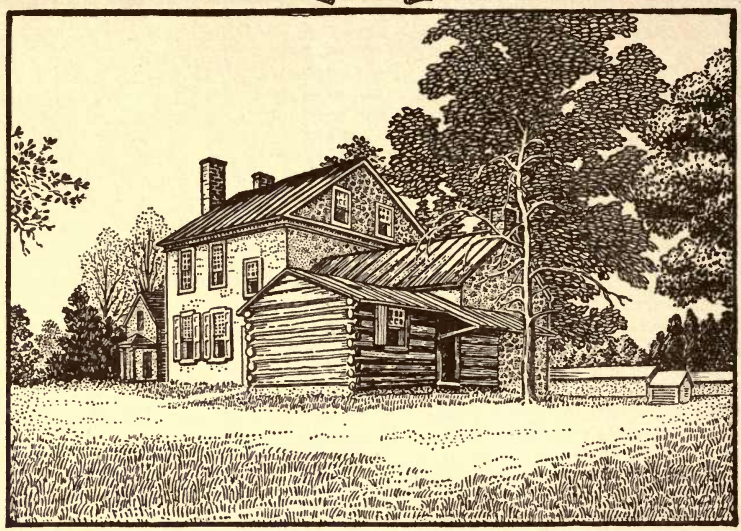
ful Moravian settlement at Bethlehem, to recuperate. Although he treated the matter very lightly in letters to his wife, he was confined to his bed for six weeks during which he suffered severely. The Moravian Brothers cared for him with great kindness and endeavored to turn his mind from warlike thoughts, but he spent much of his time in writing—the only employment possible—plans for auxiliary campaigns which were never carried out, although it was subsequently learned that they were thought well of by the French authorities to whom they were addressed.

Washington in the meantime had returned from Reading and engaged the British at Germantown, but the advantage continued against him and after the loss of Forts Mifflin and Mercer on the Delaware river, which held out long and bravely against the English ships and sunk a good part of the fleet, he gave up the hope of retaking Philadelphia and withdrew to Whitemarsh, from whence he soon went into the memorable winter quarters at Valley Forge.

La Fayette's impatience to be again at the front caused him to leave Bethlehem as soon as he could walk about, and long before his wound had healed or could be covered by a boot. In this condition he joined Washington at Whitemarsh, and, seeing an opportunity for active service in the movements to check Cornwallis in New Jersey, he joined General Greene as volunteer and at Mount Holly was put in charge of a small detachment to reconnoitre. He discovered Cornwallis about to cross the river at Gloucester, and taking his men to a commanding but dangerous position at Stony Point he immediately engaged a superior force of Hessians and drove them steadily back with severe losses, in spite of reinforcements led by Cornwallis himself. He had but three hundred men and many of them had marched all day without food, but in his report to General Washington he speaks most highly of their spirit and ability, while the men were equally appreciative of the daring and skill of their commander on this occasion. La Fayette admitted that his escape from annihilation was due largely to errors of judgment on the part of the enemy, who overestimated the strength of the attacking force, but as it was successful the affair added much to his reputation and popularity.

This action was unimportant, as, on arriving, Greene decided to abandon the position and Cornwallis crossed the river the next day; but the real fighting ability shown by one who, many thought, held only a nominal commission as a compliment to his enthusiasm and connections, aroused a general desire to see him in charge of an independent command, and acting on Washington's recommendation to this effect, Congress resolved that he be placed at the head of a division, on which Washington appointed him to the Virginia Militia to succeed General Stephen. Howe gained no advantage from Cornwallis' passage of the Delaware, as, after joining the latter, he made no advance until Greene had effected a junction with Washington and then his tentative movements indicated a hesitance to attack, which was confirmed soon afterward by his withdrawal to Philadelphia, in which comfortable city he settled down for the winter.

The capture of Burgoyne's splendid army in the North raised the courage and the credit of the country, and the news of it, borne across the ocean, determined the French alliance, without which the triumph of the American cause would



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE
VIEW FROM THE REAR

have been impossible. The self-interest upon which the Government must justify its success was embodied in sincere kindness, and the French people, captivated by Franklin, were unbounded in their sympathy, while the large loans granted by the Ministry when they hardly knew where to turn for Court expenses, were the very sinews of war to the patriots.

At Valley Forge, Washington's wretched army lay starving and freezing in pitiful contrast to the British soldiers, who, only twenty-two miles away, reveled in luxury. La Fayette remained with his troops and shared their privations, which he keenly deplored, though in spite of these their patriotism was little abated. While Washington was here suffering poignantly with his men, a clique of officers led by Conway, an Irishman who had been in the French service, sought to undermine his position as head of the forces and supersede him by Gates, who had been made president of the Board of War as a reward for his part in the capture of Burgoyne, the report of which, ignoring Washington, he had transmitted directly to Congress. The country and Congress were divided by parties holding diverse opinions on the conduct of the war, and this situation secured a backing for the conspirators which promised success to their plan. Appreciating La Fayette's popularity and his influence abroad they saw the necessity of depriving Washington of his company and counsel, and they contrived an elaborate plan to seduce him from his allegiance to his beloved friend. Congress authorized the formation of an "Army of the North" for the purpose of destroying the British shipping on Lake Champlain and subsequently attacking Montreal. It was provided in the act that the expedition, having twenty-five hundred men and ample funds and equipment, should be commanded by La Fayette with Generals Conway and Stark for lieutenants, and he received information to this effect through Washington, with instructions to repair at once to Albany and there await further orders.

Washington, although heavy hearted, advised him to accept the position, but La Fayette, on realizing that its direct responsibility to the Board of War carried an affront to the Commander-in-chief, determined to refuse it, and only modified his decision at the earnest solicitation of his friend, who declared that as the place had been created he preferred that he should accept it. La Fayette, however, deferred acquiescence until he had visited headquarters at York and secured further concessions of funds and trustworthy officers; and while there at a dinner

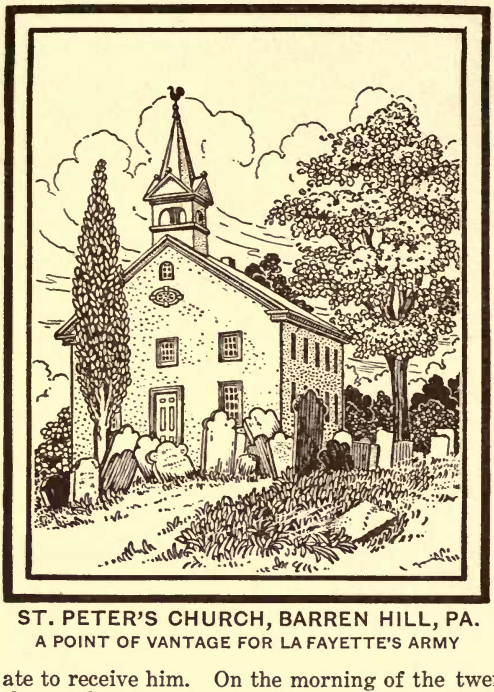
of the conspirators he created consternation by obliging them to drink a toast to the health of the Commander-in-chief whose ruin they were plotting.

Finding that the scheme was a failure in respect to its main purpose, the Board of War lost interest in it, and when, after a toilsome and hazardous journey, La Fayette arrived at Albany he found less than half the promised number of men, and entirely inadequate preparation. Conway immediately declared the project impossible, but La Fayette, mindful of the responsibility of his position and the benefit which would result from success, only decided to abandon it when, after waiting in vain for necessary supplies, the lateness of the season precluded the passage of Lake Champlain on the ice. His presence at Albany was not wholly without fruits, however, as he used such money as he received in relieving the distress of his men and allaying their discontent by partial payment of overdue wages, and also spent much of his time in strengthening neighboring fortifications and endeavoring to offset British influence among the Indians who—with the exception of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras—while remaining favorable to their more munificent suitors, treated him with great respect and gave him the name of "Kayoula," formerly borne by a lamented chief, by which he was afterward known among them.

Soon after La Fayette's departure from Valley Forge, Washington became possessed of incriminating evidence against eminent members of the Cabal, and in the resulting discussion this reached the ears of Congress and created such widespread indignation that the malcontents hastened to repudiate their connection with the intrigue. The possibility of such treason was, however, too serious a menace to pass unnoticed, and Congress made use of the occasion to prescribe for the officers of the army a new oath of allegiance which La Fayette, on returning from his conference with the Indians, was called upon to administer. When, in spite of his regrets for the failure of his expedition, which he feared would humiliate him before the world notwithstanding his obvious blamelessness, he had finally abandoned it and prepared to return, Congress, persuaded of its futility, recalled him to the South in a flattering dispatch calculated to exonerate him from the stigma. He rejoined Washington and was employed in further administering the new oath when the news was received that France had acknowledged the independence of the United States and concluded a treaty of commerce and alliance. The whole country rejoiced at the consummation of this great triumph of Franklin's diplomacy, and at Valley Forge, where the hardships of the cause had been most cruelly experienced, the joy was especially marked. La Fayette's happiness at the realization so long hoped for was deeply clouded by intelligence of the death of his beloved daughter Henriette, brought by the same vessel that bore the treaty, and thus, with his thoughts far across the ocean with his stricken wife, he was obliged to take part in the celebration of the nation's thankfulness amid salvos of artillery and congratulatory toasts.

The English government had made advances toward peace which had been spurned by Congress, because they looked only to a cessation of hostilities and promised no recognition of independence, but now that France had virtually declared war, it was thought necessary to strengthen their holdings in this country. Sir William Howe, who had remained comfortably in Philadelphia all winter, was recalled and Sir Henry Clinton was sent to take his command. Amid the preparations for the elaborate and ridiculous "Mischianza" which was to mark Lord Howe's withdrawal, Washington, who had reason to think that the British would leave Philadelphia, sent La Fayette with two thousand chosen men across the Schuylkill to watch the enemy.

Since the suppression of the Conway Cabal, the Board of War had been superseded by General Greene who as quartermaster general had placed the army on an excellent working footing; it had also been increased by new recruits and most assiduously drilled by Baron Steuben, an accomplished Prussian officer, who arrived early in the spring. It was therefore with high hopes that Washington looked forward to intercepting Clinton when he should undertake to join his army at New York. A council of war ordered by Congress had decided, however, on a defensive campaign, and La Fayette was cautioned to exercise great care in the preservation of his command. He left Valley Forge on the eighteenth of May, and, crossing the river at Swede's Ford, took up a position at Barren Hill, twelve miles from the main army and effectively commanding the roads from Phila-



ST. PETER'S CHURCH, BARREN HILL, PA.
A POINT OF VANTAGE FOR LA FAYETTE'S ARMY

delphia, which was about equally distant. His camp was upon high ground abruptly sloping to the Schuylkill in the rear, and he placed a body of Pennsylvania militia under General Patten to the front and left to guard against surprise from the direction of Whitemarsh, while pickets were advanced on either side to warn him of approach in these directions. In the immediate vicinity a stone church and several substantial stone houses offered protection in the event of an engagement, and in this situation, admirably chosen, he remained until the morning of the twentieth, seeking the information for which he was detached. In the meantime the British, in the midst of their revelry, learned of his proximity, and lightly estimating his force and skill, sent out a detachment to bring him in as a climax to their festivities, Lord Howe in his confidence inviting a party to meet the marquis at his house the next evening, while Admiral Howe prepared a frigate to receive him. On the morning of the twentieth, having ample troops, five thousand were sent around to cut off his retreat at Swede's Ford, and two divisions of two thousand each were sent against him from different directions at the front, thus apparently surrounding him and rendering his escape impossible.

La Fayette was giving instructions to a young woman, who, on the pretext of visiting relatives, was to go to Philadelphia in his interest, when information was brought of red-coats on the Whitemarsh road, but as a portion of the militia under General Patten had uniforms of that color this excited no alarm. Nevertheless he immediately sent scouts to learn the truth of this inference, and they soon reported that a column of the enemy was advancing on his left and that another body was passing up the road to Swede's Ford. Almost at the same moment it was learned that a third division was approaching on the Ridge road, the direct route from Philadelphia by the bank of the Schuylkill, on which the camp was located. The situation was alarming and created consternation among the troops, to whom it appeared that every avenue of escape was cut off—as General Clinton and Lord Howe certainly intended they should be. La Fayette, while fully appreciating the seriousness of his position, was in no wise distracted, and his immediate and decisive orders inspired a return of confidence in his men. This predicament was entirely due to some inexplicable remissness of his outlying militia, but there yet remained an avenue of escape if the British on the Swede's Ford and Whitemarsh roads could be delayed, and La Fayette unhesitatingly availed himself of this possibility.

Somewhat parallel to the Swede's Ford road and nearer to Barren Hill was one leading to Matzon's Ford, less known and used. Soon after leaving the hill this entered a ravine and was still further concealed by woods in the direction of the enemy. Just before reaching the ford it was intersected by a connecting road from the main thoroughfare, and the success of La Fayette's plan lay in passing this point before his debouchment should be discovered, as it was somewhat nearer the British lines than his own. To accomplish this he quickly posted a defensive party behind the stone wall of the churchyard to guard against attack by General Grey, who occupied the road from Germantown; he then

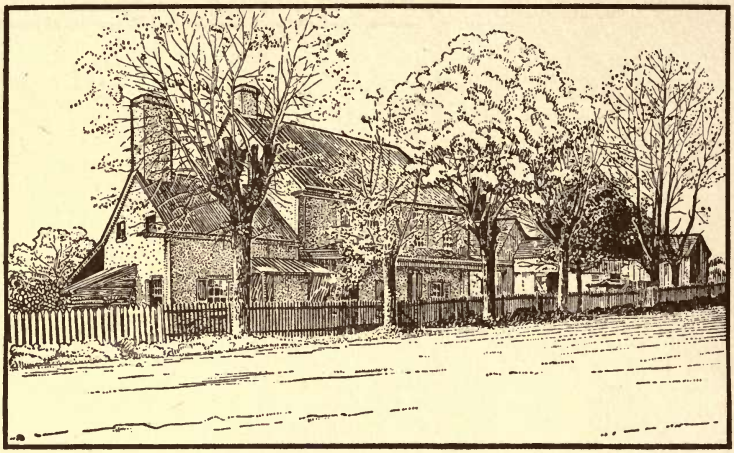
despatched a number of false heads of columns to appear at intervals through the woods to the westward, to convey to General Grant, who menaced Matzon's Ford, the impression that a line of columns was emerging to engage him. This ruse was successful and was the salvation of Lafayette, who, while General Grant was manœuvering before the imagined army, was rapidly sending his troops, under General Poor, down the road to the ford, and when these had safely passed he brought up in the rear with the skirmishers, reaching the west bank of the Schuylkill in safety just as the British, who tardily discovered the deception, arrived at the river. At Barren Hill, the divisions under Generals Grey and Clinton met in confusion where they expected to find their quarry. Their consternation was enlivened by recriminations between the commanders, and in a very crestfallen state they returned to Philadelphia, being unwilling to attack La Fayette in his now ascertained position. A ludicrous incident occurred when a body of dragoons, advancing on the Ridge road, came upon a company of Iroquois who were a part of Captain McLean's command, and who, terrified by the unfamiliar cavalry, rose with a war whoop from the ground where they were lying prostrate in ambush. The dragoons were even more terrified than the Indians, whom they believed to be painted devils, and they precipitately retreated down the road to Philadelphia.



MONUMENT AT BARREN HILL
ERECTED BY THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY, PA., TO MARK THE SITE OF LA FAYETTE'S ENCAMPMENT

La Fayette remained on the west bank of the Schuylkill over night awaiting possible attack, and on the morning of the twenty-first, having learned that the British had withdrawn, he recrossed to his former position on Barren Hill, and later returned by Swede's Ford to Valley Forge, to the great relief of General Washington, who had heard alarm guns which were fired the day before, and feared that the detachment had met with disaster. He warmly commended La Fayette for his judgment and skill in extricating his command from a seemingly hopeless position, in which defeat would have crippled the American army and forever blighted the young commander's career.

Anticipating that Clinton would soon evacuate Philadelphia, Washington called a council of war to determine the course to be taken. At this council General Lee, an English officer who had joined the Continental army, and who was second in command, vigorously opposed an encounter with the British and advocated withdrawal to White Plains to await developments. He carried many with him in this proposal although La Fayette spoke vigorously against it, and Washington, being desirous of attacking, requested all the officers to put their opinions in writing, but before this could be done it was learned that the British were on the march, and shortly afterward that they were across the Delaware on their way to New York. Washington sent orders to the New Jersey militia to impede the enemy in every way, and immediately despatched two divisions of the army under Generals Lee and Wayne respectively, to Coryell's Ferry on the Delaware, a direction parallel with that the British had taken, while the next day, the 19th of June, he followed with the main body under General La Fayette, Baron de Kalb, and Lord Stirling. Soon after passing the Delaware another council



SUNNYSIDE TAVERN, BARREN HILL

IN WHICH LA FAYETTE SLEPT. NOW OCCUPIED AS A DWELLING

was called, at which General Lee again argued against an encounter with the British, avowing that there was no hope of victory over the highly trained enemy, but Washington was determined not to permit them to pass unhindered, and with the support of many of the officers, including La Fayette, who spoke strongly in favor of an attack, he detached strong parties to harass their flanks and rear. These were increased until, having about five thousand men in this service, he decided to combine the commands under a major-general, who by right of seniority would have been Lee, but this officer being opposed to the plan, declined it and with his permission it was given to La Fayette. The latter started enthusiastically upon the mission and was close upon the British, who were then resting at Monmouth, when General Lee changed his attitude toward the operations and, declaring that his honor was at stake, begged Washington to place him in command, at the same time acquainting La Fayette with his request and working upon his generosity to resign in his favor, which La Fayette immediately, though reluctantly, did. Washington's purpose was to bring his army within available distance in case the detachment was endangered or a good opportunity for a general engagement arose. The division was now within a few miles of the enemy, and realizing that if they passed Monmouth the British would stand a good chance of reaching the coast, Washington resolved to attack them as soon as they should move, and directed General Lee to hold his troops in readiness for this. He also, in the presence of a company of officers, requested the latter to call a council of his generals later in the day to decide upon a plan of action.

From this time General Lee's acts must be regarded as those of a traitor to the cause he was identified with. He held no council with his officers, who therefore had no common understanding of the projected movement. He remained inactive while his generals were carrying out individual manœuvres, and he refused repeated calls for assistance, and finally recalled and ordered them to retreat in the face of evident advantage, until consternation prevailed, and his troops were in full retreat without knowing why. La Fayette, being superseded in command, had gone into action as a volunteer and was requested by General Lee to direct the advance detachments under General Wayne and General Scott, but while successfully executing his instructions, his command was ordered elsewhere and, in spite of repeated appeals for support, soon found itself deserted in the general retreat which it was obliged to join. General Washington was apprised of the situation by meeting on the road by which his army was hur-

riedly advancing, the first stragglers from the flying troops. Riding hastily forward he came up with the main body accompanied by General Lee, and in scarcely concealed wrath he demanded of the commander an explanation of his action. The latter in his confusion was at a loss for a reply, and receiving no satisfaction on repeating his inquiry, the Commander-in-chief left Lee and rode back to check the retreat. He soon learned that the British, taking advantage of the flight, were rapidly advancing, and he seized upon a favorable position in a narrow defile to make a stand and receive the enemy's cavalry. The latter advanced to within short range when they were met with a volley which shattered their formation and obliged them to fall back with heavy loss; they were followed by grenadiers who were likewise received and repulsed. In the meantime General Washington brought up his own troops which, with others of Lee's command, were advantageously disposed on rising ground in the rear, the center line under La Fayette, and effectually checked the British advance. A severe engagement ensued, and when darkness fell both sides maintained their positions, the British protected from flank attacks by woods and morasses on either side. Notwithstanding these difficulties, General Washington had decided to press an attack, but the failing light obliged him to postpone it until morning, with the result that dawn showed a deserted field, the enemy having departed noiselessly in the night, leaving many of their wounded, and gained an advance which rendered pursuit hopeless. The outcome was equivalent to a victory by the Americans which, had it not been for General Lee's incompetence or treachery, would have amounted to the annihilation of Clinton's army. General Lee was soon afterward tried by court-martial, and being found guilty on several charges, was sentenced to be suspended from all command in the army for a period of twelve months, this sentence being later approved by Congress. Before the expiration of this he was discharged from the service, the unanimous testimony of his brother officers leaving little doubt that his deliberate purpose on this occasion was to subvert the plans of his commander and facilitate the escape of the British.

While the battle of Monmouth was being fought to cripple the British in their passage to New York, a powerful fleet, the first of the French alliance, was nearing Delaware Bay in the hope of blockading and capturing Lord Howe's ships and coöperating with the American army against the garrison at Philadelphia. This fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line and fourteen frigates, with one thousand men for shore service in addition to their ample crews, was under the command of the Comte d'Estaing, and brought as a passenger, among others identified with the cause of independence, M. Gerard, the first minister of France to the new republic. It sailed from Toulon on the thirteenth of April, 1778, but head winds and storms beset the ships from the start, and it was eighty-five days before they anchored, on the seventh of July, inside the capes of the Delaware. By this time the British were safely in New York, and Washington, with his army, was nearing the Hudson, which he planned to cross and establish himself near the enemy. Finding no use for his fleet at that point, the Comte d'Estaing landed his passengers and despatched messengers to Congress and to General Washington, announcing his arrival, and then put to sea again with the purpose of following Lord Howe to New York. He arrived at Sandy Hook four days later, but to his great disappointment it was found, after waiting more than a week for fresh water and supplies, of which his men were in sore need, that his larger ships drew too much water to cross the bar at the entrance to New York harbor, and he was compelled to again put to sea, leaving the British, whom he so eagerly sought, safe in the inner harbor while he headed for Newport, Rhode Island, to coöperate with the troops under General Sullivan and others that Washington was preparing to despatch under La Fayette, for the reduction of a strong garrison which the British held under General Pigot on the islands of Narragansett Bay.

The arrival of this fleet was a source of great joy and gratification to La Fayette. It represented before the world the alliance of the country of his birth and that of his adoption. He was a thorough and sincere American in this struggle for liberty, but this in no way displaced his innate patriotism, bred through generations of soldiers and courtiers, and his heart warmed with a Frenchman's pride in the prowess and magnificence of his country's tribute, while it opened in thankfulness for the timely help promised the American cause. His native rank

and prestige, with his high standing in the esteem of the army and Congress, marked him providentially for an internuncio between these two peoples united in a common cause but with fundamentally differing sentiments and customs. This duty was made particularly pleasant by the fact that the Comte d'Estaing was his relative and an *Auvergnat* which was taken advantage of, at the request of General Washington, to assure the Admiral of the authenticity of the first dispatches from the American camp by reference to family and provincial matters. La Fayette had good reason for his gratification at the turn of affairs. He had left France in actual though regretful defiance of his honored King's commands, to champion an almost hopeless cause, and now, after two years of effort and advancement he beheld his country's forces by his side, and his King's minister received with high honor at Philadelphia. His eager desire to share in the glory to be won through the operations of the allies was gratified by the Commander-in-chief with the command of a detachment of two thousand men to augment the forces under Major-General Sullivan, consisting chiefly of militia which he was endeavoring to increase by levies from neighboring states. It was Washington's intention that La Fayette should lead this entire force, under General Sullivan's direction, but before La Fayette reached Providence the claims of General Greene, in this his native state, presented themselves, and he modified his instructions to the former, with the request that he relinquish one half his command to Greene, whose special fitness for this occasion was noted, and La Fayette with his usual good grace acquiesced, although experiencing some disappointment at this curtailment of his opportunities in concert with his countrymen. He reached Providence on the fourth of August, soon after the arrival of the fleet, which was anxious for immediate action, impelled by the evident weakness of the British situation and the necessity of early relief from an epidemic of scurvy engendered by the lack of fresh water and wholesome food; this was postponed at the request of General Sullivan, who had as yet received but a small part of his expected militia, and it was several days before he was ready to begin, during which General Pigot made important changes in the disposition of his troops and greatly strengthened his position. He had a garrison of six thousand men, the greater part of whom were at Newport, with a detachment at the northern end of the island guarding the passage from the mainland and another on the adjacent island of Canonicut; these were strongly intrenched and supported by several frigates and smaller craft. Realizing that his situation was critical, the British commander abandoned the post on Canonicut, which was certain to fall an easy prey before the fire of the French fleet and the troops from the mainland. He also blew up or burned the vessels, that would otherwise have been at the mercy of the greatly superior enemy, sending some of them adrift as fireships among the approaching fleet.



LA FAYETTE MONUMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C.
BY FALGUIERE AND MERCIER

When at last on the eighth of August General Sullivan declared himself in readiness for the combined attack and transmitted the plan to the Comte d'Es-

taing, only the necessity for harmonious action prevented a breach of the strained relations between the allies, each of which regarded the other jealously. La Fayette was called upon to exercise his tact to the utmost to maintain a degree of confidence between them, while his own feelings were lacerated by the seeming indifference of the Americans to the rights and merits of his countrymen. It having been agreed that the attack should be made simultaneously on the morning of Monday, August tenth, the Comte d'Estaing on the eighth moved his ships to the chosen stations, the chief squadron entering the main channel unharmed by the broadsides from the batteries on Rhode Island, to a point advantageous for disembarking the troops which were to serve on Canonicut with the Americans under La Fayette. On Sunday, while the troops and field pieces were being landed, word was sent to the Comte d'Estaing by La Fayette that General Sullivan had taken advantage of the retreat of the British from their northern fortifications on the approach of the French ships that were sent up the East Channel, and had crossed over to Rhode Island with his troops, though unable to transport his cannon, and that he desired assistance from the French Admiral. This deviation from the carefully arranged plan was doubtless of little consequence from General Sullivan's point of view, but to the professional soldier, on whom he now relied, it was the shattering of every tradition of recognized warfare and an affront affecting every one of his self-sacrificing compatriots. Notwithstanding his wounded sensibilities and the poignant regret that his men would thus be deprived of their just meed of glory in the expected victory, he was preparing to send the desired assistance when he received intelligence of a powerful fleet that had arrived outside to succor the beleaguered garrison. This alarming news found him in a weakened position, his ships widely separated and many of his men on shore, and he decided to immediately embark his men and call a council of his captains to decide on the question of offensive or defensive action. The council declared in favor of concentration of the fleet during the night in readiness to receive attack, as the wind was unfavorable to passage outward, but in the morning the wind veered to a favorable direction and they at once set sail to meet and challenge Lord Howe. Three frigates were left to protect General Sullivan, to whom assurances were transmitted that the Comte d'Estaing would return and take part in the attack as soon as he had defeated the British fleet.

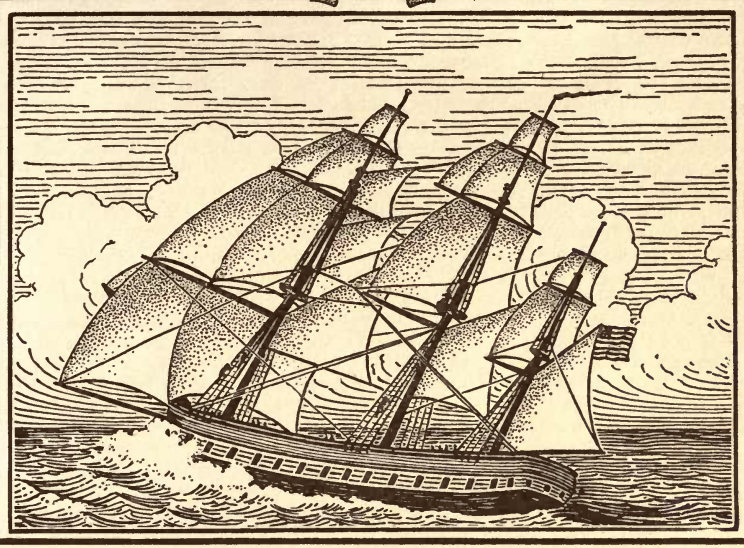
Having repassed the British batteries on Rhode Island without serious damage from their broadsides, he approached the enemy under full sail, and the latter hastily left their anchorage and put to sea, standing again toward New York. The French followed with all possible speed, and late in the afternoon had so gained upon them that orders were given for a general attack, which Lord Howe was preparing to meet, when a severe storm arose and obliged the admirals to give their undivided attention to the preservation of their ships. The storm continued with great fury throughout the night, and when morning broke both fleets were scattered and badly damaged, the "Languedoc," the Comte d'Estaing's flagship, having lost her rudder and all her masts. In this helpless condition she was attacked by one of the British ships, which fortunately did not press its advantage, and other desultory engagements took place, but neither fleet was in condition for combat and after a consultation with his captains the Comte d'Estaing turned toward Newport—his own ship in tow of a less crippled one—and the British returned to New York without further molestation. The council of captains strongly favored immediate retreat to Boston for refitting and replenishing the almost utterly exhausted or contaminated supplies, and by the strict terms of his royal orders the Admiral was required to do this, but as he had given his word that he would return to Newport he determined to do so, although it was evident that he was in no condition to render aid to General Sullivan. On arrival he presented his situation to the American Commander, and advised him of the necessity of taking his fleet straightway to Boston, as the conditions and his orders required. He promised to return at the earliest possible day and resume operations, but the American officers refused to be satisfied with this, and his sailing was followed by a protest signed by all but General La Fayette.

The position of the latter was fast becoming unbearable under the succession of misfortunes and misunderstandings that marked the Comte d'Estaing's ill-starred expedition. His honor as a Frenchman, dearer even than his hope for American liberty, was frequently and deeply wounded by the disparaging com-

ments and recriminations he heard from his brother officers, and by the unfriendly looks that met him on every side. Under this he maintained his usual poise and dignity, but his feelings found vent in a heartfelt letter to General Washington and in personal protest to General Sullivan, when the latter in the heat of resentment included in his general order a slighting reference to the allies. He convinced the commander of the necessity of retraction, and a later order of the same day explained what, it noted, had unwarrantably appeared to be a reflection on the Comte d'Estaing and his fleet. While he resented the attitude of his companions toward his compatriots, La Fayette in no way relaxed his efforts to secure mutual coöperation, and he had earnestly endeavored to dissuade the Comte d'Estaing from departing until some decisive blow could be struck. Having failed in this he rode post haste to Boston, at the request of General Sullivan, to urge the detachment of an auxiliary force to aid in the land attack, and as a result of a conference with the French commander and the Massachusetts leaders, he brought back to General Sullivan assurance of the Comte d'Estaing's readiness to personally command a regiment of reinforcements which would be entirely at the disposal of the American General. The Count made this offer to show his freedom from ill-will as a result of recent dissensions, and to restore harmony, as he had no faith in the value of such an inconsiderable augmenting of the forces, but his complaisance proved fruitless as an attack had been precipitated the day after La Fayette's departure from the field and the latter reached Rhode Island again just in time to take charge of the last section of a midnight retreat to the mainland. On the twentieth of August he had made the journey to Boston, a distance of seventy miles, in seven hours, and arrived almost at the same hour as the French fleet. On the thirtieth he made the return trip in six and one half hours, reaching camp at eleven o'clock at night.

In leaving the army in the face of imminent action he sacrificed his keenest ambitions to the will of his superior. The struggle which had been the object of his hopes and efforts for more than a month was forced by the British, when the Americans, after a council of war and in view of their growing weakness from rapidly deserting militia and the peril of their position in the event of the expected return of the English fleet, returned to their former position at the northern end of the island, where the adjacent mainland would enable them to retreat if necessary. This was accomplished on the night of August twenty-eighth, and early on the morning of the twenty-ninth General Pigot discovered the movement and hurried his forces to a vigorous attack. General Sullivan displayed great skill and bravery in the resulting engagement in which he repulsed three determined assaults, and in the last completely routed the enemy, who retreated in disorder, leaving many dead and wounded on the field. At the end of the day the British were intrenched on a neighboring hill, and the two armies confronted each other with minor skirmishes during the thirtieth, while on the American side a council of war, called on the receipt of a message from General Washington announcing the departure of Lord Howe for Newport, declared for immediate retreat to the mainland. In pursuance of this, the heavy baggage was sent to the rear, while at the front a show was made of strengthening the fortifications. As soon as darkness permitted the transportation of the troops was begun which La Fayette on his arrival from Boston completed without discovery or mishap. This movement proved a fortunate escape, as on the following morning Lord Howe arrived with a fleet of one hundred vessels and with reinforcements for the garrison.

The action on Rhode Island marked the close of operations against the eastern stronghold of the British and terminated the activities of the allies under the Comte d'Estaing. Having set out with a splendid equipment and with the high hopes of France and America, as well as with undoubted personal enthusiasm, he had failed, through a succession of misfortunes, to accomplish any of the great objects of his expedition, and in now preparing to sail for the West Indies, he was carrying out what was expected to have been a triumphant descent upon the British possessions after clearing the coast of their ships, whereas the close of his campaign left America more menaced than before, as the presence of his fleet had been the cause of a greater strengthening of British naval forces on this side of the Atlantic. On the breaking up of the command, La Fayette was left to defend the country around Bristol while General Sullivan with the main



THE FRIGATE "ALLIANCE"

BUILT ON THE MERRIMAC RIVER AT SALISBURY POINT, NEAR NEWBURYPORT, MASS.

body of the troops went to Providence. The Marquis had expressed to General Washington his mortification and regret at his enforced absence from the field of battle, to which his inherited profession of soldier most ardently impelled him, and it was therefore especially consoling to receive, as he did soon after, a copy of a resolution of Congress noting his service in Boston and thanking him for his self-sacrifice at a time of impending action. It was accompanied by a cordial letter from the President, Henry Laurens, to whom La Fayette returned expressions of his gratification and his sincere and abounding love for America and its cause of liberty.

With the approach of winter and the prospect of inactivity for some months, he recurred to his desire to visit his home, which he had entertained the previous year but which had been frustrated by the proposed expedition to Canada. He had now an incentive added to the joy of reunion with his family, the possibility that his service would be required in a descent on England under his country's flag, of which the Comte d'Estaing had suggested a probability. He obtained leave of absence to visit Philadelphia, and on his way spent a day with General Washington at his headquarters on the Hudson, and received the Commander-in-chief's approval of his petition for a furlough to return to France. An ill-considered affair came up at this time, when Lord Carlisle, one of the commissioners sent by England to offer terms of peace to America, referred slightingly to France in an address to Congress. La Fayette, with youthful and with French impulse, against the remonstrances of General Washington and the Comte d'Estaing, challenged the commissioner to give him an opportunity to avenge the insult, but Lord Carlisle refused to regard it as a personal matter and suggested that it was one fitter for the French and English admirals to decide—a view in which La Fayette in later years coincided.

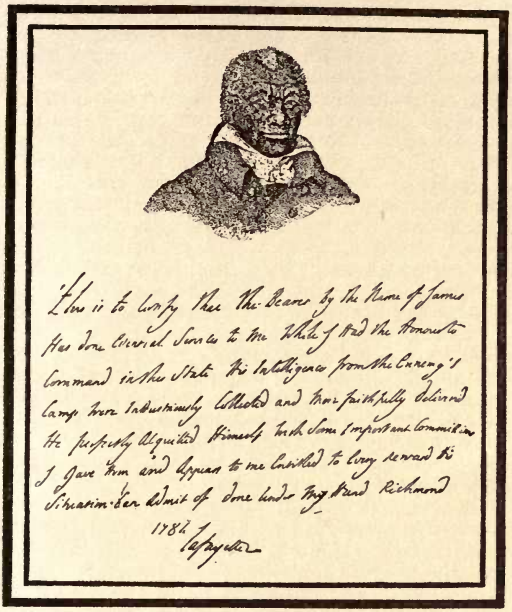
Congress, always ready to honor the beloved marquis, not only granted him an indefinite furlough but extended their thanks for his zeal and services and further "*Resolved,* That the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America at the court of Versailles be directed to cause an elegant sword with proper devices, to be made and presented, in the name of the United States, to the Marquis de La Fayette." It was also ordered that the new frigate "Alliance," then at Boston ready for sea, be held to carry him to France. He set out from

Philadelphia with buoyant anticipations of his glorious return, but the chilling weather of the late fall found in him a weakened victim, and a growing illness overtook him with prostration at Fishkill on the Hudson, only a few miles from the headquarters of his dearest friend in America. There he lay for weeks tossing in violent fever while the army and the country mourned him as one departed, so little hope was entertained of his recovery. General Washington visited the house daily to learn of his condition, and he sent to attend him, Dr. John Cochran, Surgeon General of the Army, under whose skillful and devoted care he finally rallied. As soon as his strength returned sufficiently he bade an affectionate farewell to his dear friend, and with Dr. Cochran, who was still solicitous, departed for Boston, where he passed a short period of convalescence while awaiting the complement of the frigate's crew. He kept up correspondence with Washington to the moment of sailing, and he took with him a most cordial and appreciative introduction from the latter to Dr. Franklin, while Congress addressed to King Louis a remarkable testimonial to his character and abilities in the service of the United States.

The "Alliance" sailed from Boston on the eleventh of January, 1779, and made a quick passage in spite of especially rough weather, arriving at Brest on the twelfth of February. La Fayette had left France less than two years before under the ban of a *lettre de cachet;* he now returned a recognized and an honored hero. The *lettre de cachet* was, technically, still in force against him, and he went at once to Versailles where he met the King's Ministers and was most cordially received, but out of respect to the law was arrested and committed to the Hotel de Noailles—his family residence. Here he gave himself up to the joy of reunion with his wife and kindred, and received the notables who hastened to pay their respects and consult him, and the ladies who flocked, in the allowable French fashion, to embrace him. He saw for the first time his daughter Anastasia, born since his departure, who now occupied the place of the lost Henriette. After a few days he wrote a letter of humble apology to the King and he was in consequence summoned to Versailles where he received a *"reprimande douce"* and congratulations from Louis XVI, and was restored to liberty with a hint to avoid as much as possible the public places where demonstrations by the people would call attention to the anomaly of his position. There is ample evidence that such sequestration was warranted, as popular acclaim had reached such a height that nightly allusions to him in the theaters occasioned general applause.

La Fayette was now able to give thought and effort to plans directly and indirectly favoring the revolution, and the high respect in which he was held at Versailles, especially by the Comte de Vergennes, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, enabled him successfully to advocate them and resulted in incalculable good to the American cause. So critical and discouraging were conditions in France and America that but for the personal popularity of Franklin and La Fayette the fullness and continuance of the aid so indispensable at this juncture would have been unattainable. Through the influence of Queen Marie Antoinette he was made colonel of a regiment stationed at Saintes and from this place he addressed to the Ministry numerous suggestions upon the common cause, and in particular upon a projected expedition to invade England in which he was extremely desirous of taking a prominent part. The expedition was finally arranged and he left for Havre where the army and navy were to rendezvous for this purpose, his assignment being that of aide to the Comte de Vaux, the Commander-in-chief. Great preparations were made for a combined attack by the forces of France and Spain, but owing to extreme tardiness on the part of the fleet under Comte d'Orvilliers, which was to convoy the transports, British contradefense so progressed that the feasibility of the plan was in doubt and it was finally abandoned late in the summer of 1779 after months of waiting. While at Havre La Fayette received with warmly expressed pleasure the sword made for him in Paris under Franklin's direction by order of Congress, and now brought to him with an appreciative letter from the envoy by his grandson Temple Franklin. This sword was of exquisite workmanship and depicted on the golden hilt and guard the scenes in which La Fayette's bravery and skill had been most conspicuous.

Even while the invasion of England was expected, La Fayette was developing, at the request of M. de Vergennes, a comprehensive and detailed plan for a



PORTRAIT AND LETTER BY LA FAYETTE
FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE CAPITOL, RICHMOND

second expedition to America, and in the latter part of July he forwarded this to the Secretary with such copious notes and instructions based upon his knowledge of the country and experience in its affairs that the memorial was accepted as an adequate embodiment of the subject and became the foundation of the plan which, upon the abandonment of the Channel campaign, was definitely adopted. Thus through La Fayette the energies of France were again bent to succor and aid the enfeebled cause of liberty whose exhausted defenders were now reduced to critical inefficiency. Through correspondence and consultation between La Fayette and the Comte de Vergennes the final arrangements were made and early in March, 1780, the Marquis found himself on board the frigate "Hermione" bound once more for America, this time as the honored servant of his King, bearing to General Washington the tidings of ships, and troops that were soon to follow, and his majesty's suggestions for their effective employment under the American Commander-in-chief. On the twenty-eighth of April the "Hermione" arrived at Boston where great joy was manifested at the return of La Fayette, who was escorted through cheering crowds to the residence of General Hancock. He at once wrote General Washington apprising him of his arrival and intention of starting the next day to seek him and deliver the important messages with which he was intrusted. He was at that time ignorant of recent movements of the army and of the location of headquarters but following later intelligence he found the General at Morristown, where he arrived on the tenth of May. He was received with gratifying enthusiasm by the officers and soldiers and with heartfelt pleasure by Washington, to whom he announced the coming of the new expedition, under the Comte de Rochambeau, and presented the suggestions of the ministry contained in his instructions from the Comte de Vergennes. After spending a few days with General Washington and discussing the combined operations, La Fayette continued to Philadelphia to present himself to Congress and to confer with the Chevalier de La Luzerne, who had succeeded M. Gerard as French Minister to the United States. He was heartily welcomed by Congress, which as a body had as yet no knowledge of the news he brought, it having been thought wise to withhold this information until the arrival of the fleet, for fear of giving warning to General Clinton. Before the French arrived however the matter was generally known and discussed, as the British had received dispatches from England reporting the movement.

Washington's great anxiety was to properly support and feed the allies and he urged the governors of the several states to exert themselves to the utmost to raise men and provisions for the purpose. His own army had frequently been without bread or meat for days at a time, so scant were the resources available, but he felt that now or never must the supreme effort be made to strike a crushing blow, and this would be impossible and the French coöperation again fruitless without troops and rations. The fleet, which arrived at Narragansett Bay early in July, consisted of six ships of the line and five frigates with five thou-

sand five hundred troops. More troops were to have been sent but the transports for bringing them were delayed and it was thought best to sail at once with all that could be carried, leaving the balance to be forwarded when opportunity offered. They were hardly inside the Rhode Island capes when several British men-of-war appeared and they came out again to meet these, but the British were apparently discouraged by the strength of their enemy for they turned and put back to New York. The Comte de Rochambeau immediately sent a letter to General Washington placing himself and his forces at the Commander-in-chief's disposal, on receipt of which La Fayette was despatched to Newport with a plan of action against New York, which then seemed feasible because of a preponderance of naval strength on the French side—and which Washington regarded as the most important object attainable—but before he reached Rhode Island reinforcements under Admiral Graves arrived which gave the British the naval superiority and put the French commanders on the defensive. The situation of the French was rendered more dubious by the incapacity, through illness, of a large proportion of the troops and sailors, and Admiral de Ternay feared for his fleet a repetition of the failure of the Comte d'Estaing. A few British men-of-war appeared off Newport and were driven back by a portion of the French fleet, which were unable to overtake them, but they in turn were pursued by a large fleet of the enemy which soon appeared and which set up a blockade of Narragansett Bay. As General Clinton was known to be preparing a large expedition to move against the combined forces of General Heath and the Comte de Rochambeau on Rhode Island, the surrounding country was drawn on for militia to swell the ranks, and the French General strongly urged General Washington to send a body of regulars to his assistance, but for many reasons the Commander-in-chief decided against this, mainly because he felt that by using his army to threaten New York from the West and thereby restrain General Clinton, he could more effectively relieve the forces at Newport. The issue was as he hoped and the expedition was soon abandoned, although there is reason to believe that other considerations contributed to this result.

Although the situation was relieved it was still unfavorable, and La Fayette took up with the Comte de Rochambeau the plan of attacking New York, which the aid of the second division from Brest, which was now shortly expected, would render promising. Much depended on this division as it was to bring clothing for fifteen thousand men, and large quantities of arms and powder, all of which La Fayette had arranged for, but which the first division was unable to bring on account of the lack of transports. The need of these munitions was greatly felt in the work of building up the army for the projected operations, but patience and patriotism on the part of officers and men made the best of the deficiency. Having established an understanding as to the movements to be made when operations were begun, La Fayette returned to the headquarters on the Hudson and was given the command of a corps of light infantry, consisting of six battalions, which General Washington had formed with this in view. As the light infantry would naturally be in the van in any movement the commission was both flattering and pleasing to the Marquis, and the relations thus begun between commander and men were notable for cordiality and permanence.

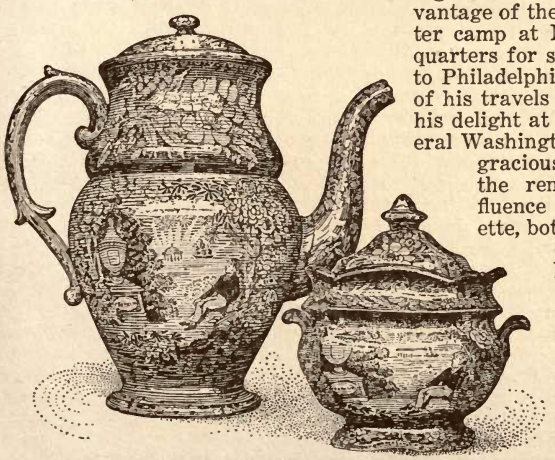
Late in August the frigate "Alliance" arrived at Boston and brought information that the second division of the French fleet was blockaded by thirty English ships outside the harbor Brest. This put an end to hopes of immediate reinforcements and supplies from France and it became necessary to give up the plan of an attack on New York until greater naval strength was available. Regret for this misfortune was particularly poignant because of the lateness of the season, and the fact that a large part of the army would retire at the end of the year through expiration of their terms of enlistment. At this juncture General



COMMEMORATIVE PLATE
Owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Washington, in compliance with a request from the Comte de Rochambeau, appointed September twentieth at Hartford for a conference on the situation and prospects. The Commander-in-chief was accompanied on this occasion by General La Fayette and General Knox, while with the Comte de Rochambeau and Admiral de Ternay were several other French officers. The conference was most deferential on both sides, and the serious deficiencies of force and resources being recognized by all, mutually signed statements were executed which strongly urged the King of France to provide the necessary ships and supplies, and a copy of these addressed to Comte de Vergennes was delivered to the Vicomte de Rochambeau, the son of the General, who sailed at once for France in one of the vessels of the fleet. To further urge this appeal Congress despatched Colonel John Laurens, the son of their President, to the court at Versailles. The American officers returned to headquarters by way of West Point to give General Washington an opportunity to inspect the fortifications there and confer with General Benedict Arnold who at his own urgent request had recently been appointed to command this post. The hand of fate, which alike shapes good and ill fortune, brought them there at the very hour of Major André's arrest at Tarrytown while returning from the fort with Arnold's traitorous contract of surrender, and the latter, having the fortune to be first informed of this, fled without greeting them. In a most detailed and interesting account of the calamity which he wrote to the Chevalier de La Luzerne, La Fayette expressed his horror of the revelation and related the circumstances attending it, commending also to the sympathies of patriots the stricken wife of the traitor, who, he was convinced, was ignorant of the plot. He was a member of the court-martial which condemned Major André to be hung, and he signed the judgment, regretting deeply that the inexorable necessities of war required beyond any shadow of doubt the execution of this talented and lovable young man.

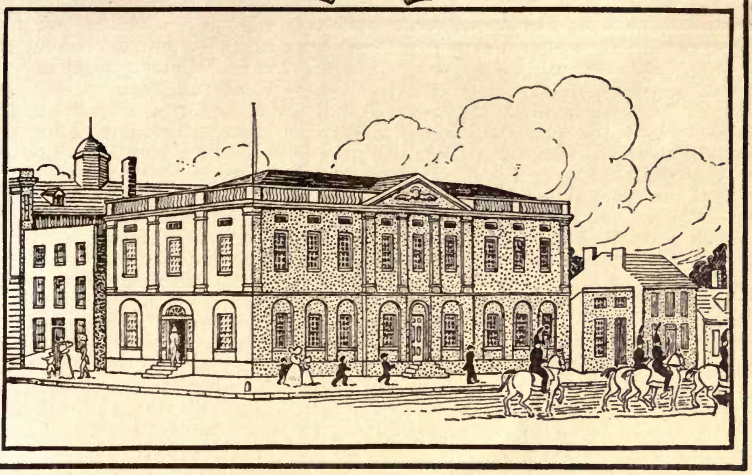
September was now near its end, and with Admiral de Ternay's fleet blockaded at Newport and the American army unequal in numbers or equipment to the British under General Clinton, there was little prospect of accomplishing any decisive movement during the few weeks that would intervene before going into winter quarters. La Fayette with his usual zeal, and especially in consideration of the moral necessity of presenting some report of action to the waiting Ministry, urged various secondary attacks upon the British outposts around New York and one of these had been determined upon when an unexpected movement of the enemy's ships disarranged the plan. He chafed under inactivity and he feared for the reputation of the American army and the success of the expedition which his country had sent here. While he was agitated by these regrets the Chevalier de Chastellux, a dear friend who was serving under Comte de Rochambeau, took advantage of the settled routine of the winter camp at Newport and visited headquarters for some days while on his way to Philadelphia. In a charming account of his travels M. de Chastellux describes his delight at meeting and knowing General Washington, who received him most graciously, and his gratification at the remarkable position and influence of the Marquis de La Fayette, both among his troops and the country in general, while he further says of him, "I do not fear contradiction when I say that private letters from him have frequently produced more effect upon some states than the strongest exhortations of the Congress." Soon after the Marquis de Chastellux arrived at Philadelphia, La Fayette ob-



LA FAYETTE CHINA IN METROPOLITAN MUSEUM
Reproduced by permission

tained leave of absence and joined him, there being no special occasion for his services at the winter quarters to which the army had now repaired. From that city his attention was turned southward and in the hope of active service he requested General Washington to transfer him to the department under General Greene, who was endeavoring to regain General Gates' lost ground in South Carolina and Georgia. General Washington at this time feared that by renouncing his command in the northern army La Fayette would unwisely forfeit his share in the glory to be achieved when reinforcements should make possible the reduction of New York, and he advised the Marquis to decide the matter in the light of the fullest information that he could obtain from France as to the probability of immediate succor. Everything now depended on substantial aid from that country. The British easily dominated the naval situation, while the army, through lack of funds and consequent lack of food and clothing, was reduced to its lowest efficiency—with rapidly dwindling ranks and little hope of recruits. The uniforms and supplies which La Fayette had arranged for, were still at the mercy of the British fleet blockading Brest, and although public spirited men and women worked diligently to supply the deficiency, the suffering was but slightly relieved. On the occasion of the raising of a fund in Philadelphia for this purpose, La Fayette contributed one hundred guineas in the name of his wife, and accompanied the gift with a letter assuring the ladies having the matter in charge that the Marquise would, were she present, most heartily enter into the work. While at Philadelphia he frequently wrote to Comte de Vergennes and others of the Ministry urging speedy assistance, and to M. de Vergennes and to Madame de La Fayette recommending Colonel Laurens, the special envoy, to the highest social favors. He gave up his idea of joining the southern army and early in January, 1781, he returned to the headquarters at New Windsor to pass the rest of the winter with General Washington with whom he hoped to visit his countrymen at Newport.

While he thus renounced his desire for southern service the movements of the British were soon to bring about in a more gratifying way than La Fayette had expected, his participation in the campaign in that section. Confined to New York in the North, General Clinton had long since transferred aggressive operations to the South, hoping thus to restrict by degrees the territory of the rebels, and through several successful engagements had taken Savannah and Charleston, at which latter city he had left Lord Cornwallis with upwards of four thousand troops, to hold it and, if possible, extend his domination northward. On the American side, General Benjamin Lincoln and his army had been forced to surrender at Charleston, and Congress had formed and despatched a new corps from Maryland and Delaware, under Baron de Kalb, and given the command of the Department of the South to General Gates who, taking his army into South Carolina, was met and utterly defeated at Camden, the Baron de Kalb being killed in the action. Cornwallis sought to take advantage of his success by marching through North Carolina, but was checked by an American victory in an engagement with a division of his troops at King's Mountain and drew back over the South Carolina border. Sir Henry Clinton, on learning of the success at Camden, despatched a force of three thousand men under General Leslie to establish a base near the James river in Virginia, and operate in that vicinity subject to orders from the southern commander. The latter soon called General Leslie to his support in South Carolina and the British Commander-in-chief made up another expedition to enter Virginia under the traitor Benedict Arnold, who now held the rank of brigadier general in the British army. These operations were followed with intense interest by General Washington, who cherished the hope of dislodging the British from their strongholds in the South. He was authorized by Congress to appoint General Nathanael Greene to supersede Gates, and the former was already in North Carolina with the nucleus of an army, when Arnold arrived at the James river on the thirtieth of December, 1780. General Greene had aroused the country through which he passed, to fresh and notable exertions for the support of his troops, and was gathering an effective army at Charlotte, North Carolina, but as he was fully occupied in checking Cornwallis it was necessary to combat Arnold with another division. To this end General Washington detached a part of the Light Infantry commanded by La Fayette in the fall of 1780, and ordered a rendezvous of New Jersey troops at Morristown—in all about twelve hundred men—which he placed under La Fayette with instructions



ASSEMBLY HALL AND LIBRARY, BALTIMORE
FROM A PRINT OWNED BY THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

to proceed at once to the head of the Elk river and from there to embark, under French convoy if possible, for Hampton Roads or other advantageous point.

La Fayette received the command on the twentieth of February and started at once on the mission. He planned so wisely and marched so expeditiously that he reached the Elk several days ahead of the date mentioned by General Washington in his instructions, notwithstanding unfavorable weather and roads. He had seen to the shipment of ammunition and supplies from Philadelphia and written Governor Jefferson of Virginia requesting reinforcements of militia and also horses for the artillery he had received on the way, and his expedition, so far as his control of it extended, had every prospect of success. In his instructions he was ordered to embark his troops only when certain that French vessels were in Chesapeake Bay to support them, but after waiting several days for the collection of the required boats La Fayette embarked his men and took them to Annapolis, which he considered a point of greater advantage, from whence he continued down the bay to investigate conditions and if the French were there to personally request of the commander the convoy which, from his knowledge of the jealousies still obtaining with the allies, he felt was unlikely to be sent.

Admiral de Ternay the commander of the French fleet at Newport had died there early in the winter and his place had been taken by the Chevalier des Touches, hitherto second in command. The latter was earnest for active operations and during a storm which scattered and weakened the British blockading fleet, he was enabled to despatch a ship of the line and two frigates for Chesapeake Bay in response to requests from Congress and the Governor of Virginia, who were alarmed by the Arnold expedition and hoped to check it by destroying its transports. These vessels left Newport on the ninth of February but as the British ships were then safe in the Elizabeth river at Portsmouth they soon returned without accomplishing their purpose, although they justified their attempt by capturing at sea several of the enemy's ships and destroying others.

General Washington was ignorant of the departure of this squadron and when he learned of it predicted the result, but he urged M. des Touches to proceed there with his entire fleet and a suitable detachment of land forces which he regarded as essential to the purpose. It was this expedition which he relied upon to support La Fayette, and though it eventually sailed, nothing was accomplished as it was overtaken at the entrance of Chesapeake Bay by Admiral Arbuthnot and a blockading fleet, and after a hard fought battle in which neither side gained a victory, was obliged to return to Newport for repairs. A few miles



MONUMENT—SCENE OF SURRENDER
YORKTOWN, VA.

away La Fayette, unconscious of the repulse, was at Yorktown, Williamsburg and other points where stores could be collected or information of the enemy gained, and he learned with gratification that in response to his appeals Baron Steuben, who had been stationed at Richmond, had raised five thousand militia to serve with the troops then resting at Annapolis. While reconnoitering the enemy's position at Portsmouth with General Muhlenberg, whom he visited at his camp at Suffolk, he learned of the arrival of a fleet which he naturally supposed to be that of Admiral des Touches, but which to his great astonishment and disappointment he later found to be British. La Fayette's instructions required him in the event of success or failure of the original plan to return to headquarters as expeditiously as possible, and he therefore set out by land for Annapolis, going by way of Richmond and allowing himself the pleasure of visiting General Washington's mother at Fredericksburg and his home at Mount Vernon, for which delay he made amends by riding at night. On arriving at Annapolis he found the return of his fleet blocked by two small gunboats which the British commander had immediately sent up the bay, and the matter of reaching the head of the Elk became a serious question, as to go by land would necessitate the sacrifice of artillery and heavy stores which he had no means of transporting such a distance, and for which no wagons could be found although the surrounding country was searched. The forward passage of the fleet of ninety-seven boats had been made under Commodore Nicholson of Baltimore and he was ready to take them back at the first opportunity of eluding the gunboats. This opportunity came, after the land passage had been given up as unfeasible, through a plan of Colonel Ebenezer Stevens, proposed at a council of the officers. Under his direction two of the largest sloops, each about sixty-two tons burden, were armed with cannon, and, fitted with awnings to protect the crew, they resolutely sallied forth. Although greatly superior in armament the British did not see fit to test it, and they dropped down the bay a safe distance while the fleet triumphantly emerged and made a rapid passage to the point of their embarkation. Arrived again at the head of the Elk, La Fayette's plans were once more reversed by the receipt of a recent letter from General Washington in which he retracted, after very serious consideration, an earlier confirmation of the original instructions to return, and directed him to proceed as rapidly as possible to the support of General Greene.

While this was directly in line with his earlier expectations, La Fayette found it difficult to carry this order into effect with the troops turned toward the North. They did not like the prospect of a summer in an impoverished army in the warm climate of Virginia or North Carolina, and desertions became alarmingly frequent. To check these, La Fayette took extreme measures which were entirely successful. He hung one deserter and reprimanded two others, and then in an order of the day he announced the nature and hazards of the proposed expedition, and that he would not force any soldier to encounter these against his will, but to obviate the occasion for deserting he would on application from any who wished to return to the North grant them a pass to headquarters. Thus placed upon their mettle they cheerfully accepted the situation, and desertion, which had threatened to destroy his army, ceased entirely. Considerable

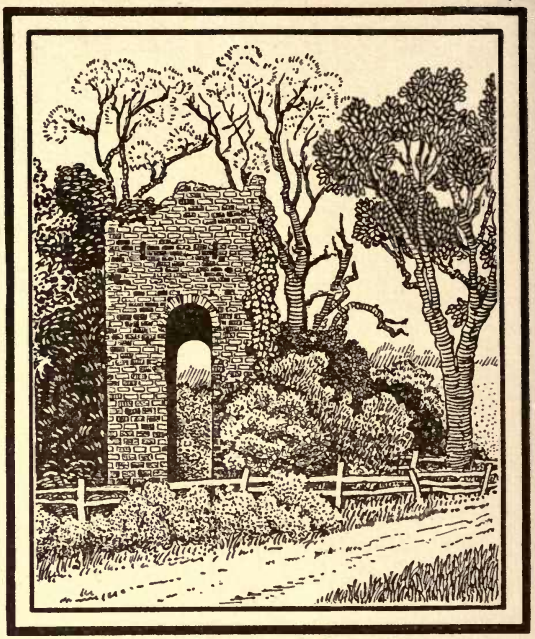
difficulty was experienced from head winds while crossing the Susquehanna river at Bald Friar Ferry, but without further incident the troops reached Baltimore where it was hoped to obtain much needed supplies of clothing and shoes. The finances of Congress were then at their lowest ebb and even Robert Morris, to whom the burden had been transferred, was unable to meet the requirements, so that no help could be expected through regular channels. It was impossible to proceed without the supplies, however, and La Fayette on his personal security borrowed two thousand guineas of the merchants of the city, with a large part of which he bought cloth for overalls and shirts, and with the balance hats and shoes. At a ball given in his honor in the new Assembly Hall he appealed to the ladies to make up the garments, with the result that the next day the dancing hall was turned into a busy workroom and those who had graced the ball vied with each other in the work of clothing the soldiers.

With spirits revived by new and serviceable outfits, the expedition left Baltimore on the nineteenth of April and began the campaign that was to end in the most glorious event of the war. Many other carefully matured plans had been set at naught by disappointment and delays and unpropitious elements, but for this one, to an extent far greater than even the Commander-in-chief could foresee, a beneficent Providence was drawing together long hoped-for and long deferred advantages, to unite them in a crown of victory. That victory was the capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown, and the path to it was virtually direct from this point, although incidental detours were necessary, and slowly ripening conditions counseled delay.

Pressing forward with the utmost rapidity by forced marches, and unimpeded by tents, baggage, or artillery, which followed under guard, La Fayette arrived at Richmond with his troops on the twenty-ninth of April just in time to prevent the capture of the city by General Phillips, who had come up the James river with a strong force and was then but a few miles below Manchester on the opposite bank. Phillips, although stronger in disciplined troops than La Fayette, and greatly exasperated by the sight of the latter's well chosen camp, did not see fit to contest his position but after burning some tobacco warehouses at Manchester, abandoned his object and dropped down the river by stages to Brandon, where he encamped on the south shore. When Arnold first arrived in Virginia, he raided Richmond and destroyed an important ordnance foundry, but as the public stores and munitions had been conveyed to remote country towns, and it was necessary to return immediately to the coast, comparatively little damage was done; at this time large stores of ammunition and supplies were held in the magazines, which were the especial object of Phillips' excursion, and the loss of these would have had a serious effect on the Virginia campaign.

Lord Cornwallis, who had returned to Wilmington to recover from a disastrous engagement with General Greene at Guilford Court House, now formed the plan of uniting his forces with those of General Phillips, who commanded over Arnold, to gain possession of Virginia, and isolate the South to hasten its conquest. He sent word of this plan to General Phillips and the latter, who had passed further down the river, returned to Brandon preparatory to marching to Petersburg, the appointed rendezvous. This movement led La Fayette, who was following him down the river at a safe distance, to believe that he intended another attack on Richmond, and he hastily returned with his own troops to that city, but he soon learned of Cornwallis' approach and the menace to Petersburg, and he chafed at his inability, from lack of men, to go there and defend it. He continued, however, by means of scouts, to keep watch over both armies and hoped for the speedy arrival of expected reinforcements under General Wayne which he planned to use to resist a combined attack. Owing to the great difficulty of organizing and equipping them, these reinforcements had not yet left Pennsylvania, and as La Fayette at this time received orders from General Greene to assume command of all forces in Virginia and protect the state to the best of his ability, the importance of conserving and most efficiently employing his small army rendered him extremely cautious; he wrote that he "hardly dared trust himself" and when it is realized that Virginia was then the key to the most vital issue of the war and that its protector, though so long a leader of men, was only twenty-four years of age, it is not surprising that the weight of this responsibility with the insufficiency of his means, bore heavily upon him. While General Phillips

was on his way to Petersburg he was stricken with a fever and soon afterward died, upon which the command of his troops devolved again upon Benedict Arnold. Very soon after his reaccession he sent a letter to La Fayette under a flag of truce but the latter on learning the name of the sender refused to receive it, explaining to the bearer that he would gladly communicate with any other British officer. This was in direct accord with his instructions from General Washington and the dictates of his own feelings, and it was highly approved by the country, but it naturally angered Arnold, who threatened hardship to American prisoners, but no notice was taken of his threats and on the arrival of Cornwallis he was given leave of absence to report to General Clinton at New York and passed from the scene.



RUINS CHURCH TOWER, JAMESTOWN IS., VA.
BUILT IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The operations of the next two months exhibited to a remarkable degree La Fayette's military abilities, and resulted, after devious marches and retreats by both sides, in driving the British into the trap from which they could not escape. Lord Cornwallis was joined by General Leslie with upwards of two thousand troops and another descent was made upon Richmond, but La Fayette caused the stores to be removed, and by retiring in another direction led the enemy a chase through the neighboring country, which in the course of events, and with the arrival of General Wayne, became a pursuit by the Americans. The British raided many towns, including Richmond and Charlottesville, pillaging and destroying stores, and at the latter place made prisoners of seven members of the General Assembly—which had retired there from Richmond on the approach of Cornwallis—Governor Jefferson himself barely escaping. Only once was the safety of the American army in doubt, and that was at Green Spring Farm near Jamestown on the sixth of July, when as the British were retreating down the river, La Fayette was led into an undue approach by a report that they were about to cross in great haste. This proved to be a trap into which Lord Cornwallis planned to draw the American commander, as he made it appear that the body of his troops had crossed and only a covering party remained, whereas the former were ambushed for an assault when La Fayette should open on the rear guard. By means of stragglers and pretended deserters who were instructed to misinform the Americans, La Fayette was led to make the attack, but he used such caution and made such an admirable disposition of his troops, that he inflicted considerable loss on the enemy and did not expose himself to the annihilation they hoped for. He discovered the ruse early in the action, although the concealed troops had not then been brought out, and by skillful formation, and distinguished vigor and bravery on the part of General Wayne, he was able to retire without serious loss, while the British, realizing the failure of their stratagem, crossed the river at nightfall and established themselves at Cobham. It is probable that no general action would have occurred had it not been precipitated while La Fayette was personally investigating the peculiarities of the advanced skirmish, as he then discovered the ambuscade, but when, on return-

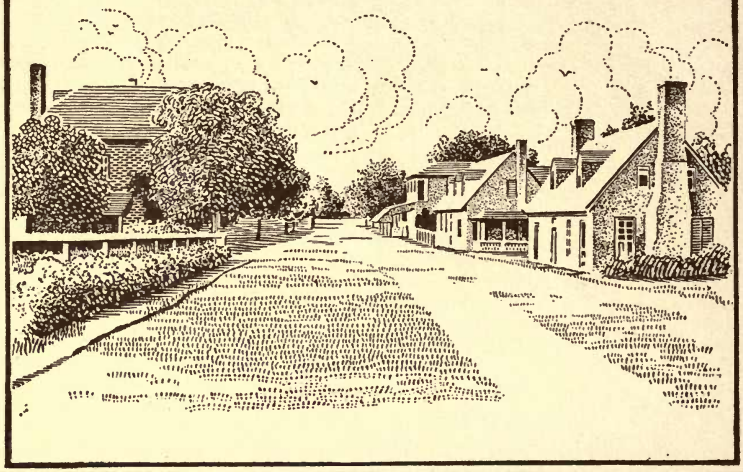


REVOLUTIONARY POWDER HOUSE
WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA

ing, he found the matter beyond recall he entered valiantly into it, and was in the center of the combat leading and encouraging the troops to the end, although his horse was twice shot from under him. His bravery endeared him still further to the army and the country, and was recognized with respect by his antagonists. With the exception of a detachment which General Tarleton took on a futile raid to Amelia Court House the British retired from Cobham to Portsmouth, and La Fayette after having occupied Williamsburg withdrew his troops to a more salubrious position at Malvern Hill. He sent Generals Wayne and Morgan to watch Tarleton, upon which the latter also fell back on Portsmouth, leaving Virginia free from further alarm.

La Fayette with his restricted view of the situation now regarded his work as finished, and hoped to be recalled to New York where he believed that more important operations would soon take place. There was good reason for this supposition, as General Washington had not relinquished his plan of driving the British from Manhattan and upon the arrival of Admiral the Comte de Barras, who came from France to command the fleet at Newport, a conference at Wethersfield, Connecticut, had decided to combine the French and American land forces on the Hudson, preparatory to making a general attack when the Comte de Grasse, who was expected from the West Indies, should arrive to strengthen the naval force. The proposed preliminary movements of the allied armies were intended, in a great measure, to alarm General Clinton and cause him to draw on his southern forces for support, thus to relieve the situation in Virginia, where at this time La Fayette appeared to have little prospect of holding Cornwallis in check. Fortunately, the report of the conference, which was despatched to Congress and the Chevalier de La Luzerne, fell into the hands of General Clinton by the capture of the messenger, and he at once sent the order to Cornwallis to embark his troops, which was the occasion of the latter's withdrawal to Portsmouth, the rendezvous of his fleet.

At the Wethersfield conference the Comte de Rochambeau had urged the concentration of the allies on the Chesapeake, an alternative to which General Washington had already given much thought, but as the Comte de Barras declined on the ground of the insufficiency of his force to take his fleet there, the plan was kept in abeyance until circumstances should further develop its possibilities, the Comte de Rochambeau meanwhile sending an urgent appeal to the Comte de Grasse for ships, men and money for New York, though he also called his attention to the equal opportunity for service in the Chesapeake. Early in June a fleet arrived at Boston bringing upwards of six hundred additional troops for the Comte de Rochambeau, and ample funds for his and General Washington's armies, and on the arrival of these reinforcements at Newport General de Rochambeau started with his entire force to join the American army on the Hudson. The "Saggittaire," which convoyed the French transports to Boston, also brought a letter from the Comte de Grasse whose fleet had left France with the other and kept it company for some time, which stated the admiral's intention of coming to the United States for a short visit which he hoped would prove advantageous to the allies, and the Comte de Rochambeau before breaking camp



THE VILLAGE STREET, YORKTOWN
UNALTERED SINCE THE REVOLUTION

despatched to him another letter frankly stating the weakness of the Continental army and again urging him to help them at this critical juncture with all the resources he could command. He also repeated his intimation that a favorable opportunity existed in the South.

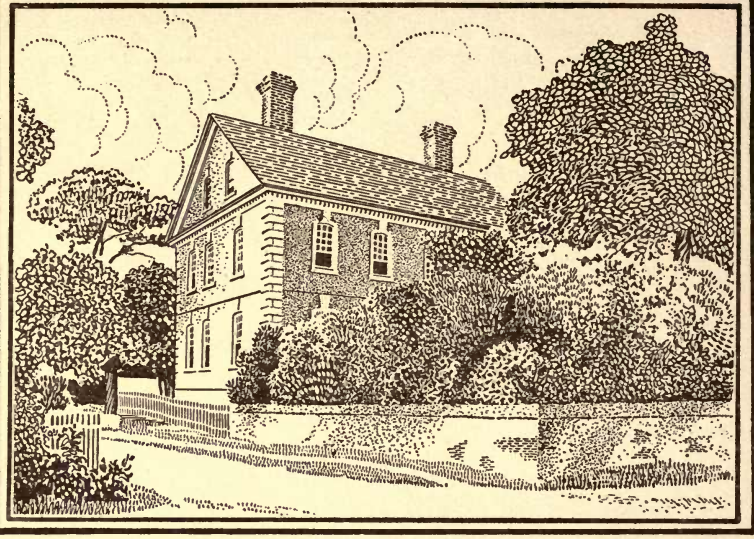
On the arrival of the French army General Washington undertook minor operations against British outposts but they were unsuccessful and the combined forces went into camp near White Plains to await developments. Washington's appeal to the states for additional troops met with slight response and his army had less than half the number of men he hoped for, so that the assistance of the Comte de Grasse was imperatively necessary to any offensive measures. The long awaited assurance of this assistance arrived on the fourteenth of August and caused an immediate change in the plans of the allies. The admiral announced that he would sail from Santo Domingo on the thirteenth of August with from twenty-five to twenty-nine ships of war, and in addition to their crews, three thousand two hundred men from the garrison of the island and a liberal equipment of artillery of a most effective character; that he would proceed to Chesapeake Bay, and that as he must return the men to the garrison in the fall it would be necessary to hasten to the utmost any proposed operations. He also announced that he had arranged to bring from Havana one million two hundred thousand livres in specie. On the receipt of this joyful intelligence the Commander-in-chief determined to move the combined armies to Virginia with all possible speed and his first care was to despatch a courier to the Marquis de La Fayette acquainting him with the Comte de Grasse's intention and urging upon him the necessity of holding Lord Cornwallis in a position unfavorable to retreat. He left La Fayette to surmise the part the Northern army would take in the operations as it was unwise to risk the possibility of giving General Clinton an inkling of his contemplated withdrawal from New York.

Leaving General Heath with a small force to protect the Hudson river he made a detour of New York with the remainder of the troops, about two thousand Continentals and four thousand French, to make it appear that he was moving on Staten Island and by this means deceived General Clinton until they were in a position to head directly for Philadelphia without fear of interception. While the army was marching to the head of the Elk General Washington went

ahead to arrange for supplies and then, inviting the Comte de Rochambeau and the Marquis de Chastellux, his companions, to accompany him, he paid a short visit to Mount Vernon, which he had not seen since he left it six years before to take command of the Continental army at Cambridge. At Philadelphia they had received word of the arrival of the Comte de Grasse which was soon followed by information of the juncture of troops under Field Marshal the Marquis de Saint-Simon with those of General La Fayette at Williamsburg.

Soon after his return to Portsmouth, Lord Cornwallis had embarked his troops, as directed by General Clinton, and was preparing to take them to New York when an order was received from his superior countermanding that for their return, and taking the General to task for having given up his ground on the James river, at the same time instructing him to take a favorable position between the York and the James where the fleet could be protected. As General Clinton had previously expressed a preference for Yorktown for such an establishment, and as surveys convinced General Cornwallis of its superiority to Old Point Comfort, which had also been recommended, he set sail around the peninsula and disembarking at that point began the erection of fortifications. To La Fayette, who watched their departure with interest, it appeared likely that Baltimore was the objective point of the British, and he hastily broke camp at Malvern Hill, and, calling in the detachments which he had posted to prevent a retreat of the enemy to North Carolina, he started for Fredericksburg, but on reaching Richmond learned that the fleet had entered Yorktown Harbor and contented himself with stationing General Wayne near Westover, while he took a corresponding position on the Pamunkey river. From here he wrote to General Washington—whose courier had not yet reached him—that he was confident that a considerable change had been made in the plans of the British, and that while there were points of advantage in the location at Yorktown and opposite in Gloucester, it would result happily for the Americans if a French fleet should make its appearance at this time. He also wrote that he was exercising great caution as "His lordship plays so well that no blunder can be hoped from him to recover a bad step of ours." His observation in regard to the fleet was based only on the general knowledge that one was likely to be in West Indian waters, and when a little later he learned that it was actually coming to his aid his spirits rose to a high pitch of enthusiasm.

On the receipt of General Washington's letter he communicated it to General Wayne and ordered him to proceed to Westover and prepare to cross to the south side of the James, where he would be in a position to embarrass any attempt of the British to reach North Carolina, and he then, in accordance with General Washington's instructions, sent dispatches by Colonel Gimat his friend and former aide-de-camp, to Cape Henry to be delivered to the Comte de Grasse immediately upon his arrival. He had as yet no knowledge of the coming of General Washington himself, but he was happy in the prospect of the substantial aid of the French fleet and the troops with it, and he was prepared to waive any question of his own rank as commander, to obviate possible friction in the union of the forces. Happily he was not called upon to do this, as the Comte de Saint-Simon though holding high rank in the French army, insisted on taking a place subordinate to the American commander, when, a few days later, the ships appeared, and the troops, which were immediately reëmbarked for the passage up the James, went into camp at Jamestown Island, under the protection of La Fayette's guns. The latter's triumph was now insured and the hard work and skillful strategy of the long and unequal campaign for the possession of Virginia were rewarded with the knowledge that Lord Cornwallis was securely confined in his ill chosen position. Since receiving General Washington's dispatch, La Fayette's chief anxiety had been to prevent the British from making a sudden retreat to the southward, but now, thanks to the forces at his disposal, all danger of this was past and he recalled the outlying divisions that guarded the roads and passes, and moved his camp to a strong position at Williamsburg, but a few miles from the enemy. Early in the summer Lord Cornwallis had written to General Clinton, "The boy cannot escape me," but now with the "boy" and his forces only a few hours' march from his camp he felt unequal to attacking him, and after a reconnoissance settled down to the completion of defensive works at Yorktown and Gloucester, hoping for reinforcements from New York to relieve his situation.



GOV. NELSON'S HOUSE, YORKTOWN
OCCUPIED BY THE BRITISH AND BOMBARDED BY ORDER OF ITS OWNER

The Comte de Grasse, out of regard for his obligation to return to San Domingo, wished to begin the attack at once, but in compliance with La Fayette's earnest solicitation, and in deference to the latter's superior knowledge of the situation, he consented to await the arrival of Generals Washington and Rochambeau—whose movements were now known—and their armies. He had reached the Chesapeake on the thirtieth of August and on the fifth of September he was challenged to battle by Admiral Graves, who had succeeded Admiral Arbuthnot at New York and who left there with his fleet in search of the Comte de Barras, who, in connection with the movement on Yorktown, had left Newport with his own ships and a large fleet of transports loaded with the supplies and heavy artillery of the Comte de Rochambeau, and whose departure had been discovered. The Comte de Grasse at once put to sea for greater freedom of action, and a battle ensued in which, as with that of Admirals des Touches and Arbuthnot, no decisive victory was obtained on either side, but which seriously disabled some of the British ships, one of which had to be abandoned and destroyed. Admiral Graves was forced to retire to New York, and the Comte de Grasse although still strong and in an advantageous position was content to return to Chesapeake Bay after waiting some days for a renewal of the engagement, as in view of the responsibilities of his position he wished to take no unnecessary risks. On reaching Cape Henry he found that the Comte de Barras had safely arrived while the opposing fleets were off the coast, having escaped Admiral Graves by a wide detour. This welcome reinforcement assured a sea power ample for the occasion, and the transports were at once unloaded and sent up the bay to the head of the Elk to bring down the waiting troops.

General Washington, with the Comte de Rochambeau and the Marquis de Chastellux having resumed their journey from Mount Vernon, arrived at La Fayette's headquarters at Williamsburg on the fourteenth of September. The reunion was momentous for the Marquis as he not only had the joy of being again with his beloved friend, but he was relieved from the strain and responsibility of his previous sole command, which, especially in its necessity of procuring provisions, had caused him much anxiety. The Comte de Grasse sent the "Queen Charlotte," a luxurious craft which he had captured from the British, to bring General Washington and his companions to his flagship, and they spent several

days there in pleasant and necessary intercourse, the highest military honors being paid to the Commander-in-chief on his arrival and departure. On his return to camp he found among his dispatches one announcing the arrival of Admiral Digby at New York with six ships of the line and additional troops. He at once sent this information to the Comte de Grasse, who, alarmed by this access of power and fearing the return of Admiral Graves with this reinforcement, determined to abandon the Chesapeake which he feared would be blockaded, and await their possible arrival outside the Capes. This decision blasted instantly all hopes and plans that Washington had cherished since leaving New York, and changed the certainty of victory to the almost equal certainty of Cornwallis' immediate escape by water to his former strong position at Portsmouth. To prevent this crushing misfortune Washington despatched La Fayette to the flagship with a most strenuous appeal for a reconsideration of the decision urging the Marquis to use his influence to the utmost to the same end, and the messenger had the pleasure of returning to Williamsburg with the promise of the Admiral to remain and carry out the original plan. The allied troops had now arrived from the head of the Elk and joined those at Williamsburg, and immediate preparations were made for attacking the British position.

On the twenty-eighth of September the American troops and their allies marched from Williamsburg and took up positions surrounding Yorktown. The following day they advanced to within firing distance of the enemy's outer works, and on the morning of the thirtieth they entered these, the British having abandoned them during the night and retreated to the central fortifications. The French ships were drawn up in the river opposite the town, and with the troops steadily closing around him, Lord Cornwallis' position was becoming very serious and he hurriedly sent messengers to New York for aid. General Clinton had discovered too late the error of his orders and had hoped to relieve the post, but the best he could do was to promise to despatch a fleet under Admiral Digby, with five thousand land troops and ample provisions and supplies. Cornwallis believed that he could hold out until the arrival of this succor and it was arranged that on hearing heavy firing at the mouth of the bay, he should send up two columns of smoke to indicate his continued occupation of the town. This time however all elements combined for American success and the help he looked for came too late.

With the Americans under La Fayette on the right, and the French troops on the left, Washington after a week of preparation fired the first gun of the siege on the morning of the seventh of October. The fire was kept up with increasing severity until the eleventh, when a second parallel, but three hundred yards from the enemy's fortifications, was opened. The British had suffered severely, many of their guns being silenced, and on the fourteenth Washington determined to force two outlying redoubts by which the inner works were protected, and which in his hands would make the reduction of the latter easy. One of these was assigned to the American Light Infantry under La Fayette and the other to the regiments of Auvergne and Gatinos under the Baron de Viomenil. The detachments, with fixed bayonets, charged simultaneously in the face of a destructive volley, and in a few minutes the Americans, led by the gallant Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Hamilton, had scaled the parapet and taken their redoubt, the British throwing down their arms as the Americans entered. The French commander had expressed a belief that only his troops would succeed in the undertaking, and as he was not yet in possession of his redoubt, La Fayette, jealous of American valor, immediately tendered his assistance, but the Baron answered for the unaided ability of his men and a little later announced his similar victory. Two days later the British, made desperate by the destructive fire from these points, attempted to regain the redoubt held by the French, but were repulsed and driven back to their works with great loss, and as a last resort Lord Cornwallis undertook, under cover of darkness, to remove his troops to Gloucester Point. A rising storm defeated this purpose—of doubtful merit at the best—and he was obliged to bring back the few who had reached the other side, and resign himself to the inevitable end. On the seventeenth of October he opened his negotiations for surrender, and on the next day, the articles, which, at La Fayette's suggestion, were the same as those imposed on General Lincoln at Charleston, were signed. On the nineteenth the British troops, resplendent in new uniforms, marched out between the French and Americans drawn up in lines, and laid down their arms,



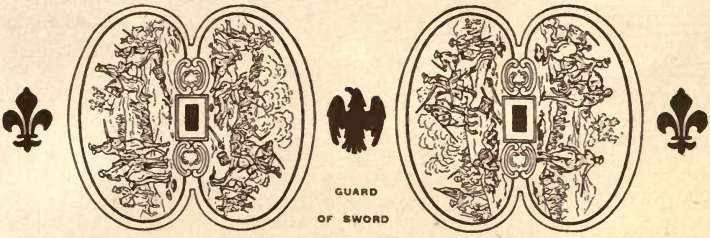
THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS' ARMY, YORKTOWN, OCT. 19, 1781
FROM THE PAINTING BY TURNBULL, IN THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON

their bands playing "The World Turned Upside Down," a then popular air. Lord Cornwallis kept his tent, giving illness as an excuse, and sent his apologies by General O'Hara, who delivered his sword to General Lincoln.

Although General Clinton still held New York and had posts at Charleston and Wilmington, Cornwallis' surrender was recognized as the virtual end of the struggle. General Washington, hoping to regain the Carolinas while his troops were flushed with victory, desired the coöperation of the Comte de Grasse in the reduction of Charleston, or at least the aid of his ships to transport reinforcements under La Fayette to General Greene, but satisfied that he had accomplished all that should be required of him under the circumstances of his visit to the American coast, the French Admiral felt himself obliged to deny this request, and La Fayette, seeing no further opportunity for active service, obtained General Washington's permission to visit Philadelphia and petition Congress for leave to return to France to spend the winter. This request was immediately granted and resolutions were passed eulogizing his services in Virginia and accrediting him to the Ministers at Versailles as a qualified representative of the United States in matters pertaining to its needs. He was also made the bearer of a letter to King Louis XVI, and the frigate "Alliance" was again designated to convey him across the Atlantic. He sailed from Boston on the twenty-third of December, 1781, and after a very short voyage landed in France, where the account of his triumph had preceded him and he was received with high honors.

The youth whose high resolution had prevailed over royal bans, had, by force of his manliness and proved abilities, passed from indulgent recognition in the American army to enduring fame in its history, and gained the irrequitable affection of the people of his adopted country. His expected return to service under Washington was deferred at the request of Franklin, who greatly appreciated his help in securing the many benefits still required of France, and the termination of the war found him thus engaged.

Firmly established in the esteem and affection of all classes in his native land, he settled down to the quiet joys of his family life, little knowing how soon these were to give place to the turbulence and anarchy, separation and bereavement of the yet unheralded French Revolution. Before this second era of his life however, he crossed the ocean once more to visit his beloved friend General Washington, with whom he spent some weeks at Mount Vernon in the fall of 1784, and then, after a tour of a few of the scenes of his activities, he bade him a final farewell and sailed from Boston on his return to France.



PRESENTED TO LA FAYETTE BY CONGRESS

At an age when young men customarily enter upon active life, La Fayette returned to the affairs of his native country, mature in experience and flattered with exceptional distinction. The monarchy of France, undermined by the excesses of three reigns, though still exhibiting the habitual appearance of strength, tottered on the verge of a revolutionary abyss. Excessive taxation and despotic rule exhausted and prostrated the producing classes and raised discontent almost to resistance, while the revenue thus extorted was inadequate to meet the requirements of national obligations and royal extravagance. Louis XVI and his luxurious court lived only for display and private gratification, while one after another, ministers of finance sought in vain to supply their ever increasing demands. The American Revolution, so generously aided, had drained the treasury to the danger point and the only hope of recuperation lay in wise administration and radical economy. The former was available and the latter had been repeatedly urged but such was the influence of the nobles whose patronage was menaced that no headway could be made in this direction, and added taxation of the people was the only resource applauded.

Turgot, whose wise reforms were unpalatable, was succeeded by Necker, who also brought skill and high purpose to his office and inspired confidence in the people. He in turn was forced to give way to M. de Calonne, who revived an appearance of prosperity by negotiating ruinous loans, but who, toward the end of 1786, was obliged to announce the virtual bankruptcy of France, and realizing that retrenchment was imperative, urged the King to call together an Assembly of Notables in the hope that this body could and would impose such measures. La Fayette, although in disfavor with many of his class because of his liberal tendencies, was made a member of the body thus instituted and proved its most potent influence. The Assembly recommended minor reforms and having investigated Calonne's record, secured his dismissal, but it could not be brought to indorse the pleas of La Fayette for the abolition of wasteful ceremonies and patronage, and the equitable distribution of taxation. Realizing the futility of its further deliberation he startled the Assembly and the Court by calling for the convocation of the States General — a memory of a less enthralled France of nearly two hundred years before. Louis agreed to do this and named the year 1792 for the inauguration, hoping that in the meantime public confidence would be restored and that the Government would then be in a strong position, but dissatisfaction continued and he was obliged to issue the summons for May, 1789. This was in thought and deed the actual beginning of the revolution that engulfed France in the most barbaric tumult of destruction that history has recorded. La Fayette looked forward to radical changes in the system of government but he believed that these would come peaceably as a result of philosophic influences, and with his innate and cultivated love of liberty he placed himself in the forefront of every movement to secure its blessings for his countrymen.

At the appointed time deputies to the number of twelve hundred, representing the nobility, the clergy, and the people—or Third Estate—elected by their peers after an exciting campaign, assembled at the church of Notre Dame de Paris, and the next day at Versailles were received by the King and addressed by Necker, reinstated Minister of Finance. The adoption of methods of procedure occupied several weeks and but for the insistence of the Third Estate upon its right, numerical and political, to dominate and constitute the body parliamentary, effective organization would have been impossible as the Nobility and Clergy, though separately less in number, claimed the right to vote as bodies which thus combined could defeat the people. In the end, however, they were obliged to accept the organization of the Third Estate and vote as individuals.

La Fayette had been elected to represent the nobles of Auvergne and he found himself in an anomalous position as in this contest his sympathies were with the people. While he was considering the resigning of his seat to seek election to the Commons, his dilemma was solved by a royal order commanding the Nobles and Clergy, many of whom had already gone over to the dominant body, to recede from their position and join the popular organization. This ascendency of the people was reflected by rioting at Paris and Versailles, and the impending civil conflict was hastened by the concentration of the King's troops to quell these disturbances. The first and most important act of the Assembly was the consideration of a "Declaration of Rights" introduced by La Fayette which formulated on a high and enlightened plane the rights and dues of the people, and which became the basis of subsequent enactments.

Notwithstanding his ambition to lead in the parliamentary emancipation of his countrymen, which was assured by his being elected Vice-President of the "States General," La Fayette was destined for other and more strenuous activities and he was soon called from the Assembly to the command of a body of Militia called the National Guard, organized to subdue the more violent elements of the populace which the royal troops were unable to control. In this position, with the rapidly growing tendency toward anarchy, he soon became the most prominent figure of the revolution, and, until the final upheaval, when, intoxicated with power the ascendent terrorists threw off all restraint and shed noble blood in rivers, he was the only one capable of standing effectively between royalty and the clamoring mob.

The necessity for this organization was made manifest by the uprising at Paris which followed the dismissal of Necker from the Ministry to which he had been returned to gratify the people. His plans were too radical for the Court, and with other ministers favorable to the popular interests he was requested to secretly depart. The news of this and the presence of German troops, which the King had brought to overawe malcontents incited them to riot, to quell which the Provost of Merchants, the nearest to recognized authority, was called on to enroll a civic guard which armed itself from the public arsenals and later under the badge of the tricolor proposed by La Fayette, became the National Guard. The opening day of this enrollment was signalized by a demonstration around the hated Bastile, the hitherto impregnable prison where for centuries had languished justly or unjustly the offenders of royalty. Throughout the night the mob continued to gather and on the morning following, the memorable fourteenth of July, began an attack which late in the afternoon compelled its surrender. Its fall and demolition symbolized the extinguishment of royal power and oppression, and its anniversary has become the chief national holiday of France.

The task that La Fayette found awaiting him was difficult almost to the point of discouragement. The line between mob domination and the supremacy of his motley National Guard was so precarious and doubtful that order and discipline were matters of passing impulse and influence, sometimes yielding to his exhortations and again surging uncontrollably in an opposite course. With Jean Sylvain Bailly, formerly president of the Assembly, now appointed Mayor of Paris, he shared authority transcending that of the King, whom indeed it was given him later to direct and eventually to arrest.

In the States General the Comte de Mirabeau led the debate and strove for the enactment of a constitution on which to base a reformed political system, while in the faubourgs and the "Palais Royal"—a popular forum—"Sanscullotism" banded for pillage and destruction. Destitution and hunger are grievances on which a mob can speedily be raised and a throng of determined women moved by these incentives, gathered at the Hotel de Ville on the fifth of October, 1789, and routing a company of the National Guard took possession of the building. To get them out it was proposed, insincerely, to lead them to Versailles, and a citizen named Maillard seized a drum and led the way, followed by the "Menads" who enlisted or impressed every member of their sex, of high or low degree, who came upon the scene, and not to be swerved from their course straggled in a noisy and ever increasing horde—followed by sympathizers of every description—over the fifteen miles of muddy road in a drizzling rain, to the royal palace where they demanded bread. La Fayette, starting some hours afterward, arrived about midnight with his National Guard, which from fear of its loyalty under such con-



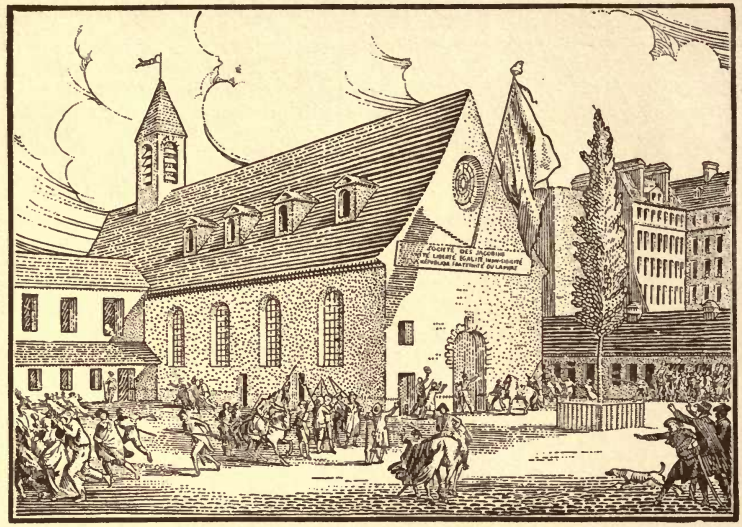
CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME DE PARIS
IN WHICH THE STATES-GENERAL CONVENED, MAY 4, 1789

ditions he had kept in Paris until the King's danger became evident. He reassured Louis and the Assembly, which was still in session, and about five o'clock in the morning retired for a short rest having been without sleep for twenty-four hours. He had hardly lain down when he was recalled to the palace by a conflict which was precipitated between a party of marauders and the Life Guards, and which, but for his presence and the services of the National Guards, would have resulted disastrously for the royal family, whose apartments were invaded by a mob. Later in the day he gave public evidence of the devotion to the King and Queen, and his popularity caused them to be received with cheers, the people dispersing on his assurance that they would accompany him to Paris. Under his escort they were taken to the Tuileries, followed peaceably by a procession of one hundred thousand, and although no personal restraint was as yet exercised they were from that time virtually prisoners.

The Duc d'Orleans, cousin of Louis XVI, dissolute of character and a recognized enemy of the King, was suspected of complicity in the attack at Versailles and was forced to retire to England by La Fayette, whom all parties acknowledged as the savior of the royal family. Following the Insurrection of Women, the Assembly—which to be near the King had transferred its place of meeting to one of the halls of the Tuileries—while enacting the constitution abolished *lettres de cachet*, an arbitrary form of arrest, proclaimed ecclesiastical estates confiscated to the Government, and on the basis of this property issued eight hundred million francs in paper *assignats*. This reckless expedient caused the final resignation of Necker, who in response to popular clamor had been again recalled to the Ministry of Finance. Religious orders were suppressed, taxes on salt and corn repealed, jury trial instituted, and all titles of nobility abolished, with which last decree La Fayette, who had urged its adoption, consistently complied although in later years other régimes brought a general return to monarchial titles.

At this time a new menace to rational administration made its appearance in the Rue St. Honore where a club called the Jacobins, from the religious order whose convent they occupied, gathered nightly to the number of a thousand or more and promulgated incendiary doctrines. Its membership included the most radical and unprincipled leaders in the Assembly, and to counteract its effects La Fayette organized an association called the Feuillans or Moderates, which for upwards of a year and a half held it materially in check, but which was then dispersed by the flight of a majority of its members during the events leading to the Reign of Terror emanating from its rival.

To fittingly celebrate the anniversary of the taking of the Bastile and thereby cement the bonds of patriotism and brotherhood, a grand fête was planned for the fourteenth of July, 1790, when all National Authorities should swear allegiance "to the King, to Law and to the Nation." By the voluntary labor of the inhabitants of Paris of both sexes and all ages and ranks, the Champ de Mars, a spacious plain set apart for military manœuvres, was transformed to an immense amphitheater with an impressive altar and festooned colonnades and arches. On the



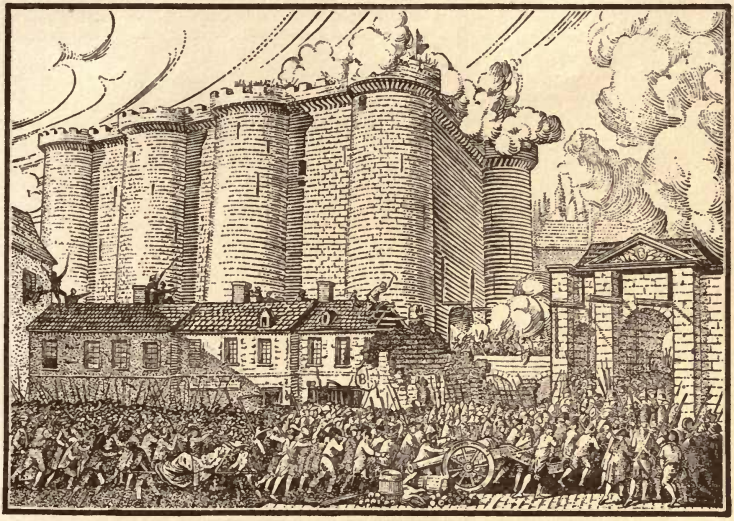
HEADQUARTERS OF THE JACOBIN SOCIETY
THE BIRTHPLACE OF THE REIGN OF TERROR

morning of the festival, La Fayette, who was master of ceremonies by virtue of the temporary command of the National Guard of France delegated to him by the King, arrived at the head of a procession of sixty thousand federalists, soldiers and deputies, and after the celebration of mass by the Bishop of Autun and three hundred priests, amid the booming of cannon, he descended from his horse and presenting himself at the throne received from the King the form of the oath, which he carried to the National Altar and pronounced to the assembly of five hundred thousand persons, his words echoed by the Army, the President of the National Assembly, the Deputies and the King. "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" reigned throughout the day and night, and promised a future free from strife and intrigue, but the sun of another day brought its paramount emotions submerging the glorious federation in new and greater animosities.

On the twenty-eighth of the following February a mob from the Faubourg Saint Antoine, the most lawless district of Paris, attacked the prison at Vincennes under the leadership of Santerre, a brewer subsequently to become more ignobly prominent. Before they succeeded in liberating the prisoners La Fayette arrived and put them to rout. While he was thus occupied he was summoned to the Palace of the Tuileries, some five miles distant, where it had been discovered by the National Guard that all the dependents of the King, rallying as by arrangement, were armed with daggers. It probably was to defend the King should the Saint Antoine mob descend on the Tuileries that this arrangement was made, but the Guards professed to believe it a conspiracy to abduct Louis, and before the return of La Fayette they had disarmed and violently ejected the courtiers.

Following closely upon these alarms the National Assembly and the true cause of the people lost an heroic figure whose influence for good was second only to La Fayette's. This was the Comte de Mirabeau, whose motives were often questioned, whose methods were resented, and whose private character was assailed, but whose public acts were the embodiment of strength and wisdom, a force and a balance on occasion, and whose continued activity would have tempered Jacobinism. He died on the second of April, 1791, and was buried on the fourth, amid general and sincere mourning and demonstration.

Toward the middle of this month the announcement was made that the King for the benefit of his health would pass the Easter season at Saint Cloud, the real



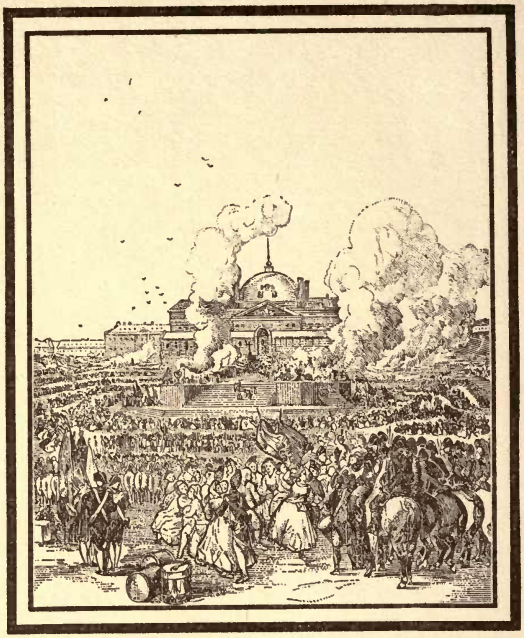
THE STORMING OF THE BASTILE, JULY 14, 1789

ITS FALL AND DEMOLITION WERE THE MOST SIGNIFICANT EVENTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

reason of his excursion being his desire to receive the ministration of a priest not sworn to the new civil orders, which, in common with many devout Catholics, he regarded as an infringement on moral and ecclesiastical rights. On the eighteenth of April, in accordance with this plan he started in his state carriage but was immediately stopped by a crowd that blocked his way. La Fayette hastened to the scene, and, appreciating the delicacy of his motives, offered to open a passage at any cost, but the King would not permit the attempt, and leaving the carriage returned to the palace. The suspicion that the King was about to flee, though unjust on this occasion, was however warranted, and preparations were then making for the event. On the evening of the twenty-first of June the royal family with trusted attendants left the Palace of the Tuileries and in several closed carriages were carried northward where the support of the army defending the frontier was depended upon. The undertaking was badly managed and at Varennes the heavy coach containing the King and Queen was blocked by an obstructed bridge which suspicious town officials, warned by intelligence now sent broadcast, had piled with wagons and lumber. Close by, on the other side of the bridge, was an advance guard of the army, sent to meet the refugees, but its commander, a son of General Broglie, one of the King's most trusted officers, had, owing to the lateness of the hour, ceased to look for them, and retired for the night. Thus detained, where deliverance was looked for, the party was overtaken and arrested soon afterward by a company of National Guards and escorted back ignominiously to Paris to be more closely guarded until, a year later, after a few months' freedom following the acceptance of the constitution they were imprisoned in the Temple, from whence after predetermined trials they issued to the guillotine—Louis XVI on the twenty-first of January, 1793, and Marie Antoinette on the sixteenth of the next October.

Early in September, 1791, after the Federation and the flight to Varennes, the long-looked-for Constitution was completed and accepted by the King, and the Constituent Assembly—formerly the States General—having finished its work terminated its sittings and dissolved. Its last acts decreed the King exempt from punishment for his attempted flight, and, on the initiative of La Fayette, authorized the freeing of all prisoners held for offenses growing out of the Revolution. The proposal to absolve the King from responsibility for his flight aroused bitter

antagonism from the Jacobins, and before it was enacted a petition to the Assembly urging his dethronement was started on the altar at the Champ de Mars and signed by a multitude of Jacobin sympathizers, who having created a disturbance were fired upon and dispersed, several being killed—by the National Guards under La Fayette and by the authority of Mayor Bailly, who proclaimed them guilty of disorderly conduct. With the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, La Fayette resigned his command of the National Guards, which he avowedly held only to preserve order until the Constitution should be established, and retired to his home in Chavaniac taking with him a sword forged from bolts of the Bastile and presented as a token of the esteem of his Guards. With all others of the better classes he believed the destiny of the nation happily settled and he looked forward to peace at his country estate.



NATIONAL FEDERATION IN CHAMP DE MARS
JULY 14, 1790

The Constitution from which so much was expected failed unmistakably, however, to fulfill its mission and the new Legislative Assembly elected under it lacked the capacity of its predecessor, whose members had specifically decreed that none of their number should be eligible to membership in the new body. Internal troubles appeared and multiplied, and early in 1792 these were augmented by a declaration of war against Austria. This brought La Fayette again to the front, as at the request of the King he was appointed to command the Army of the Center, one of three divisions of the French forces, with headquarters at Maubeuge, in Flanders near the Prussian frontier. From his camp at this place he wrote to the Assembly, in part as follows, denouncing the instigators of the high-handed violences which were rending his country:—"Can you dissemble even to yourselves, that a faction (and to avoid all vague denunciation), the Jacobin faction, have caused all these disorders? It is that which I boldly accuse—organized like a separate empire in the metropolis, and in its affiliated societies, blindly directed by some ambitious leaders, this sect forms a *corporation entirely distinct* in the midst of the French people, whose powers it usurps by tyrannizing over its representatives and constituted authorities." The Jacobins, in consternation at this arraignment, declared the letter to be forged, on which La Fayette left his army and appeared at the bar of the Assembly to repeat with emphasis his accusations and plead for the respect and authority guaranteed the King by the Constitution. In this he was too late, as a mob which invaded the Tuileries on the twentieth of June on the pretext of petitioning the King to withdraw his vetoes of two revolutionary decrees, had hopelessly violated the dignity of the royal presence and foreshadowed the repression and dethronement soon to follow. Realizing that the Constitution was practically overthrown, La Fayette, who still enlisted an ardent following, planned to remove the royal family to the frontier, pledging the protection of his army, but the King with fatal perversity refused his good offices and he reluctantly returned to his command.

Insurrection had now infected outlying districts and a body of its votaries to the number of five hundred marched from Marseilles and were received as

heroes in Paris on the eve of the anniversary of the Federation, which was repeated in a mockery of its former spontaneity. Frightened by La Fayette's denunciation, the Jacobins endeavored to secure his impeachment by the Assembly but were outvoted two to one and were forced to adopt more radical measures to overthrow the Moderates who still cherished the Constitution in name. They had for weeks sought in vain for some apparent provocation by the Court which could serve as a rallying cry for the Faubourgs, and crystallize insurrection that would dethrone the King. The supporters of La Fayette were now insulted without and within the Assembly, and under the leadership of George Jacques Danton, who exhorted the people to rise and save themselves from external and internal enemies, an uprising was accomplished which, invading the Tuileries, forced the King to seek protection of the Assembly, and massacred the valiant Swiss, who alone of all his constitutional defenders had remained loyal and efficient until his subservience to his dictators caused him to order them to cease resistance. The King was declared dethroned, and with his family was imprisoned in the Temple, while the Court and the Constitutionalists sought safety in flight. Aristocrats active and passive, for no reason but their presumed sympathy with royalty, were by hundreds thrown into prison, many to be delivered only when the tumbrels carried them to the guillotine under the decrees of the September tribunals.

When the intentions of the revolutionists were obvious, La Fayette had sent messengers to again implore the King to avail himself of the protection of the army, but he was once more rebuffed and his plan becoming known he was denounced as a traitor and enemy of the people. Under the style of the Commune of August 10th the Jacobins usurped the government of Paris, and still fearing La Fayette's popularity sent commissioners to conciliate him with offers of high office if he would ally himself to their cause, but on their arrival at Sedan he caused them to be arrested and imprisoned, paying no heed to their overtures. He renewed his army's oath of fidelity to the Constitution but deputies from Paris soon corrupted it, and realizing that further effort was useless he gathered a few of his most intimate friends and set out for Belgium from whence he could make his way to England or America. To do this they were obliged to cross the path of the Austrian army, to which they had recently been opposed, and one of the party went to headquarters to obtain the necessary passports. These would have been immediately forthcoming but for the fact that the presence of La Fayette was noted, and as he was regarded by foreign courts as the instigator of the Revolution the whole party was arrested and taken to the fortress of Wesel where the rigors of the confinement in a damp cell prostrated their leader. He was told that his condition would be ameliorated if he would give information to aid the Austrians, but as he spurned this offer he was treated with greater severity. After some months at Wesel the prisoners were transferred to Magdebourg, where they were placed in dungeons and debarred a sight of the sky or each other for nearly six months, when, it being evident that life could not be maintained under such conditions, they were given a daily airing in the court yard.

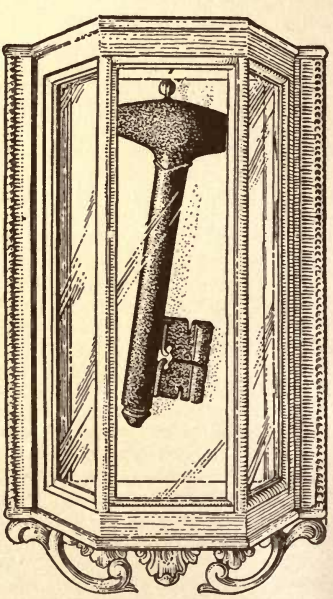
While La Fayette languished in prison, events moved rapidly in France. Successively lower elements of Jacobinism gained control through the imprisonment or execution of former leaders. The King and Queen were executed, Marat, one of the most venomous and unprincipled instigators of anarchy, was assassinated by virtuous Charlotte Corday; Danton was guillotined to make way for Hébert, and he in turn to elevate Robespierre. The war of La Vendee, in southern France, engaged hundreds of thousands, and the guillotine and even shooting being inadequate to dispose of the prisoners of the revolutionists, thousands were drowned, men, women and children together, penned in hulks that were sent to the bottom of the Loire. Madame de La Fayette and her children were arrested and would have been executed but for the intervention of Gouverneur Morris, American Minister to France, who also advanced a large sum of money to relieve the distress of the family, many of whose estates were confiscated and whose revenue was cut off. The Marechale de Noailles, grandmother of Madame de La Fayette, the Duchess d'Ayen her mother, and the Vicomtesse de Noailles were carried to the guillotine together, and the loss of these beloved intimates added greatly to her other misfortunes.

With the tide of war favoring the French against the Prussians and Austrians it was deemed wise by the coalition to remove La Fayette to Austrian

territory, and he was taken to Olmütz where his hardships were further increased and he was told that his identity would be forever lost in a prison number by which he would be designated in all communications and records, as he was regarded as most dangerous to monarchial institutions and it was desired to reduce him to political if not actual death. During these years of imprisonment his friends in Europe and America petitioned frequently for his release without other effect than to further convince his captors of his importance to the cause they sought to crush. One of his old friends, however, the Comte Lally-Tollendal, made the acquaintance in London of Dr. Erick Bollman, a Hanoverian who had aided in the escape of other French prisoners, and Dr. Bollman, who was an enthusiastic admirer of La Fayette, agreed to undertake his release.

In the autumn of 1794, some six months after the General had been taken to Olmütz, Dr. Bollmann, having learned that important personages were confined in this prison, went there and by means of a professional acquaintance with the physician who attended him, he conveyed to La Fayette information of his plan of rescue. With Dr. Bollmann was associated Francis Kinlock Huger, a son of Col. Benjamin Huger who had first received La Fayette on his arrival in America. They learned that owing to his low state of health the prisoner was taken each day on a short drive under guard, and they planned to intercept his carriage, and taking him by force to carry him hastily to the town of Hoff, where a carriage would be stationed to bear him out of the country. To avoid suspicion the execution of this arrangement was delayed for some months, during which Dr. Bollmann visited Vienna, but eventually everything was ready, and as La Fayette and a guard were walking behind the carriage on a country road, the attendant was overpowered and La Fayette placed on horseback with a hurried direction in English from young Huger, to go to Hoff. The guards in the carriage, instead of assisting their fellow, drove rapidly away and but for the escape of one of the conspirators' horses during the attack all would undoubtedly have been well. As only two horses could be brought, it was some time before the rescuers could recover this one and proceed to Hoff, and on their arrival they found no trace of the fugitive. The attempt had therefore failed and it was learned afterward, that, in the haste of the admonition, La Fayette had understood that he was to *go off* and had taken a road which eventually brought him to the village of Jagersdorff, where he was detained as a suspicious person, and two days later carried back to Olmütz. Huger and Dr. Bollmann were very soon apprehended and they were held in prison, chained to the walls of their cells, for eight months, with sentence of death threatened, when they were released through the intercession of the Count Metrowsky, a generous nobleman living near the prison, whom they had never seen but whose sympathies were aroused by their predicament.

Madame de La Fayette had been again arrested at her home at Chavaniac and carried to Paris to await execution, when the counter-revolution of "Thermidor," the July of the new style, sent the dreaded Robespierre to the guillotine to which he had consigned so many, and the Jacobins being finally deposed in the revulsion of popular feeling, their prisoners were generally released; Madame de La Fayette did not immediately profit by this delivery, however, and it was some months before she was freed, and then only through the efforts of the American Minister. Distracted by her afflictions and her inability to communicate with her husband, she determined to go to Austria and plead in his behalf. She took her two daughters, her son George Washington La Fayette having been sent to



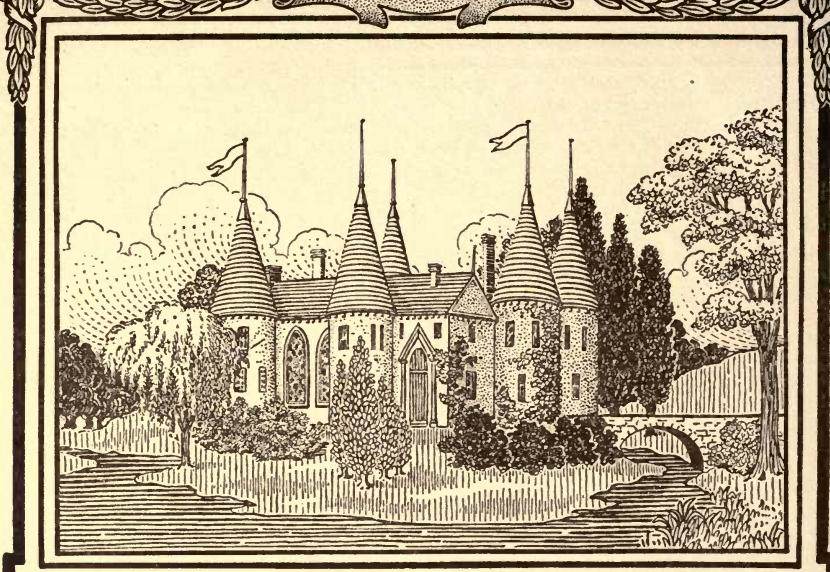
KEY OF THE BASTILE
Presented to Washington by La Fayette
Now at Mount Vernon. Reproduced
by permission



LA FAYETTE, COMMANDER NAT'L GUARD
METROPOLITAN ART MUSEUM. BY PERMISSION

the care of friends in America, and made the journey to Vienna by way of Hamburg, where she was aided by the American consul, Mr. John Parish, who gave her passports under the name of Madame Motier of Hartford, Connecticut. Through the influence of the Prince de Rosenberg, a family friend, she was received by the Emperor, who declared it impossible to liberate her husband but who granted her request to be allowed, with her children, to share his captivity. She therefore went at once to Olmütz and, without premonition, the doors of his cell opened and he beheld those whose continued existence was his dearest hope, but whom he feared he should never again be permitted to see. For two years the family were thus together, Madame de La Fayette and the children occupying an adjoining cell and spending much of each day with the General, whose health and spirits greatly improved in their company. Madame de La Fayette suffered extremely however from the confinement and neglect of the prison, and after having been there nearly a year begged permission to go to Vienna for the benefit of her health, but on being informed that she might depart never to return, she resigned her considerations of personal welfare for the happiness of her husband, and remained with him until in September, 1797, they, with his companions in the flight from Maubeuge, were released on the demand of Napoleon Bonaparte, who at the head of the French army had driven the Prussians from his adopted land and now menaced Vienna while dictating a treaty, one of the most imperative and strenuously resisted provisions of which was this delivery of Frenchmen who were even then unacceptable to France. This consideration was largely brought about by violent agitation of the matter in England where prominent generals and members of Parliament, his former enemies, united in his behalf under the spur of newspaper articles written by a French sympathizer. His friend Charles Fox appealed to the House of Commons in behalf of "that noble character, which will flourish in the annals of the world, and live in the veneration of posterity, when kings and the crowns they wear will be no more regarded than the dust to which they must return."

For two years after his release La Fayette lived in exile in the Netherlands, his wife latterly returning to France to seek in their depleted estates relief from the financial embarrassment in which they now found themselves. In these straits two bequests from unknown admirers, amounting to twenty thousand dollars, were most happily received and provided amply until his own affairs were composed. Late in the fall of 1799 Napoleon, returning unexpectedly from Egypt, seized the government from the Directory and proclaimed himself First Consul on the foundation of the revolution of 1789; La Fayette took this proclamation literally and conceiving himself safe in France, returned at once, but in so doing he incurred the enmity of the dictator, who feared that the great Constitutionalist, through his public spirit and popularity, would endanger his plans for the subversion of authority, of which the protestation of republicanism was but a transparent cloak. La Fayette had no desire, however, to again enter the struggle, and aside from the giving of advice when sought, and holding himself in readiness to rejoin the army if his services should be required, he took little part in



THE CHATEAU LA GRANGE: LA BRIE, NEAR PARIS

LA FAYETTE'S LATER HOME, HIS ONLY REMAINING ESTATE AFTER THE CONFISCATIONS OF THE REVOLUTION

affairs, and retired to the tranquillity of his wife's estate of La Grange, which was to be the home of his declining years. Here he devoted himself to retrieving in a small way his scattered fortunes, and paying, as he was able, the debts incurred by loans to his family while he was in prison. Agriculture was his fixed occupation, and charity and intercourse with friends his cherished pleasures. Many illustrious visitors from other lands made the pilgrimage to La Grange to renew treasured acquaintance, or to testify their respect for his noble character. Napoleon held him in high personal regard, though constantly fearing the possibilities of his popularity and unwavering patriotism, and he sought in many ways to enlist him in his cause, but without avail. La Fayette hoped for a Napoleon without selfishness, but he clearly saw that the great General's power would be used for his own aggrandizement, and in disappointment he remained silent and aloof.

From this retirement he emerged to become a member of the Representative Assembly when Napoleon, returning from Elba, reëstablished himself on the throne and palliated his usurpation with constitutional professions. La Fayette was one of a committee of five who endeavored to prevent his reaccession, and at the end of the turbulent Hundred Days it was he who forced Napoleon's abdication. For the last time, after long retirement, he lent his influence in national affairs in the revolution of 1830, when in the sanguinary outburst against Charles X, he was called to Paris and persuaded to accept the command of the National Guard, for which he was borne to the Hotel de Ville on the shoulders of his friends. After a few days of bitter struggle Louis Philippe was set upon the throne, to be coldly received by the assembled people until La Fayette became his sponsor, and then enthusiastically applauded. He remained in reluctant command of the National Guard, which was reorganized soon afterward, and rendered indispensable service, until, on the return of settled conditions he tendered his resignation, which was readily accepted by the distrustful monarch who viewed with repugnance his lieutenant's tremendous popularity.

Not long after his retirement to La Grange La Fayette had the misfortune to slip on the ice while visiting the Ministry of Marine in Paris, and his hip was broken in the fall. He elected to endure the tortures of a newly invented apparatus for preventing the shortening of the leg in such cases, and for weeks endured his sufferings with such fortitude that the attending physicians were not

aware that the bandages were much too tight, and on the removal of these the muscles were found to be so mutilated that further operations were required, and it was feared that amputation would be necessary. He recovered however with but slight permanent lameness.

His children married and made their home with him, and their children brightened the numerous circle at the chateau. The privations of his meager income were cheerfully borne by all, and were chiefly regretted because of the limits which were imposed upon their habits of charity, which nevertheless continued to be a blessing to their humble neighbors. The great sorrow of the General's life came upon him on Christmas eve, 1807, when Madame de La Fayette passed away. She had never been able to eradicate from her system blood poison which developed in the prison of Olmütz, and now at the age of forty-seven it prostrated and overwhelmed her. While racked with pain and wasting from innumerable eruptions she maintained the buoyant and unselfish spirit that was her heritage and distinction, and the parting from her husband, as revealed in his tender tribute to her virtues, most fittingly and passionately crowned a life of love and devotion. While accepting his bereavement with the calmness and resignation characteristic of earlier adversities, he never ceased to mourn his loss, and devoted a portion of each morning to contemplation of her portrait, which he wore in a locket hanging from his neck. On the gold back of this were engraved these, among her last words to him: *"Je vous fus donc une douce compagne, eh bien! benissez moi!"*

There was yet reserved for him however a pleasure that it is given to few to enjoy, that of visiting in its assured prosperity a nation whose beginning he had labored for. In accordance with a resolution of Congress he was invited by President Monroe early in 1824 to visit the United States as a guest of the nation. The invitation placed a man-of-war at his disposal for the voyage, but he modestly declined this honor, and with his son and M. Levasseur, his secretary, sailed on the American ship "Cadmus" from Havre, July thirteenth of that year, and arrived at Staten Island on the sixteenth of August.

Welcomed with every conceivable honor, he traversed, for more than a year, the length and breadth of the country, sustaining with hearty joy and remarkable vigor an ovation unabated from his landing at New York to his embarkation from the same port. Particularly affecting were his reunions with those of his old comrades whom the ravages of time had spared, and his pilgrimage to the tomb of Washington at Mount Vernon; while, on the battlefields of other days he lived again the scenes of his early consecration to liberty. From New York, Boston was his next objective point, reached by way of New Haven, New London and Providence, and after his reception there and a visit to Harvard College, he continued east to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, stopping at Salem and Newburyport, where a pleasant incident occurred which is thus reported in the Newburyport Herald of September third, 1824:—

"Of the many veterans of the Continental army who were presented to the General none produced a stronger title to notice than Mr. Daniel Foster who is the only man in this town belonging to La Fayette's select corps of Light Infantry. He was a non-commissioned officer therein, of course constantly about the General, and possesses now the very sword which the General gave him in common with other officers of that his favorite and most excellent corps. Mr. Foster held his sword before the General when introduced, with emotions of honest pride, and stating the circumstances welcomed the General to our shores and told him that he was proud to see him once more on American soil and that his sons participated in the joyful occasion. When La Fayette learned that one of his own infantry stood before him, who had commanded his quarter-guard, and when he saw his own mark on the blade of the sword, half drawn from the scabbard, he greeted his old soldier very cordially and assured him that he looked upon him as one of his own family."



LA FAYETTE PITCHER
Independence Hall, Philadelphia
Reproduced by permission

He returned by way of Hartford to New York, where on September sixth, his sixty-seventh birthday, the Society of the Cincinnati gave a banquet in his honor. From that city he set out for Philadelphia, stopping at Trenton for a brief visit to Joseph Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon I, who had been his sincere friend in France, and from Philadelphia he went to Baltimore and Washington with many halts at intervening places. Virginia, teeming with associations of his memorable campaign, welcomed him with unbounded gratitude at Yorktown, Williamsburg, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Richmond, and Petersburg. Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans echoed his welcome, the latter city especially, with its large French population, receiving him with pride as well as affection. He passed safely through a shipwreck on the Ohio river on which occasion the captain's chief regret, notwithstanding the loss of his vessel and a large sum of money on board, was the jeopardy in which he had put the nation's guest. In June, 1825, he again visited Boston and on the seventeenth of that month, just fifty years after the famous battle whose echoes had reached him at Metz, he laid the cornerstone of the Bunker Hill Monument and received the eulogy which Daniel Webster, the orator of the occasion, included in his memorable address.

Many years before, Congress had allotted to him, in Louisiana, the large tract of land which under the system of reward for Revolutionary service was due his rank of major general. Soon afterward, and before he had entered upon this grant, the land was inadvertently included in a cession to the city of New Orleans, to which it was adjacent, and although La Fayette was advised that he could hold it by reason of prior title he refused to antagonize any American interest and renounced his claim. On his return to Washington after touring the country, he was received in state by Congress, and as a recompense for the conversion of his land, as well as a national testimonial, he was presented two hundred thousand dollars, appropriated by a unanimous vote of all parties.

La Fayette returned to France on the United States frigate "Brandywine," arriving at Havre on the fifth of October, 1825. His journey to La Grange was marked by popular ovations in spite of attempted repression by the Government, which was ever watchful for incipient revolution. The years immediately following his return from America were passed quietly at La Grange, his influence being continually manifest, however, through his advice, which was constantly sought by leaders of the Assembly. He was journeying to visit his son at Chavaniac when the forebodings of the revolution of 1830, previously noted, reached Auvergne, and his modest excursion was changed to a triumphal march by the people, who instinctively looked to him for delivery from despotism. After his efficient service on this occasion, and his final relinquishment of the command of the National Guard, he served again in the Chamber of Deputies, and retained a measure of activity until his death at Paris on the twentieth of May, 1834.

He was buried beside his wife in the Picpus cemetery which she had helped to establish as a resting place for the martyrs of the Reign of Terror, and his funeral was an imposing testimonial of the universal appreciation of his character. Ministers, deputies, government officials, educational and philanthropic bodies, and his beloved National Guard, made up a vast procession which followed his remains, while the church bells of France and all surrounding countries where liberty was established in any degree, tolled throughout the day.

In America Congress and the people, on learning of his death, adopted a badge of mourning, and the same honors were paid to his memory by the army and navy as had been paid to that of General Washington. John Quincy Adams delivered an address on his life and character before both houses of Congress and fervent eulogies were pronounced in all the cities and centers of the country.

His career lacked the culmination of such high office as is often deemed the measure and meed of success, and his abilities were not extraordinary; but his gentle, steadfast, and unassailable character, and his high and unwavering devotion to the oppressed of two continents, gained for him a place in the affections of his contemporaries and the regard of succeeding generations, that transcends political sovereignty.



PORTRAIT BY ARY SCHEFFER — PRESENTED TO CONGRESS BY LA FAYETTE

THE LA FAYETTE

Table Flatware illustrated on the following pages is a reproduction of a time honored Colonial design, the counterpart of many cherished heirlooms whose early owners were the matrons of the period of the Revolution. It is made in Sterling Silver, 925/1000 fine, of substantial construction and sufficient variety for moderate or extensive chest combinations.

TOWLE MFG. COMPANY, SILVERSMITHS

NEWBURYPORT MASSACHUSETTS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
42 MADISON STREET

NEW YORK CITY
41 UNION SQUARE

THE TOWLE MFG. COMPANY DOES NO RETAIL BUSINESS

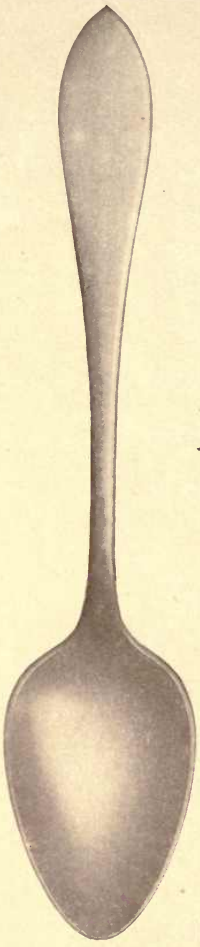
Tea Spoon
No. 11

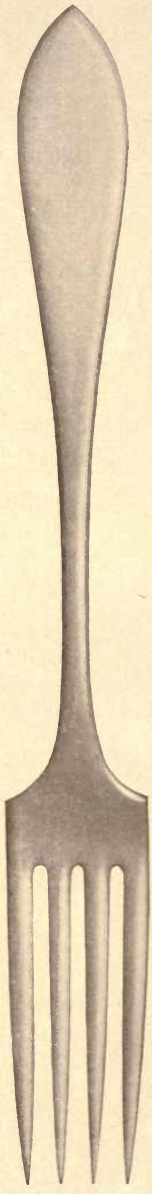
Tea Spoon
Nos. 13, 15, 18 and 21

Dessert Fork
Nos. 28 and 36

Table Fork
Nos. 36 and 45

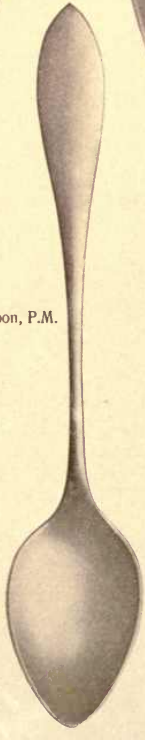








Tea Spoon, P.M.



Coffee Spoon

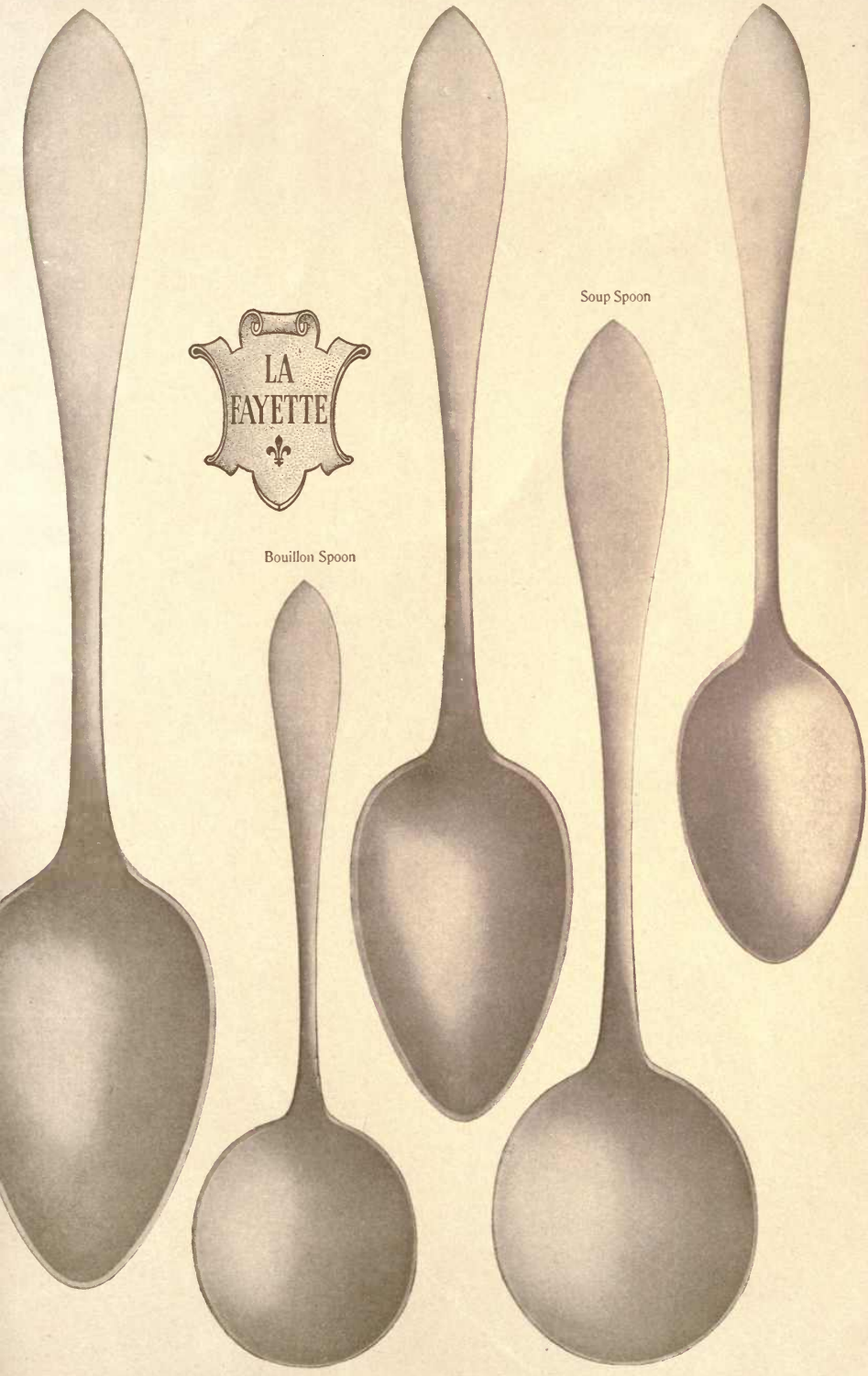


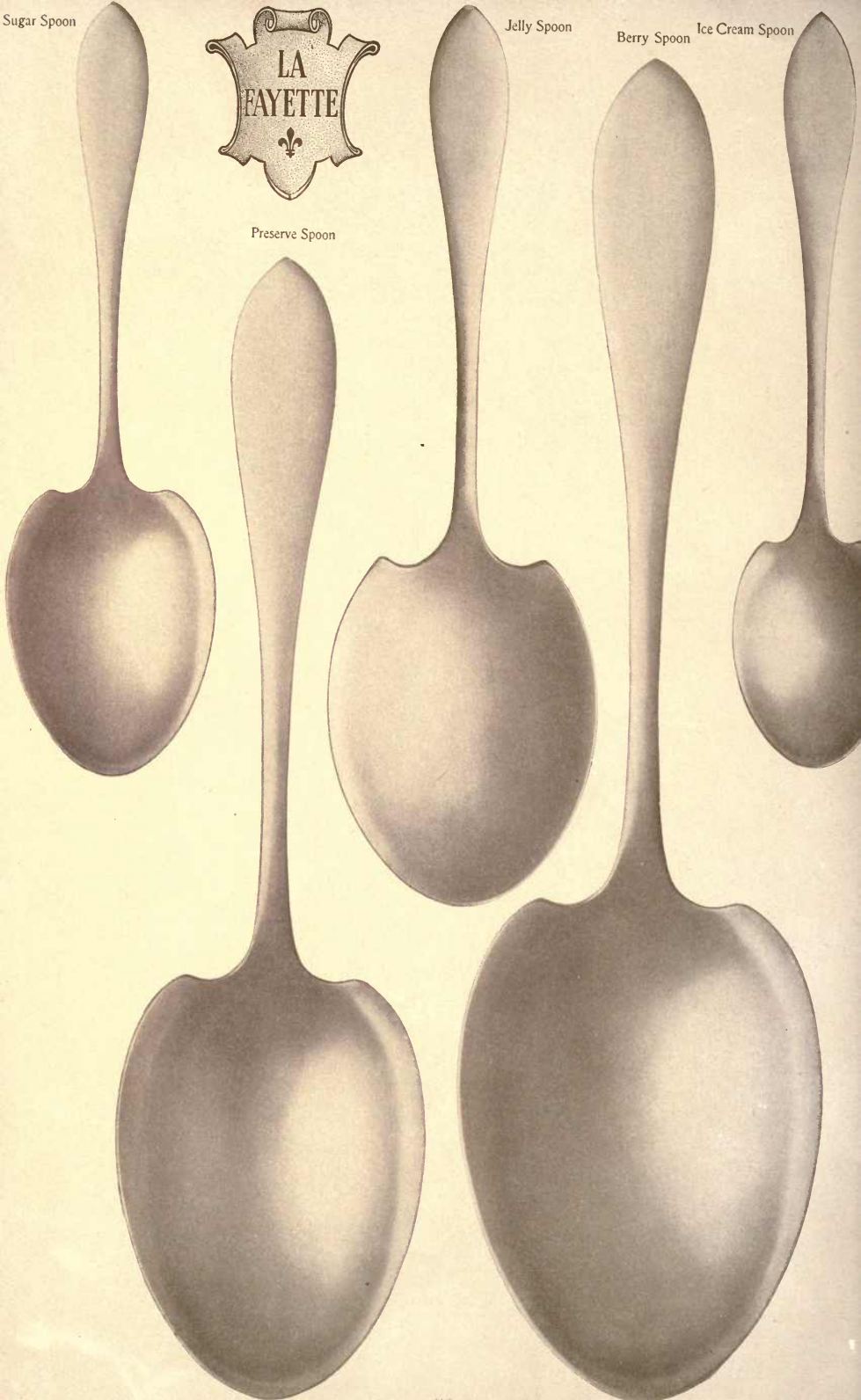


Table Spoon
Nos. 42 and 53

Dessert Spoon
Nos. 28 and 36

Pap Spoon



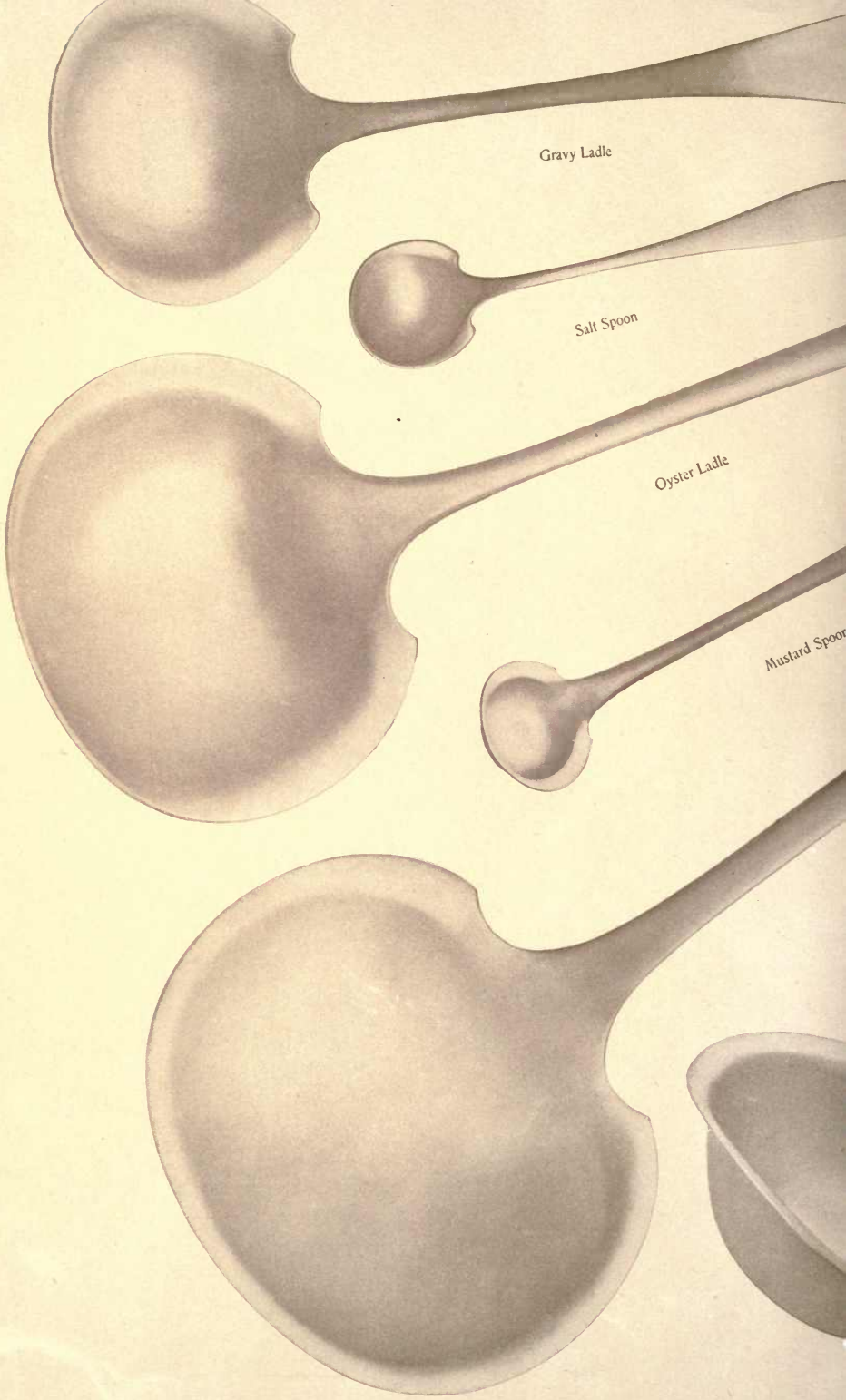

Sugar Spoon
LA FAYETTE
Jelly Spoon
Berry Spoon
Ice Cream Spoon
Preserve Spoon

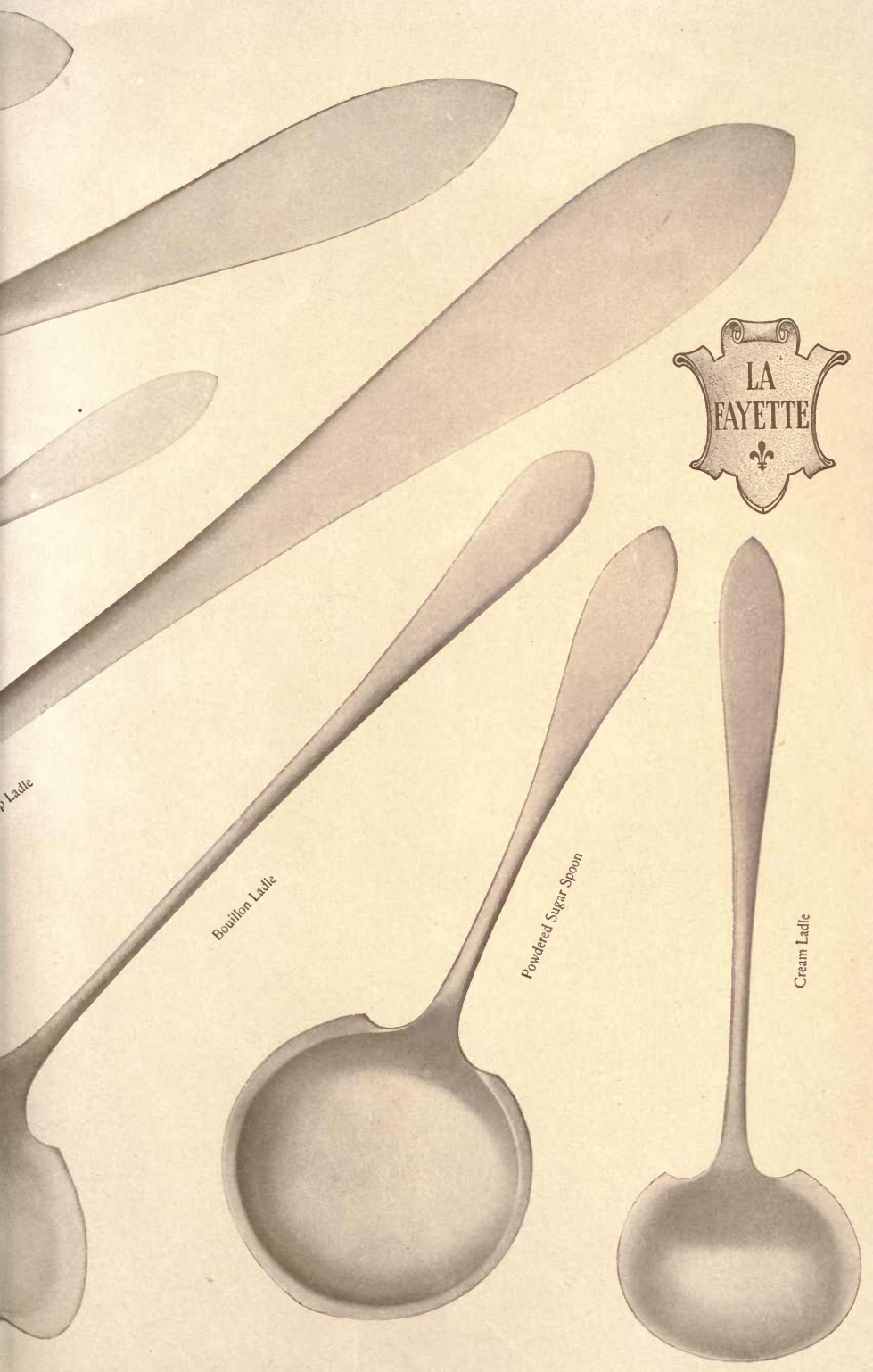
or Ice Spoon



Almond Scoop

Nut Spoon


Gravy Ladle
Salt Spoon
Oyster Ladle
Mustard Spoon


LA
FAYETTE
Bouillon Ladle
Powdered Sugar Spoon
Cream Ladle

Confection Spoon

Vegetable Fork

Cucumber Server



LA FAYETTE

ACTUAL SIZE

TRADE MARK

STERLING

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

LA FAYETTE

ACTUAL SIZE

TRADE MARK

STERLING

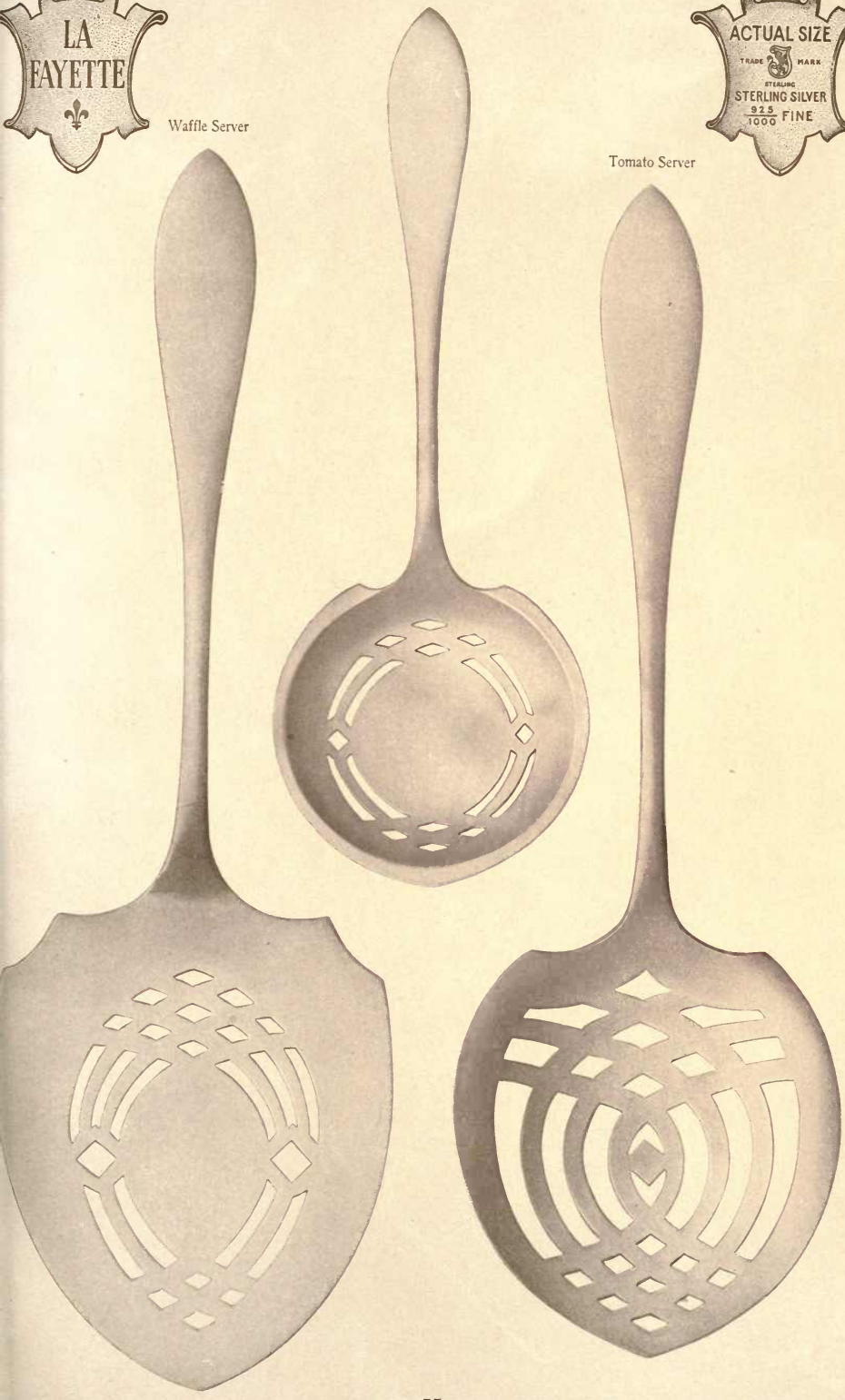
STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Sugar Sifter

Waffle Server

Tomato Server

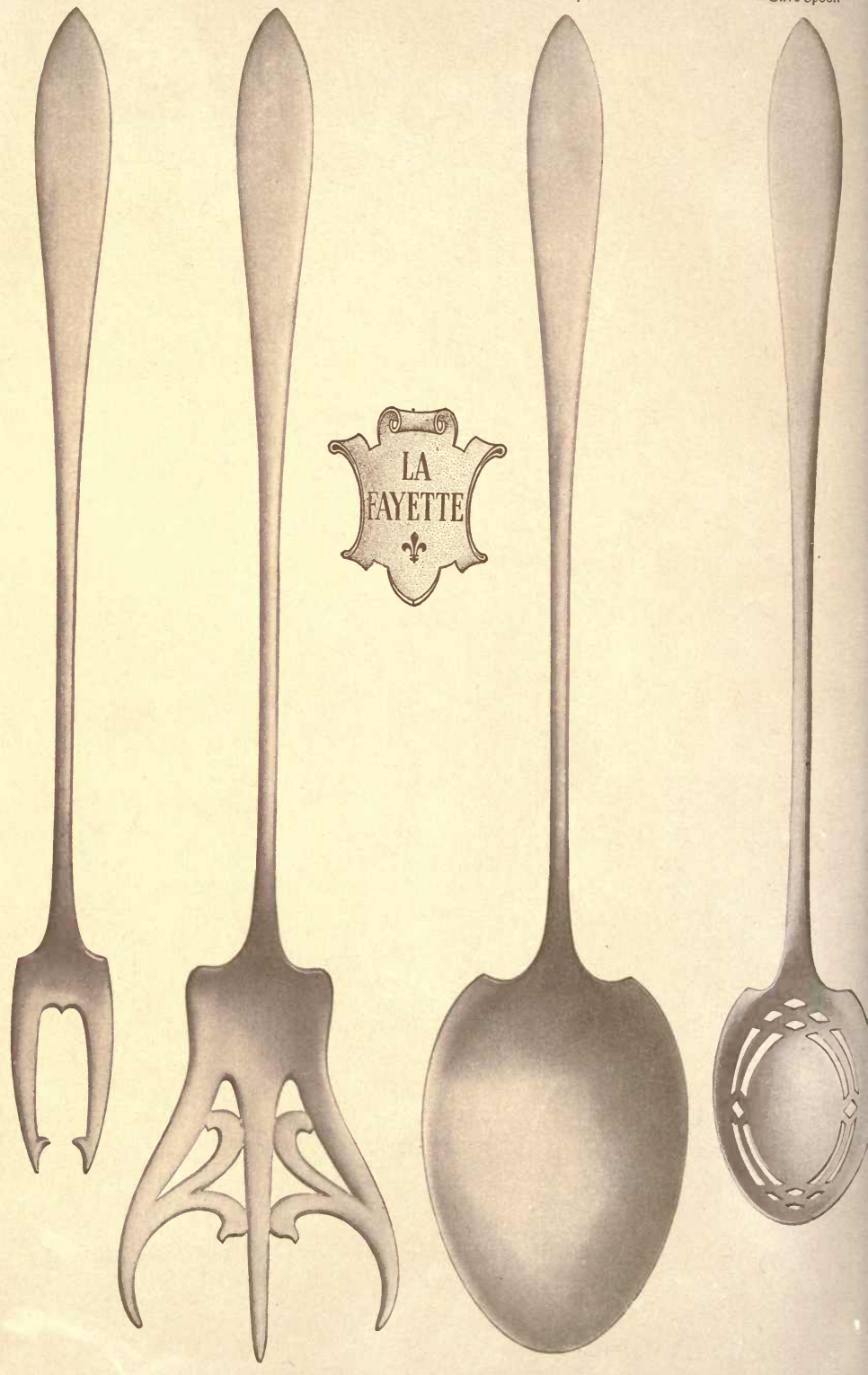


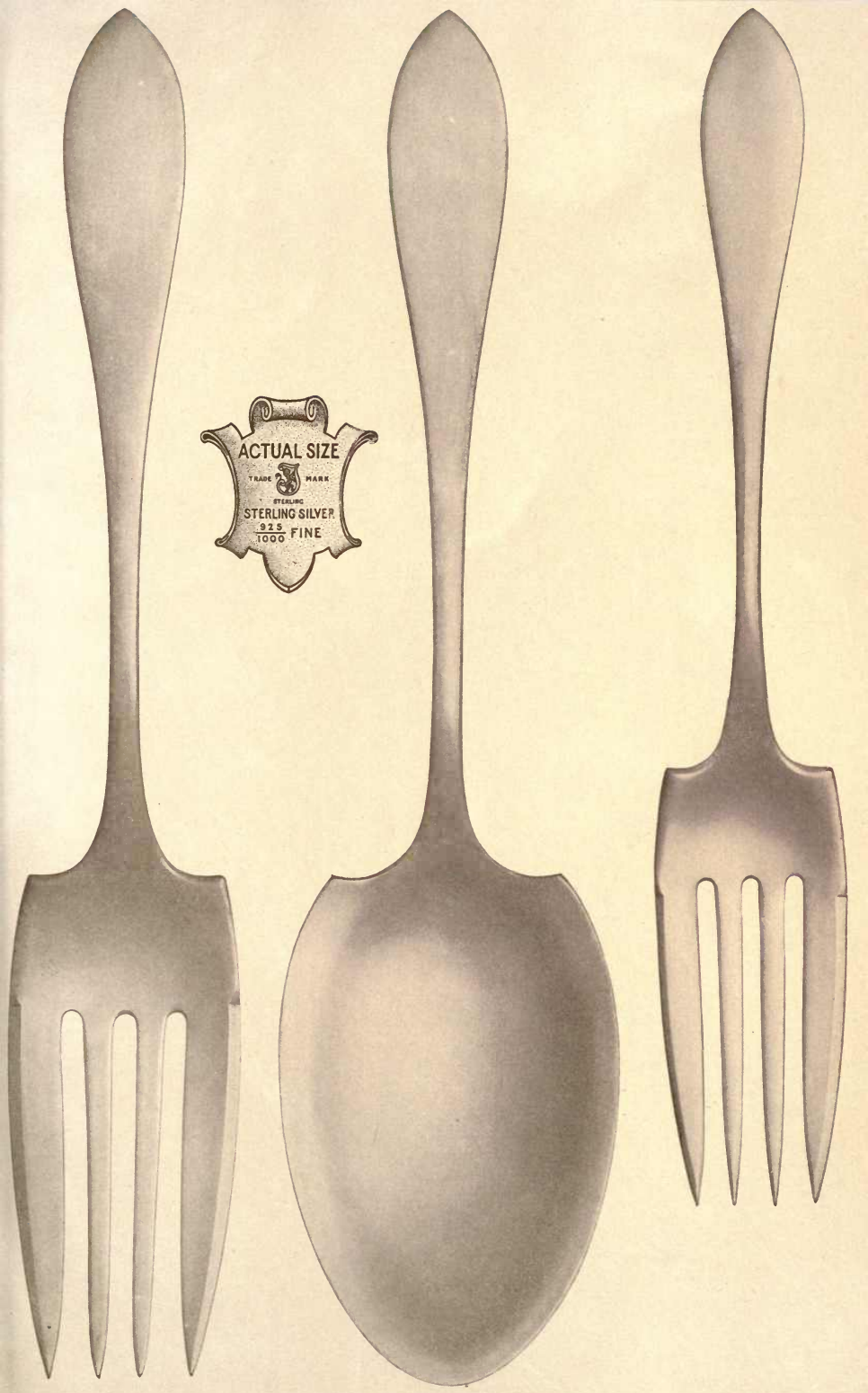
Olive Fork

Lettuce Fork

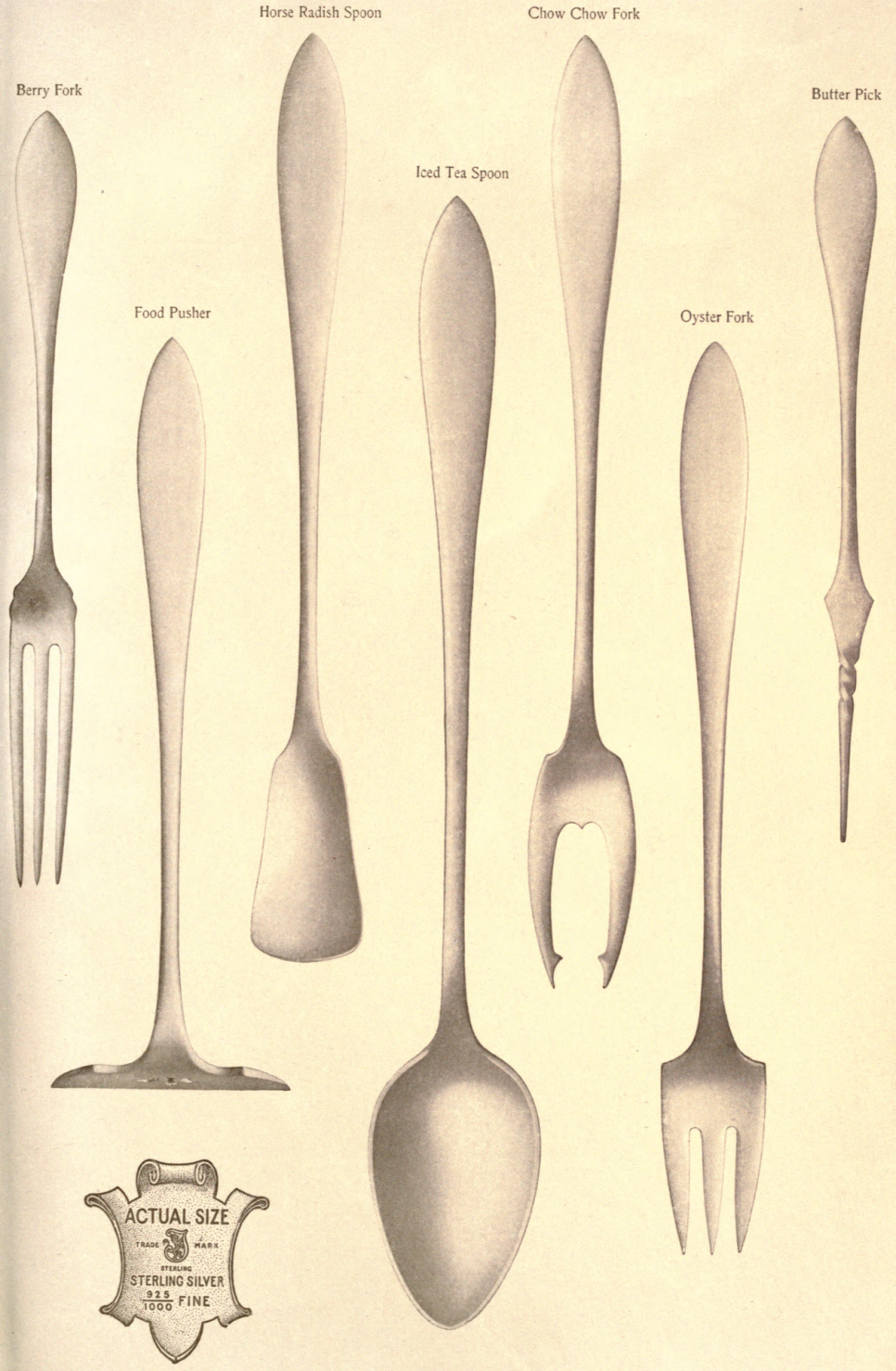
Lettuce Spoon

Olive Spoon




ACTUAL SIZE
TRADE MARK
STERLING
STERLING SILVER
925/1000 FINE


Sardine Fork
Ramekin Fork
Oyster Cocktail Fork
Butter Knife
Orange Spoon
Ice Cream Fork
Grape Fruit Spoon
LA FAYETTE


Horse Radish Spoon
Chow Chow Fork
Berry Fork
Butter Pick
Iced Tea Spoon
Food Pusher
Oyster Fork
ACTUAL SIZE
TRADE MARK
STERLING
STERLING SILVER
925/1000 FINE

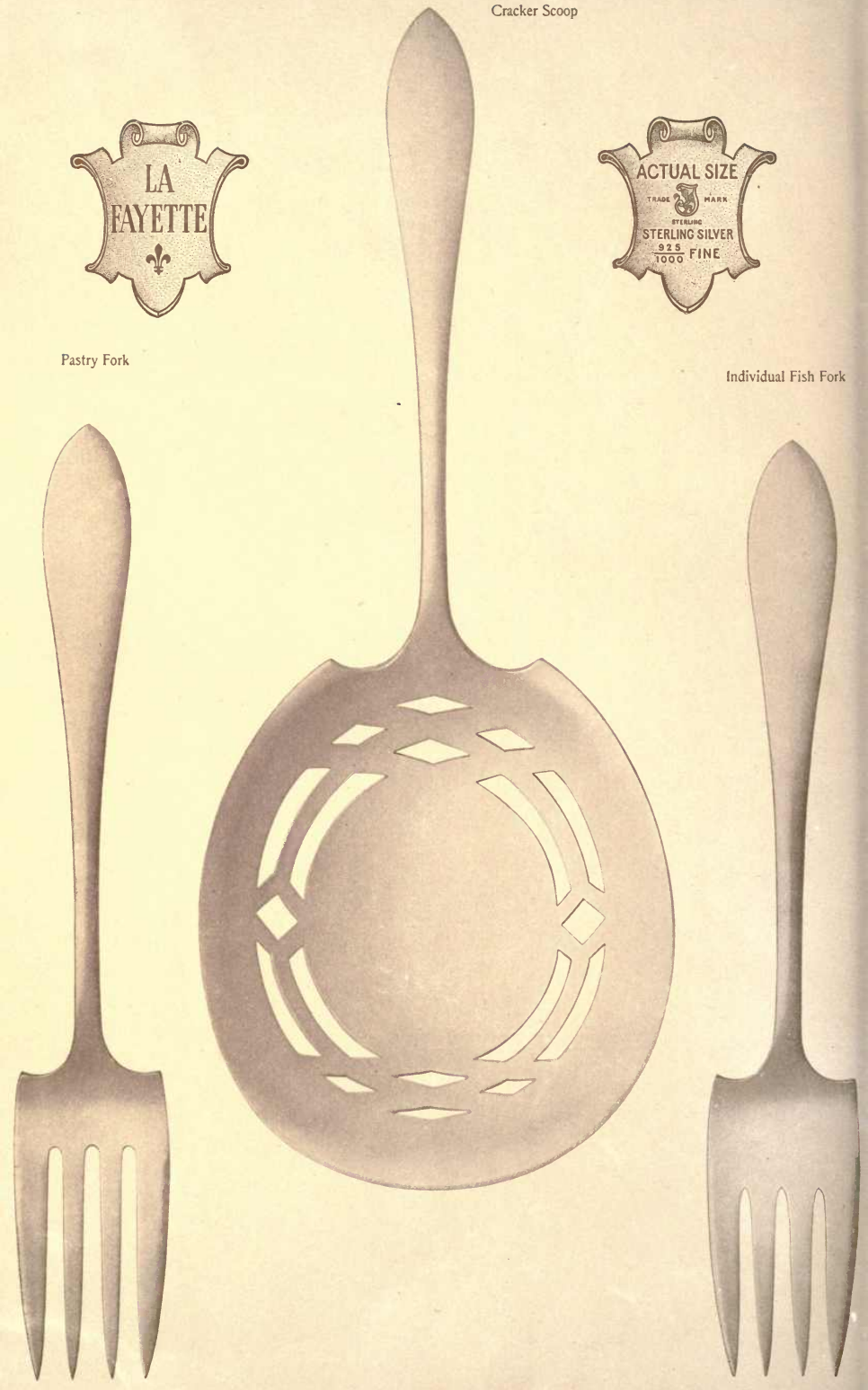
Cracker Scoop

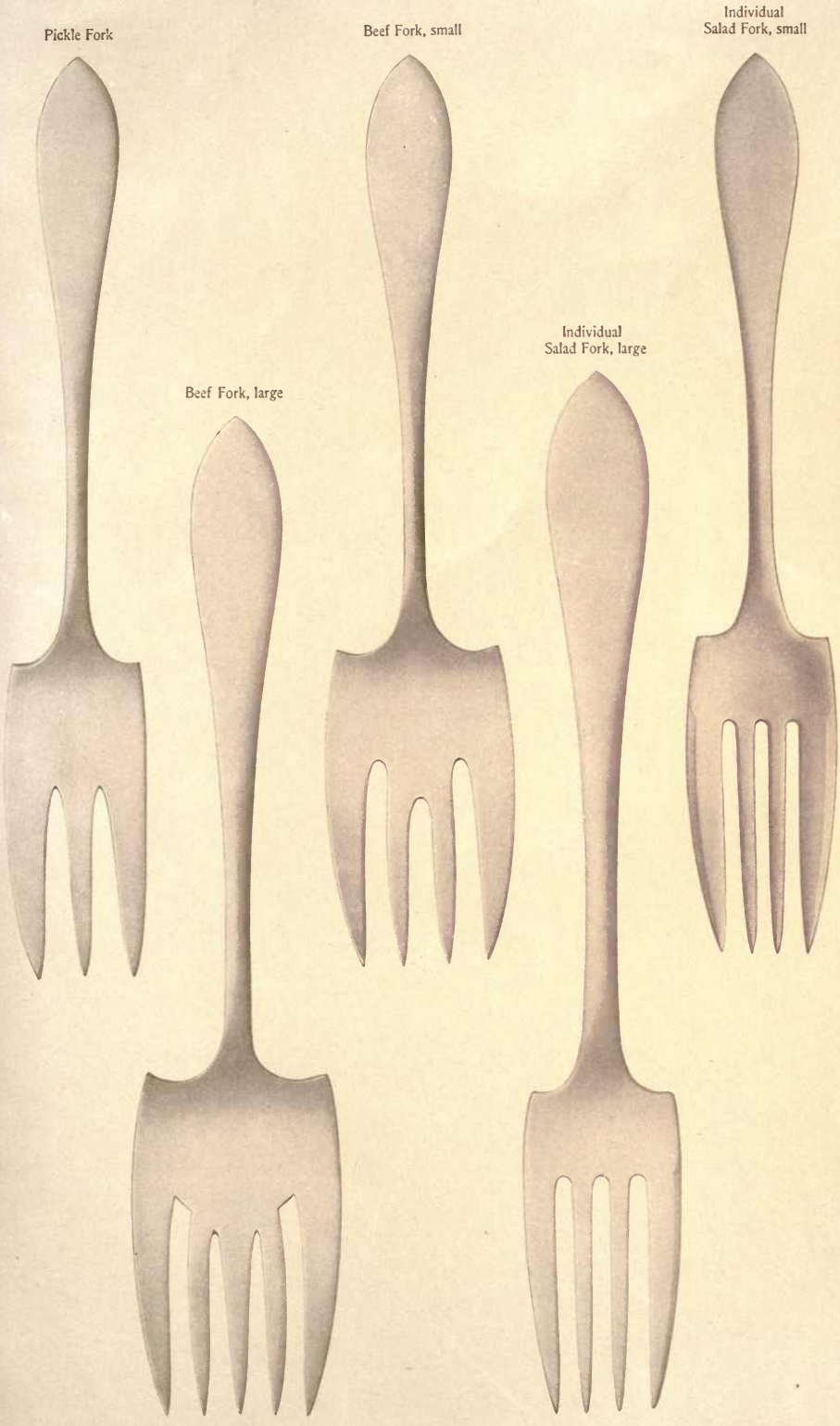
LA FAYETTE

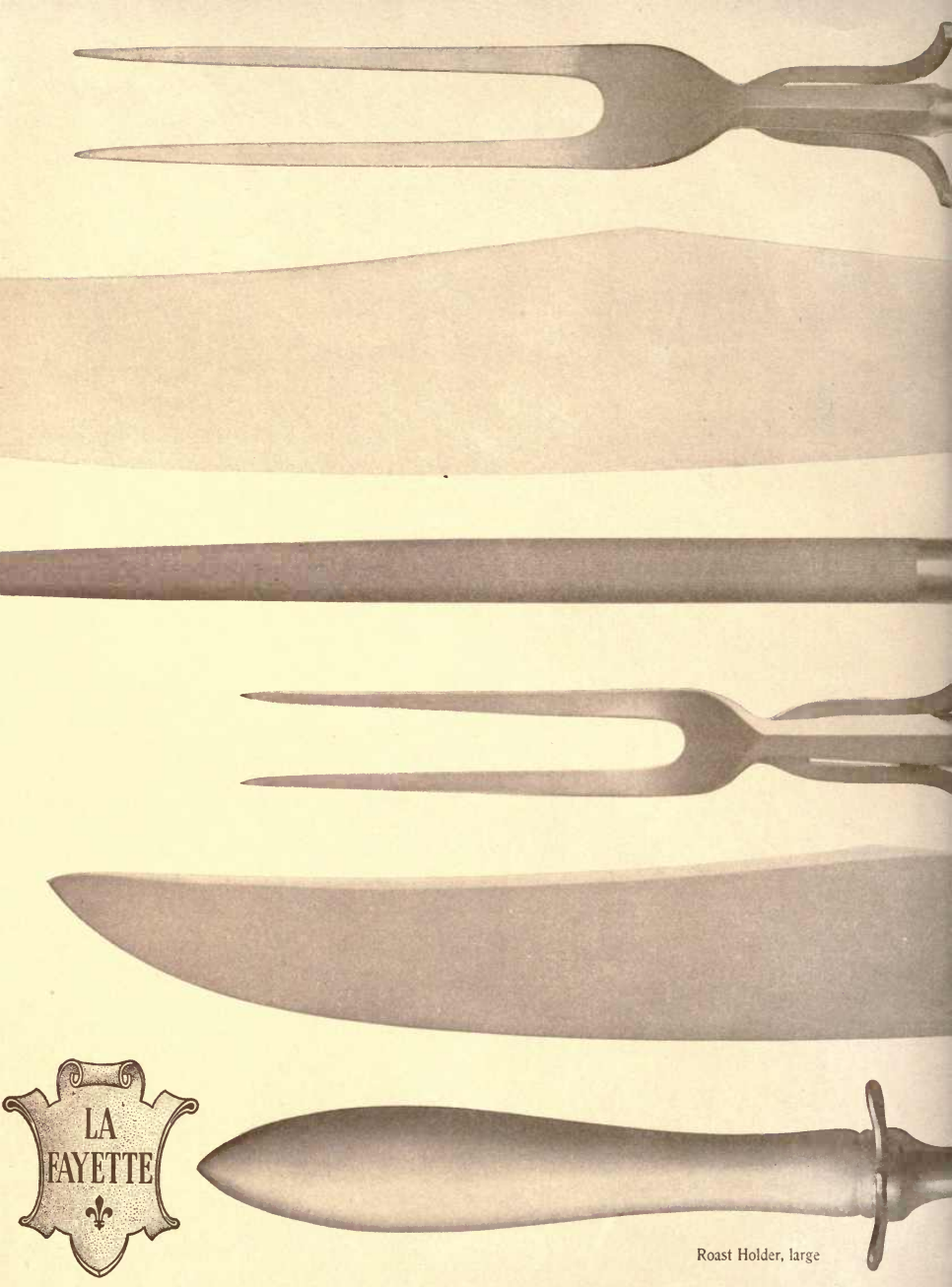
ACTUAL SIZE
TRADE MARK
STERLING
STERLING SILVER
925/1000 FINE

Pastry Fork

Individual Fish Fork

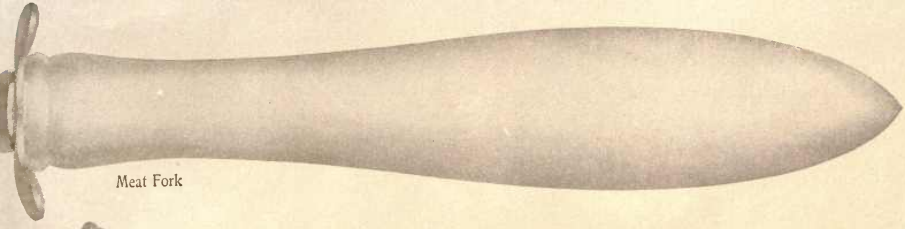



Pickle Fork
Beef Fork, small
Individual
Salad Fork, small
Beef Fork, large
Individual
Salad Fork, large

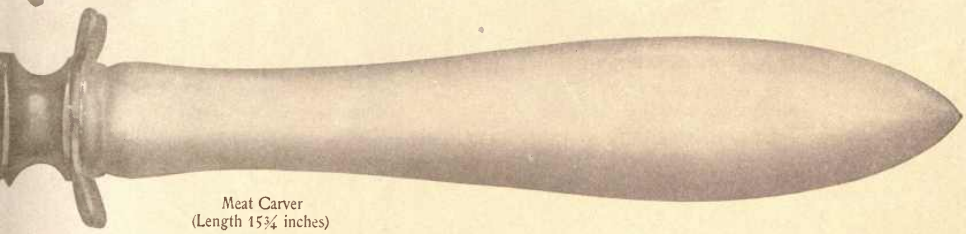


Roast Holder, large

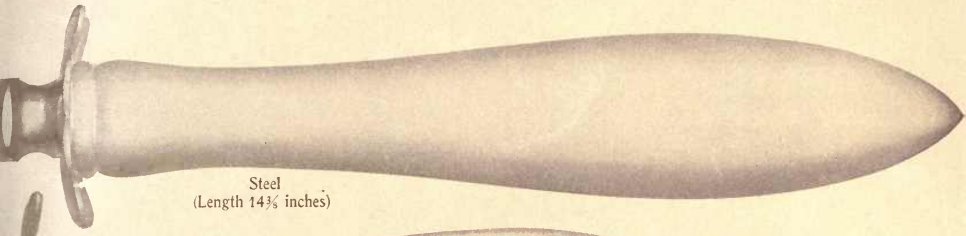
Game Shears



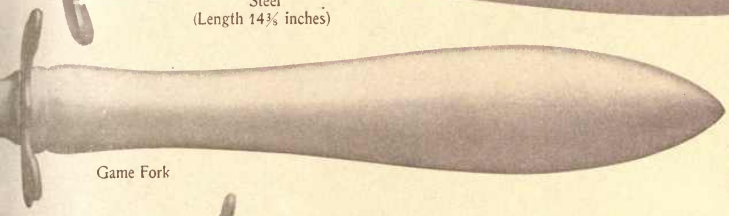
Meat Fork



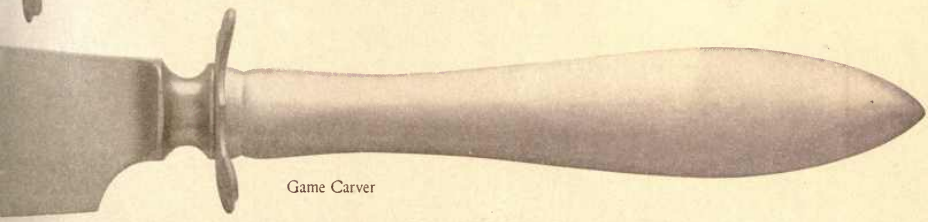
Meat Carver
(Length 15¾ inches)



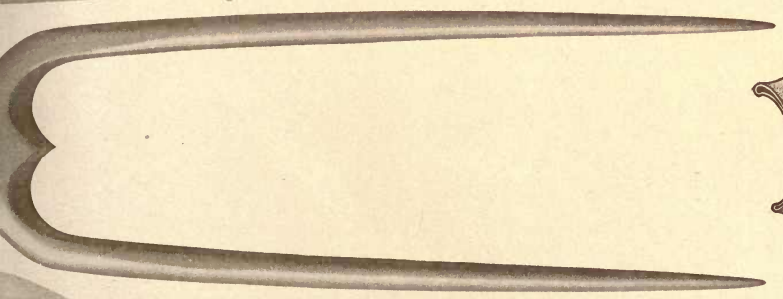
Steel
(Length 14⅜ inches)

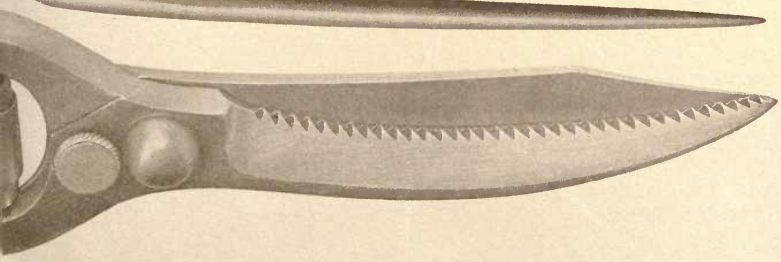


Game Fork

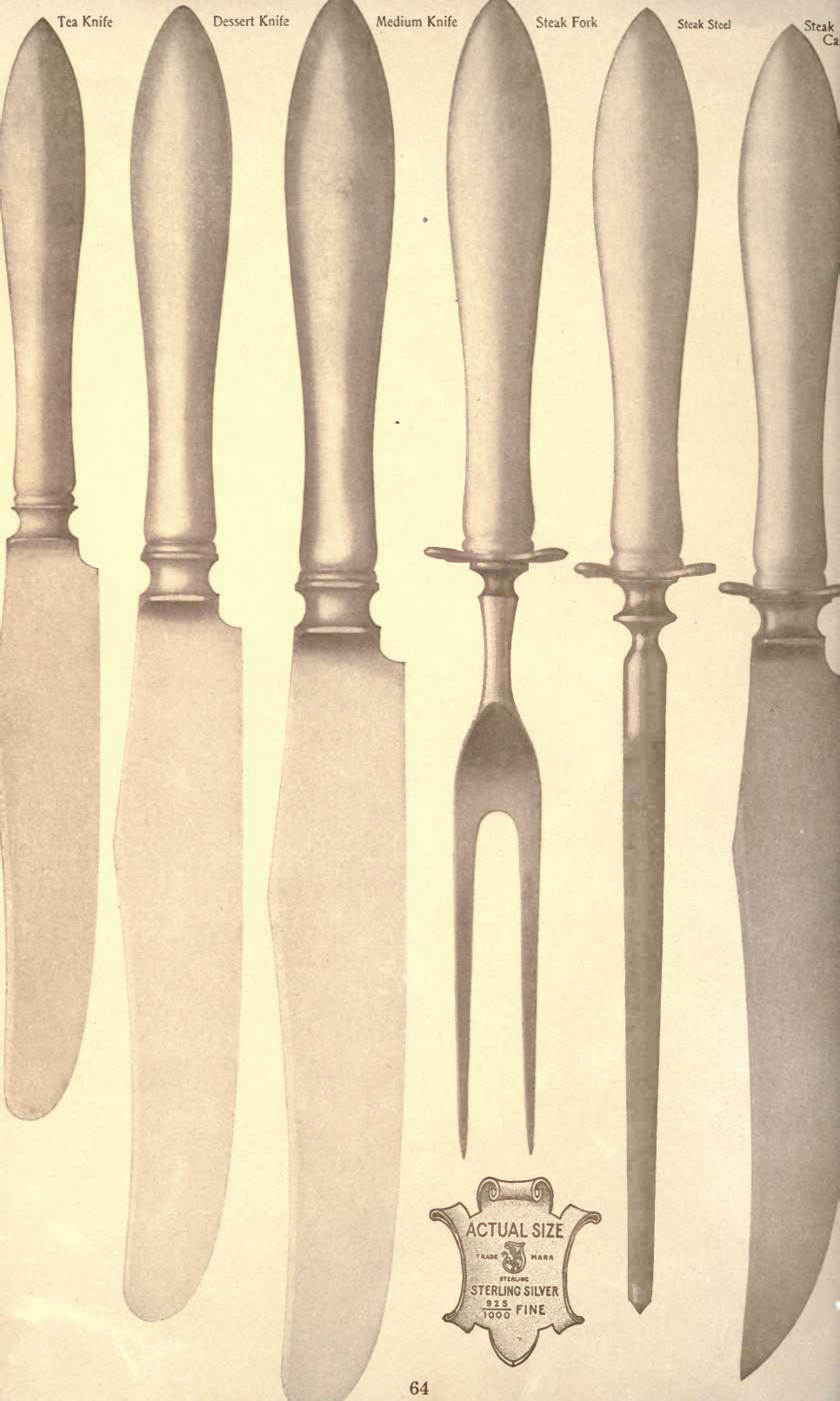


Game Carver








Tea Knife
Dessert Knife
Medium Knife
Steak Fork
Steak Steel
Steak
Ca
ACTUAL SIZE
TRADE MARK
STERLING
STERLING SILVER
925
1000
FINE

uit Knife, H. H.
ated Steel Blade

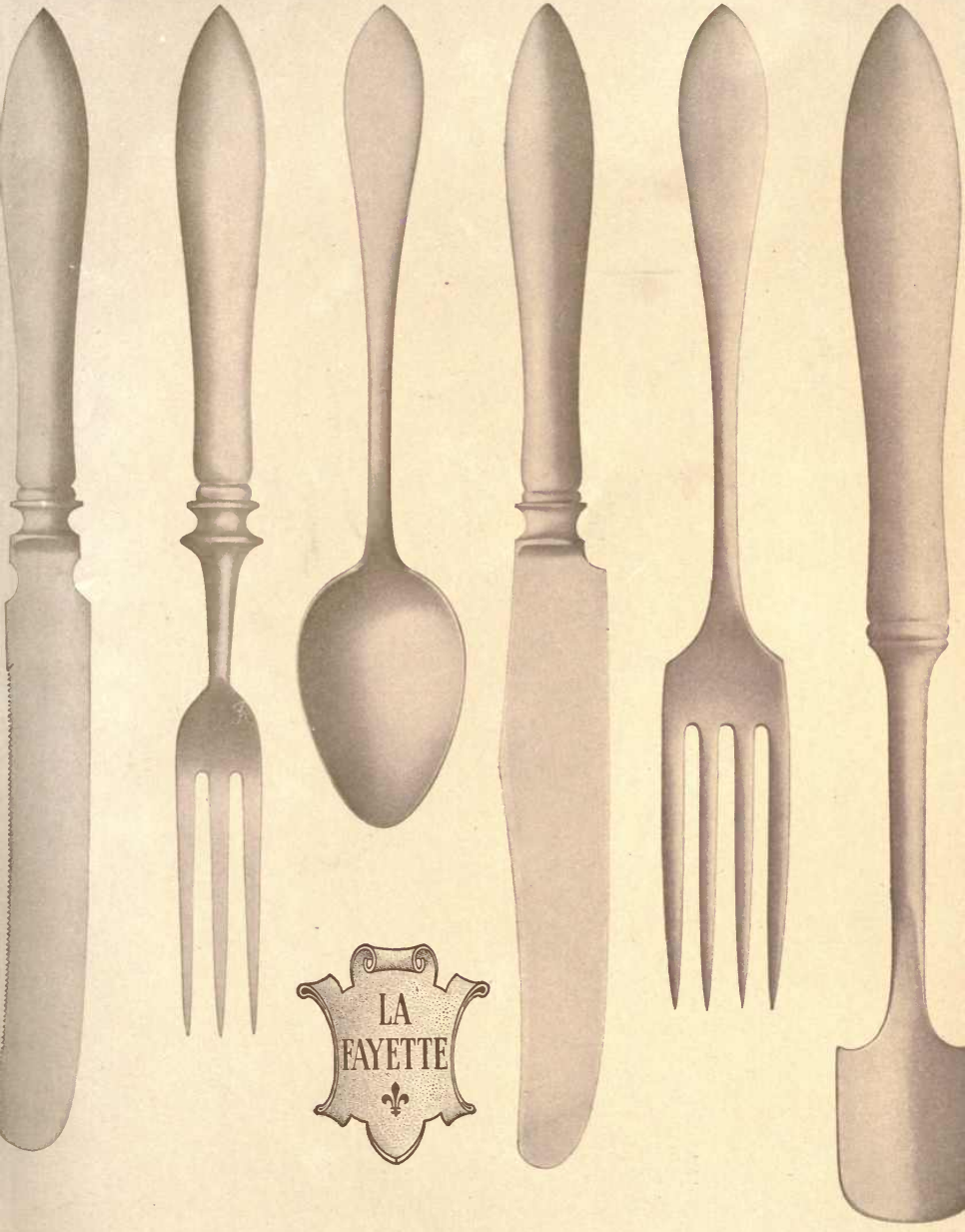
Fruit Fork, H. H.
Plated Steel Tines

Child's Spoon

Child's Knife

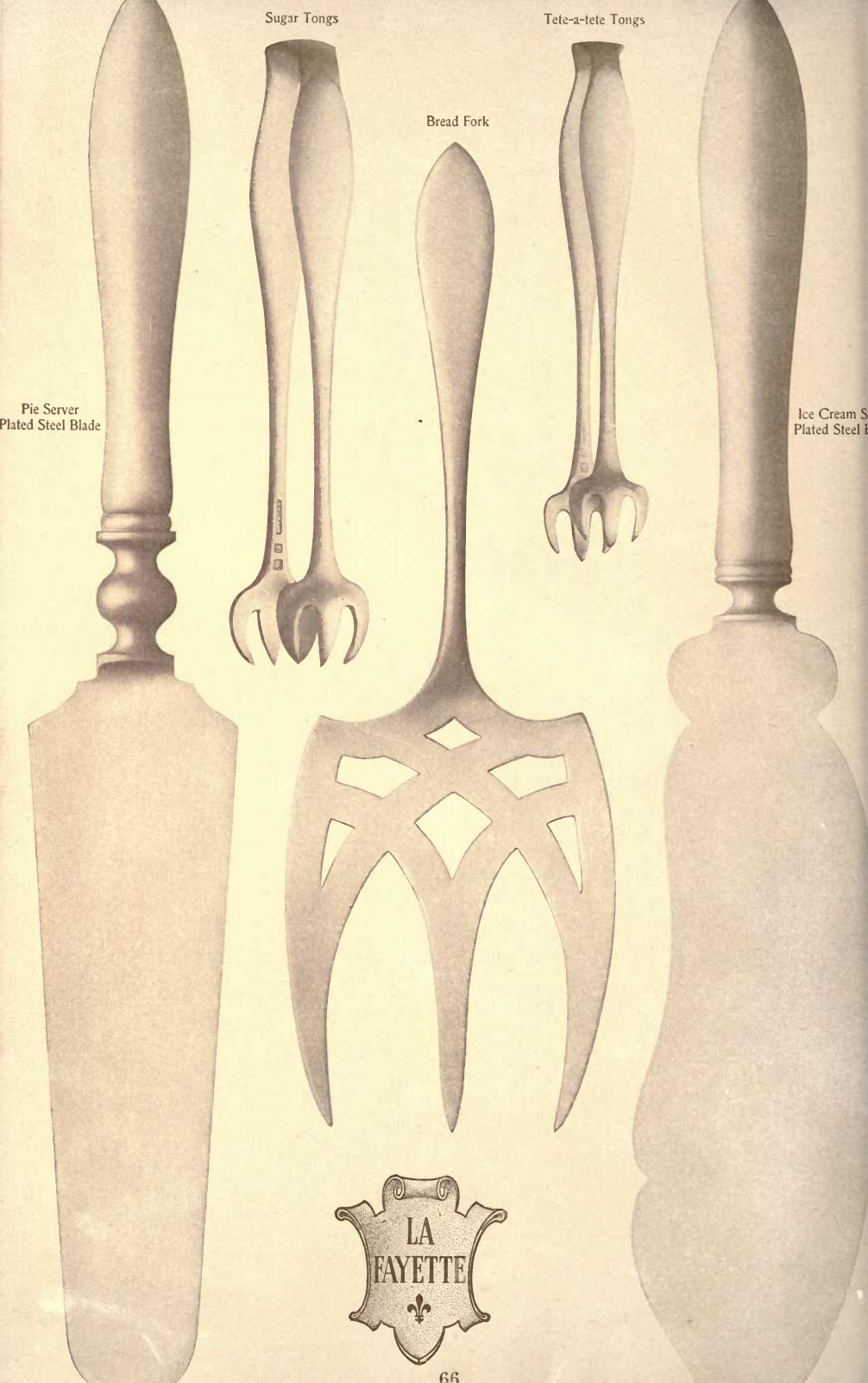
Child's Fork

Cheese Scoop, H. H.
Plated Scoop.



Butter Spreader, Flat

Butter Spreader, H. H.


Sugar Tongs
Tete-a-tete Tongs
Bread Fork
Pie Server
Plated Steel Blade
Ice Cream S
Plated Steel
LA
FAYETTE

PAUL REVERE
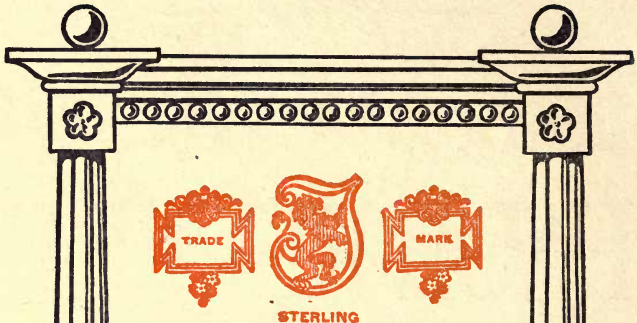

1734 PR 1818

An Outline *of the* LIFE *and* WORKS *of* COL. PAUL REVERE



WITH A *Partial* CATALOGUE *of* SILVERWARE *Bearing* HIS NAME

TOWLE *MFG* COMPANY
SILVERSMITHS
NEWBURYPORT MASSACHUSETTS
TRADE MARK
STERLING



THE TOWLE *MFG* COMPANY

SILVERSMITHS

Newburyport Massachusetts

and Chicago Illinois

NEW YORK SALESROOMS

(*Samples Only*)

HARTFORD BUILDING *41 Union Square*

The Towle Mfg Company

DOES NO RETAIL

BUSINESS ANYWHERE

COPYRIGHTED 1901 BY THE TOWLE MFG COMPANY

PAUL REVERE



King's Chapel—Boston

THROUGH Longfellow we have heard of "the midnight ride of Paul Revere," and a few cherished pieces of silverware bearing his mark have reminded us of his trade; but we have been slow to realize the remarkable abilities and attainments of this ardent patriot, and the extent and importance of the services he rendered in the cause of liberty previous and subsequent to his memorable ride. 1775
His origin and life are fitter for romance than bald biography, and await the writer who shall by mingling art with history reproduce the spirit and influence which no mere chronicle of his achievements can portray. His sphere was outside that of the great leaders of statecraft and battle, but it was none the less effective and indispensable; in the emergencies of the early days, before events had shaped the policy of union, he was the ready arm to execute the will of Hancock, Adams and Warren, and was often as well their guide to the temper and resources of the body politic, of which he was an undisputed leader.

Oppression drove his ancestors from their native home 1715
in France, but the spirit which they bequeathed him was undaunted, and under the rugged influences of a new country met new oppression with determined resistance. It is significant of the transition from the French Huguenot refugee to the American citizen that Apollos Rivoire, who was born in France in the year 1702, and when thirteen years of age arrived in Boston to be apprenticed to a goldsmith, in his early manhood modified his name to Paul Revere to suit the convenience of neighbors whose Saxon tongues but illy rendered the subtleties of his patronymic. He was sent here and apprenticed by an uncle who had earlier emigrated to Guernsey and whom he had sought on his departure from France. His allegiance to his adopted country was completed when in 1729 as an established goldsmith he married Deborah Hitchborn, a native of Boston. They had many children, but it is with the third, the Paul Revere of American history, born December twenty-first, 1734, that we are concerned.

He received his education from the famous Master Tileston at the "North Grammar School," and then entered his father's shop to learn the trade of goldsmith and silversmith. The varied operations of such work, more especially at a time when appliances were few and primitive, developed his mechanical powers, while a natural refinement of taste and talent for drawing found a stimulative exercise in designing and embellishing with the graver



Ancestry *and* Early Life

the product of the shop. His abilities in the latter early led him to practice
1765 copperplate engraving, and it was through this channel that his influence on the political life of the time first began to be felt. Pictorial illustration for publication in those days was limited to a very few processes. Wood engraving had been highly developed by a few great masters, but as commonly practiced was very crude and unsatisfactory. Lithography was not yet invented, and so copperplate engraving, which we are now accustomed to associate with work of a more luxurious sort, was the most available means of disseminating the caricatures and allegories that always have formed an essential part of an appeal to the judgment of the people. Today the execution and publication of such for a great newspaper would be a matter of a very few hours; then the plates were slowly and laboriously wrought, and the prints as slowly made, but from the very rarity thus engendered came a corresponding importance, and to these embodiments of patriotic sentiment may be traced much of the enthusiasm for Colonial rights.
1765 The imposition and repeal of the detested Stamp Act were the subjects of some
1766 of his earliest efforts in this field, and they achieved an immediate popularity. Later his illustration of the "Boston Massacre," March 5, 1770, when the British
1770 troops shot down Crispus Attucks and his companions on King (now State) street, proved a valuable document and memorial of that affair, and was even copied and issued in England. His early plates, as was to be expected from one wholly self-taught in the art, were crude in detail, though expressive and forceful in composition, but his later work often attained a considerable degree of elegance and artistic merit.

1756 The martial spirit that stirred him to such a degree in later life asserted itself first on the occasion of the campaign against the French in Canada in 1756, and he was at that time commissioned Second Lieutenant of Artillery by Governor Shirley and attached to the expedition against Crown Point under command of General John Winslow. His service in this campaign was uneventful,

CHRIST CHURCH *Salem Street*



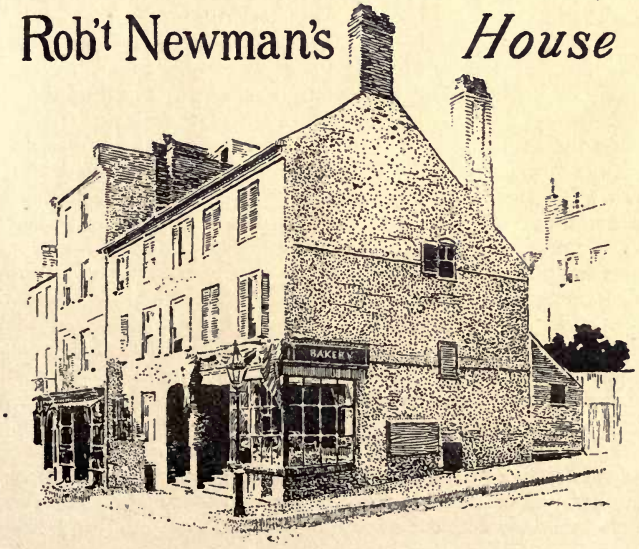
Copperplate Engraving

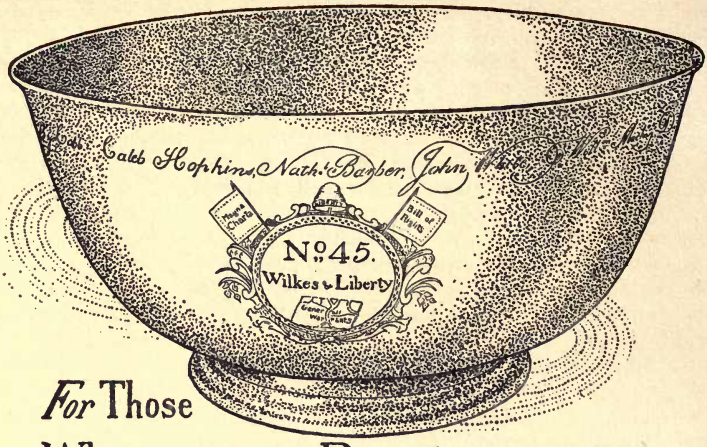
and some six months later he returned to his business. From this time his allegiance to royal authority steadily waned. *1756*

The expense of protecting the Colonies from the encroachments of the French had been large, and in apportioning a share of this to America the king desired also to express the sovereignty of the mother country with a view of checking the growing independence of thought that was manifest in certain quarters, particularly in Boston. His ministers therefore devised the Stamp *1762* Act, which, though defeated in Parliament when first offered, was passed in 1765 and its enforcement immediately attempted. This included a tax upon the *1765* imports of the Colonies, but its repugnance to the latter lay in the fact that they had no voice in the matter, a right which they claimed under the Magna Charta, the foundation of English liberty. The resentment engendered by this enactment operated to widen the breach between Whigs and Tories, as the sympathizers of the King were called, and the leaders of the former banded themselves together under the name of the Sons of Liberty. Their meetings were conducted with great secrecy, those in Boston being held chiefly at the Green Dragon tavern, and measures were taken to resist at every step the impending tyranny.

Paul Revere, popular among his fellows, and esteemed by those whom social position and previous services had marked as prime directors, became a prominent figure in this movement and was intrusted with the execution of many important affairs. Committees of Safety and Correspondence were formed throughout the Colonies, and Revere was often the bearer of intelligence and instructions from one to another. His chief commissions at this time were to carry to New York and Philadelphia the sentiments of Massachusetts, and its proposition to unify the action of the country through a Colonial Congress. This Congress was held at New York in October of the same year, and adopted a Declaration of Rights and Grievances which, together with the protests from British merchants and the earnest efforts of William Pitt, caused Parliament to repeal the obnoxious Act early in 1766. *1766*

Rob't Newman's *House*





1768

For Those Who voted *not to* Rescind

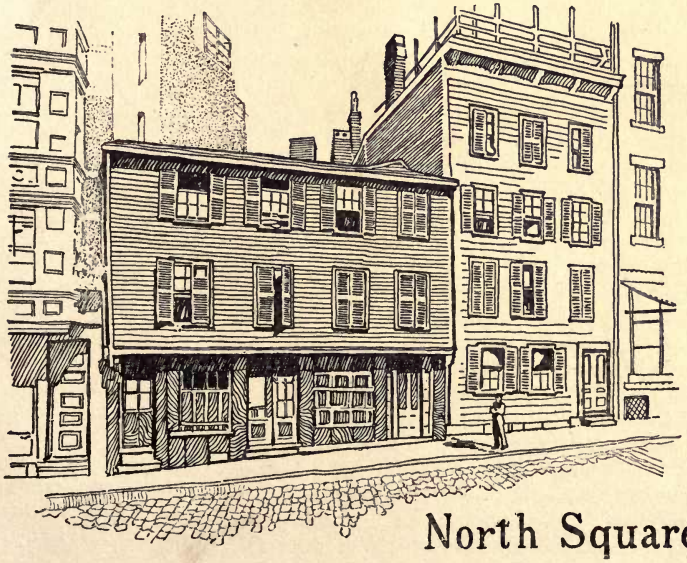
The King, unwilling to renounce his policy of subjection, secured the passage of another and somewhat similar Act aimed at American commerce, and again the Colonies were excited to resistance and methods devised to defeat its provisions. A non-importation league was formed, and many encounters occurred between the crown officers, or their sympathizers, and the patriots. Paul Revere appears as a leading spirit in these demonstrations, and several of
1768 them were marked by the publication of engravings. One of these is a caricature portraying the entrance into the jaws of hell, typified by a dragon emitting flames, of the seventeen members of the Massachusetts House of Representatives who at the King's behest voted to rescind the Act authorizing the issuance of a circular letter to the General Assemblies of the several Colonies inviting co-operation in defense of their rights. The ninety-two members who voted not to rescind were honored by a memorial in the form of a silver punch bowl made by Revere and presented by fifteen Sons of Liberty. He also executed views of the landing of British troops at Boston, beside many prints of a more private
1770 nature, and two years later his representation of the Boston Massacre; the
1771 next year, on the anniversary of this encounter, he displayed from the chamber windows of his house in North Square a series of transparencies commemorative of the affair. This house, though somewhat modified, is still standing.

The discontent bred by the stamp measures of Parliament and nurtured in
1773 the secret societies and caucuses that abounded in Boston burst from these bounds on the 29th of November, 1773, with the issuance of a broadside, or poster as we would now term it, calling the citizens to meet and take action upon the matter. The ship "Dartmouth," laden with tea, had arrived on the 28th, and great excitement prevailed. The meeting announced was held and addressed by noted patriots, who urged the people to prevent the discharge of the cargo. Samuel Adams offered a resolution "that the tea should not be landed; that it should be sent back in the same bottom to the place whence it came, and at all events that no duty should be paid on it." This was unanimously adopted, and a guard of twenty-five men was appointed to support it. Paul Revere was one of this number, and with others watched the ship that night. Another meeting was held the next day and the owners of the "Dartmouth" and two other tea

ships which had arrived were compelled to promise to send them back to England without unloading. Governor Hutchinson upset this peaceful solution of the matter by forbidding the issuance of clearance papers for the ships until the cargoes should be discharged. This further inflamed the citizens, and on the 16th of December another excited gathering was held in the "Old South" Meeting House. At the close of this meeting the cry, "Boston Harbor a tea-pot tonight," was raised, at which signal a band of men styling themselves 1773
"Mohawks," and largely disguised as such, led the way to Griffin's Wharf, boarded the ships, and in an orderly manner burst open three hundred and forty-two chests and threw the tea into the waters of the harbor. As usual, Paul Revere was one of the instigators and leaders of this — the first act of open rebellion.

As a result of this action laws were passed in Parliament closing the port of Boston and in other ways restricting the liberties of the people of Massa- 1774
chusetts. Although the purpose of these was to crush the rebellious spirit of the Colonists, they served only to further inflame them, and Paul Revere was soon riding again to enlist the support of the Southern provinces in behalf of Massachusetts. He was enthusiastically received in New York, and reached Philadelphia on the 20th of May, after a journey of six days. Here a meeting of citizens was immediately held, at which it was unanimously resolved to make the cause of Boston their own. Bearing letters of sympathy, Revere returned to Boston, while a committee of correspondence which was appointed at the Philadelphia meeting sent copies of their acts, accompanied by a suggestion for a General Congress, to New York and the Colonies to the south. New York had received intelligence of the action of Parliament before the arrival of Paul Revere, and had despatched to Boston a message of sympathy and encouragement, and the bearer of it, John Ludlow, met Revere near Providence, Rhode Island, as each traveled his opposite way on the same account. The General

PAUL REVERE'S *House* —



North Square

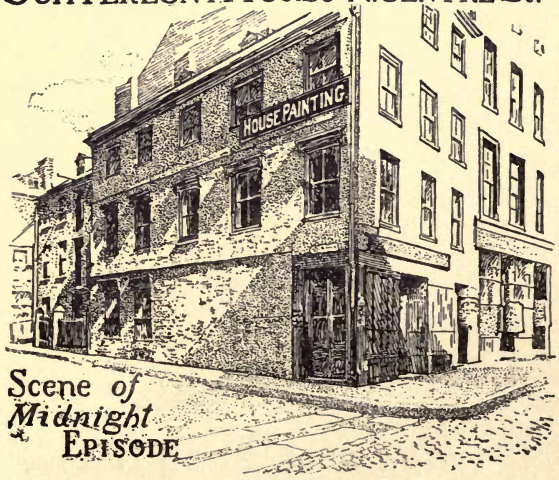
"Mohawk" *and* Messenger

Congress favored by Philadelphia was, at the suggestion of the General Court
1774 of Massachusetts, held in that city the following September, and the acts of injustice suffered by the Colonists were recited in a Declaration of Colonial Rights. Important memorials and resolutions were passed, and the American Association was formed — the first confederacy of the provinces and the real beginning of the Union.

Far-seeing patriots realized the meaning of these measures, and the Massachusetts House of Representatives, reorganized under the name of the "Provincial Congress," assumed the reins of independent government and voted to enroll twelve thousand Minute Men. Revere was called upon once more to ride to Philadelphia, and carried the "Suffolk Resolves," an incipient Declaration of Independence, to the Continental Congress, and again returned with unanimous assurances of unfaltering support. In October he made another journey to Philadelphia to learn the transactions of Congress, and on the 13th of December he carried to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the news that Parliament had forbidden the further importation of gunpowder and military stores, and that a large garrison was coming to occupy Fort William and Mary, situated
1774 in Newcastle at the entrance of Portsmouth harbor. Acting on this intelligence, the "Sons of Liberty" of that neighborhood surprised the fort on the night of the 14th and removed upwards of one hundred barrels of gunpowder and fifteen cannon.

The inevitable conflict was fast approaching, and under General Gage, Governor of Massachusetts, the British forces at Boston were largely increased, and efforts were made to anticipate the uprising of the Colonists by seizing and removing the military stores and arms of the outlying posts. Thus watching and seeking to outwit each other, oppressor and patriot strengthened their situations to the utmost, and awaited the turn of events. The Sons of Liberty increased their vigilance, and under rigid oaths of secrecy debated methods of resistance. In spite of all precautions it was found that intelligence of their meetings was immediately carried to Governor Gage, and though greatly annoyed, they were unable to identify the traitor until the more absolute division of actual conflict marked the opposing parties. Every available method of espionage was taken advantage of, and by the middle of April enough had been learned to convince them that the British were preparing for immediate action. They were therefore in readiness when, on the evening of the 18th, Dr. Warren learned that troops were gathering on Boston Common. He immediately sent for Paul Revere and communicated his fears for the safety of Messrs. Han-

OCHTERLONY *House* N. CENTRE *St.*



1775

Scene of *Midnight* EPISODE

Pivotal Preparation



The GREEN DRAGON

cock and Adams, who were at Lexington, and for whose capture and that of the stores at Concord, he believed the expedition organized. He begged Revere to go at once to Lexington to warn the patriots, on which errand he had already despatched one William Dawes. Revere a few days before had visited Lexington, and fearing the impossibility of direct communication when the blow should fall, had arranged to show by signal lanterns the route taken by the enemy. In the event of departure by water two lights were to be shown in the belfry of the North Church, and if by land, one.

It was then about ten o'clock, and this "Mercury of the Revolution," as he has been aptly called, started immediately on that errand which is so closely *1775* identified with his name, and which is justly held to be one of the most pregnant events of the nation's history. He first called upon his friend, Robert Newman, sexton of the North Church, and arranged for the displaying of the signals when the troops had started, a matter in itself of considerable danger, as regulars were quartered in Newman's house and, as elsewhere, watched every movement; then going to his home he clothed himself for the journey, and hastened to the wharf, where his boat was in readiness. Two friends, Thomas Richardson and Joshua Bentley, rowed him across the Charles River under the guns of the man-of-war Somerset, whose officers tardily awoke to vigilance a few minutes later.

An amusing side light is thrown on this passage by an incident preserved in the traditions of the Revere family. It is related that while the party was on the way to the boat it was remembered that nothing had been provided to muffle the sound of the oars against the thole-pins. A halt was made before a house near by, and a cautious signal brought an answer from a darkened window above. Their need was made known, and the next moment a woolen petticoat exchanged its natural office for a place in history.

Arriving safely at Charlestown, Revere was met by waiting patriots, who had observed the signal lights that now shone from the steeple on Copp's Hill. Procuring a horse, he started by the most direct route to Lexington, but had ridden only a short distance when he discovered two British officers lurking in the shadow of a tree, and was obliged to turn quickly, barely escaping their attack, and ride toward Medford. In that place he aroused the captain of the Minute Men, and proceeding, spread the alarm to Lexington. He found Messrs. Adams and Hancock at the residence of Rev. Mr. Clark, and while there was joined by Dawes, the latter arriving about half an hour later than Revere. They together continued their journey to Concord, and were soon joined by Dr. Prescott, a



SIGNAL LANTERNS

The Midnight Ride



1775

Son of Liberty and resident of the latter place whom Cupid had kept from home until that hour. He proved a valuable addition to the party, as he knew the ground thoroughly and was acquainted at every house on the road.

Revere had been informed of the presence of British scouts in that neighborhood and advanced with caution, leaving to the others the task of warning the farmers. They had covered about half the distance when Revere saw before him two men in the same suspicious situation of those at Charlestown. He stopped and called for Dawes and Prescott to come up. Before the arrival of the latter, the two men, who like the others proved to be British officers, were joined by four more, and the little party was driven at the points of pistols and swords into a field where six more officers on horseback were ambushed. Revere and Dawes were captured, but Dr. Prescott, by jumping his horse over a stone wall, got away and reached Concord. The prisoners were closely questioned and threatened, but suffered no actual violence, and in the excitement of a volley from the Lexington militia as they neared that town on the way to Cambridge, they were abandoned by their captors—who were themselves intent upon reaching a place of safety—and made their way again to Mr. Clark's house.

From here Revere accompanied Hancock and Adams to a place of safety in Woburn, and then returned once more to the Clark house. He soon learned that the British troops were close at hand, and at the request of Mr. Lowell, clerk to Mr. Hancock, he went with the former to the tavern to secure a trunk containing valuable papers. The following extract from Paul Revere's written story of the affair gives a graphic picture of this incident:

"We went up chamber, and while we were getting the trunk, we saw the British very near, upon a full march. We hurried toward Mr. Clark's house. In our way we passed through the militia. They were about fifty. When we had got about one hundred yards from the meeting house, the British troops appeared on both sides of the meeting house. In their front was an officer on horseback. They made a short halt, when I saw and heard a gun fired, which appeared to be a pistol. Then I could distinguish two guns, and then a continual roar of musketry; when we made off with the trunk."



1775

This ends the record of Revere's part in this expedition. How the British troops passed on to Concord and precipitately returned is known of all, and like Revere's ride, has

been worthily recorded in verse. It was war; and when its smoke had cleared away the parties that had suspected and watched each other as neighbors became enemies, with no neutral ground. Revere took up his residence in Charlestown, and from that point set about managing his affairs in Boston. A few weeks later, when passes could be procured, his wife and family joined him on the other side of the Charles River.

More rides to New York and Philadelphia were required of Revere, but occupation more to his taste was offered the following year, after the British, harrassed by Washington, had evacuated Boston. The departing troops had endeavored to disable the cannon at Castle William, now Fort Independence, and at the request of General Washington, Revere undertook to repair them. He succeeded by inventing a new form of carriage, rendered necessary by the fact that the trunnions had been broken from the guns. Shortly after this (in July) a regiment was raised for the defence of the town and harbor, and Revere was commissioned Major. In November of the same year he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of a regiment of State Artillery, in which office he performed many important duties, including the transference from Worcester to Boston, in August, 1777, of a body of several hundred prisoners captured at Bennington by Colonel Stark. He took part also, with his regiment, in the first campaign in Rhode Island, and was several times in command at Castle William, incidentally presiding at many courts-martial. His services in defence of Boston Harbor were onerous and marked by privations and discontent among his men, but he steadfastly fulfilled his duties and endeavored to make the best of the situation despite the adverse conditions.

1775



Erected 1900

CAPTAIN PARKER *H H Kitson Sc*
Hayes Memorial Lexington

1776

1778

On the 26th of June, 1779, Colonel Revere was ordered to prepare one hundred members of his command for instant departure with the expedition being formed to attack the British at Maja-Bagaduce, now Castine, Maine. This expedition, under Brigadier-General Solomon Lovell and Commodore Dudley Saltonstall, reached the Penobscot in thirty-seven vessels on the 25th



1779 of July and undertook to besiege the enemy. Mismanagement and misfortune prevailed, and on the 13th of August the attempt culminated in their utter defeat by a British squadron that suddenly appeared and hemmed in the Americans. The expedition was completely demoralized, burning its ships to prevent them falling into the enemy's possession, and making its way back to Boston in scattered parties. A most unfortunate feature of this affair, for Revere, was a quarrel engendered by a conflict of authority with a Captain of Marines, which, early in September, after Revere had again been placed in command of Castle William, resulted in his removal from this place and the service, under complaint of this officer. Revere traced this trouble to enmity incurred in the discharge of duty at Castle William, and he had anticipated it by protesting against the presence in the expedition of certain members who were known to be unfriendly to him for this reason, having previously tried to sustain charges against him. Revere addressed a very full account of his doings on the expedition, and especially of the points at issue, to the Council, and repeatedly requested a court-martial, but not until 1781 did he obtain a trial. He was, however, completely acquitted and vindicated, the decree being concurred in and signed by Governor Hancock. It was a matter of great regret to Revere that his opportunities were restricted to the service of the State. He had hoped and endeavored to obtain a place in the Continental Army, and was greatly disappointed at the inactivity of his influential friends in his behalf.

1779 Thus closed Revere's service in the war, which was then waning, and he continued assiduously in the business of goldsmith and silversmith, which he resumed when relieved from his command. His last contribution to the cause of Freedom was in the interest of the adoption of the Federal Constitution when that matter was being considered by the statesmen of Massachusetts.

1788 Its fate hung in the balance, when resolutions were presented to Samuel Adams, as usual a leader in the Convention, by Paul Revere, representing the mechanics and tradesmen of Boston in public meeting assembled. The resolutions were effective, Massachusetts ratified the Constitution, and other States awaiting her decision followed her example. As at the beginning so at the end, Revere was preëminent in establishing Independence.

His unique abilities show to the best advantage in his conquest over the mechanical and chemical problems of the times, and the services rendered the

Accused *and* Vindicated

cause of liberty through these channels are equal in importance to those we have related. One of the first of these was the manufacture of gunpowder, at *1776* Canton, Massachusetts, when the only other source of supply was in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, and the proprietor of that hostile to his enterprise. He succeeded, nevertheless, from the first, and thus greatly enlarged the resources of the Northern Army. He was also employed to oversee the cast- *1777* ing of cannon, and to engrave and print the notes issued by Congress and by *1775* Massachusetts. In addition to his regular trade, he established an important hardware store on Essex street, opposite the site of the famous Liberty Tree that *1783* was the center of much of the patriotic demonstration of pre-Revolutionary times.

There was apparently no limit to the variety of work successfully essayed by Revere, for it is shown by abundant testimony that in his younger days he practiced with much skill the making and inserting of artificial teeth, which art *1768* he learned from an English dentist temporarily located in Boston, while he also designed many of the frames that now surround the paintings of his friend Copley. These were, however, but incidents in comparison with the heroic undertakings of his later years. Those were the days of beginnings; when everything started from the fundamental elements and those elements were difficult to procure. No task appalled him, and many of nature's secrets yielded to his persistent investigations. In 1789 he established an iron foundry of considerable capacity, and in 1792 began casting church bells, the first of which, still in existence, was for the Second Church of Boston. He cast many of these—later taking his son, Joseph Warren, into the business—and examples of them are numerous in the old parishes of eastern Massachusetts. One at Saint Paul's Church, Newburyport, has been in continuous service until within a few months, and is now preserved as a relic. Brass cannon, and the many sorts of metal-work needed for the building and equipping of ships, of which the National Government was a large purchaser, were a part of the regular product *1794* of this establishment. He invented a process of treating copper that enabled him to hammer and roll it while hot, thus greatly facilitating the manufacture of the bolts and spikes needed in this work.

In many respects the most important of all Revere's enterprises was that or rolling copper into large sheets, inaugurated at Canton, Massachusetts, in the year 1800. Concerning this, Revere says in a letter of December 22, that year: "I have engaged to build me a mill for rolling copper into sheets, which for me is a very great undertaking, and will require every farthing which I can rake or scrape." It should be remembered that his foundry and silversmithy were still in operation, and therefore the aggregate of capital required was considerable. He secured aid from the United States Government to the extent of ten

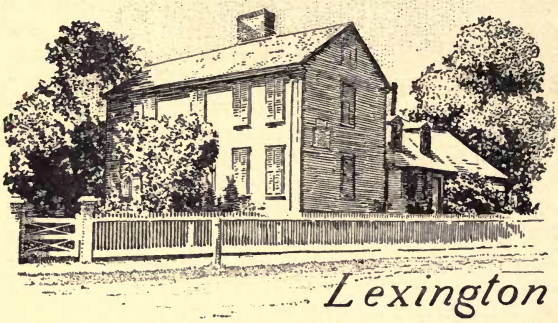


Brazier made by Revere

Practical Versatility

HANCOCK-CLARKE *House*

1801



Lexington

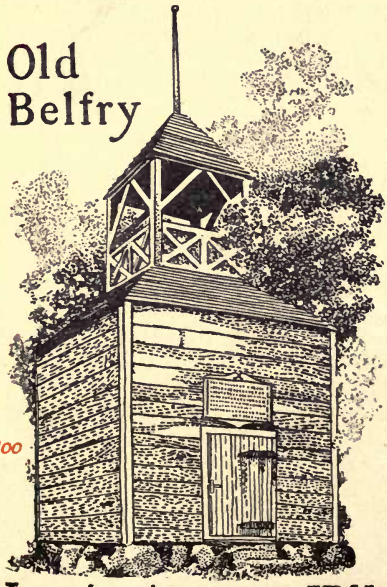
thousand dollars, which was to be, and subsequently was, taken up in sheet copper. This was the first copper rolling mill in the country and it occasioned much favorable comment, the more especially as every such triumph severed a bond of dependency upon the mother country, besides developing the power of our own. Here were made the plates—five feet long, three feet wide, and

1809 one-quarter inch thick—for the boilers of Robert Fulton's steam engines, and the sheets for sheathing many ships of war. In 1828 the business was incorporated as the Revere Copper Company, and under this name is still conducted.

The cares and duties of a busy life did not prevent Revere from cultivating its social side, and here, as in other fields, he attained distinction. He was the first Entered Apprentice to be received into Saint Andrew's Lodge of Free Masons, and ten years later, in 1770, became its Master. He was one of the organizers of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, and was its Grand Master from 1794 to 1797. In this capacity he assisted Governor Samuel Adams at

1795 the laying of the cornerstone of the Massachusetts State House, July 4, 1795, and also delivered an address on that occasion.

Old Belfry



1800

Lexington — 1761

In 1783 Saint Andrew's Lodge was divided upon the question of remaining under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, which had chartered both it and the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, or of affiliating with the latter. Twenty-nine members favored the old arrangement, while twenty-three, including Revere, desired to change. The minority withdrew and formed the Rising States Lodge, September, 1784, with Paul Revere its first Master. He made jewels for these Lodges, and engraved and printed elaborate certificates of membership and notification cards.

At the death of General Washington he was made one of a committee of three Past Grand Masters to write a letter of condolence to Mrs. Washington, and to solicit from her a lock of the hero's hair. This request was granted, and Revere executed a golden urn, about four inches in height, for the reception of the relic. He was one of the pall-bearers at the observance of Washington's funeral by the Masons of Boston, and prepared the

Social Attainments



Kitchen HANCOCK-CLARKE *House*

insignia, a large white marble urn on a pedestal covered with a pall and bearing other suitable emblems. *1800*

Through correspondence he cultivated the acquaintance of relatives in Guernsey and in France, and from them learned much family history, often contributing on his part patriotic defence of his country and its French allies, of whom his cousin in Guernsey was especially denunciatory.

A lasting monument to the ruling passion of his life is the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics Association which, chiefly through his instrumentality, was formed in 1795. He was its first president, and continued in that office until 1799, when he declined rëelection, although his interest in its affairs was undiminished and his counsel its main dependence. *1795*

Forty years old when he rode on the midnight alarm, Paul Revere gave the prime of his life to the service of his country. His earlier years of enthusiasm had prepared the way, and his later years reaped the reward of his patriotism, industry and virtue. This reward was both material and temporal. From the people he had unqualified respect and abundant honors, while his own talents had provided him with a competency that enabled him to live well, to educate a large family of children, and finally to leave them in comfortable circumstances.

He died May 10, 1818, aged 83 years, and was buried in the Granary Burial Ground in the company of his former friends, John Hancock and Samuel Adams, and in the center of the scenes of his activity—almost under the shadow of the State House whose cornerstone he helped to set and whose significance he had labored to establish. *1818*

Paul Revere was the man for the times, and the times developed Paul Revere. His works are history, and his personality is a profitable and inspiring study for all who regard public worth and private virtue and integrity.



PAUL REVERE'S RIDE

LISTEN, my children, and you shall hear
Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere,
On the eighteenth of April, in Seventy-five;
Hardly a man is now alive
Who remembers that famous day and year.
He said to his friend, "If the British march
By land or sea from the town to-night,
Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry arch
Of the North Church tower as a signal light,—
One, if by land, and two, if by sea;
And I on the opposite shore will be,
Ready to ride and spread the alarm
Through every Middlesex village and farm,
For the country-folk to be up and to arm."

Then he said, "Good night!" and with muffled oar
Silently rowed to the Charlestown shore,
Just as the moon rose over the bay,
Where swinging wide at her moorings lay
The Somerset, British man-of-war;
A phantom ship, with each mast and spar
Across the moon like a prison bar,
And a huge black hulk, that was magnified
By its own reflection in the tide.

Meanwhile, his friend, through alley and street,
Wanders and watches with eager ears,
Till in the silence around him he hears
The muster of men at the barrack door,
The sound of arms, and the tramp of feet,
And the measured tread of the grenadiers,
Marching down to their boats on the shore.

Then he climbed the tower of the Old North Church,
By the wooden stairs, with stealthy tread,
To the belfry-chamber overhead,
And startled the pigeons from their perch
On the somber rafters, that round him made
Masses and moving shapes of shade,—
By the trembling ladder, steep and tall,
To the highest window in the wall,
Where he paused to listen and look down
A moment on the roofs of the town,
And the moonlight flowing over all.

Beneath, in the churchyard, lay the dead,
In their night-encampment on the hill,
Wrapped in silence so deep and still
That he could hear, like a sentinel's tread,
The watchful night-wind, as it went
Creeping along from tent to tent,
And seeming to whisper, "All is well!"

A moment only he feels the spell
Of the place and the hour, and the secret dread
Of the lonely belfry and the dead;
For suddenly all his thoughts are bent
On a shadowy something far away,
Where the river widens to meet the bay,—
A line of black that bends and floats
On the rising tide, like a bridge of boats.

Meanwhile, impatient to mount and ride
Booted and spurred, with a heavy stride
On the opposite shore walked Paul Revere.
Now he patted his horse's side,
Now gazed at the landscape far and near,
Then, impetuous, stamped the earth,
And turned and tightened his saddle-girth;
But mostly he watched with eager search
The belfry tower of the Old North Church,
As it rose above the graves on the hill,
Lonely and spectral and somber and still.
And lo! as he looks, on the belfry's height,
A glimmer, and then a gleam of light!
He springs to the saddle, the bridle he turns,
But lingers and gazes, till full on his sight
A second lamp in the belfry burns!

A hurry of hoofs in a village street,
A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the dark,
And beneath, from the pebbles, in passing, a spark
Struck out by a steed flying fearless and fleet:
That was all! And yet, through the gloom and
the light,
The fate of a nation was riding that night;
And the spark struck out by that steed, in his flight,
Kindled the land into flame with its heat.

He has left the village and mounted the steep,
And beneath him, tranquil and broad and deep,
Is the Mystic, meeting the ocean tides;
And under the alders, that skirt its edge,
Now soft on the sand, now loud on the ledge,
Is heard the tramp of his steed as he rides.

It was twelve by the village clock
When he crossed the bridge into Medford town.
He heard the crowing of the cock,
And the barking of the farmer's dog,
And felt the damp of the river fog,
That rises after the sun goes down.

It was one by the village clock,
When he galloped into Lexington.
He saw the gilded weathercock
Swim in the moonlight as he passed,
And the meeting-house windows, blank and bare,
Gaze at him with a spectral glare,
As if they already stood aghast
At the bloody work they would look upon.

It was two by the village clock,
When he came to the bridge in Concord town.
He heard the bleating of the flock,
And the twitter of birds among the trees,
And felt the breath of the morning breeze
Blowing over the meadows brown.
And one was safe and asleep in his bed
Who at the bridge would be first to fall,
Who that day would be lying dead,
Pierced by a British musket-ball.

You know the rest. In the books you have read,
How the British Regulars fired and fled,—
How the farmers gave them ball for ball,
From behind each fence and farm-yard wall,
Chasing the red-coats down the lane,
Then crossing the fields to emerge again
Under the trees at the turn of the road,
And only pausing to fire and load.

So through the night rode Paul Revere;
And so through the night went his cry of alarm
To every Middlesex village and farm,—
A cry of defiance and not of fear,
A voice in the darkness, a knock at the door,
And a word that shall echo forevermore!
For, borne on the night-wind of the Past,
Through all our history to the last,
In the hour of darkness and peril and need,
The people will waken and listen to hear
The hurrying hoof-beats of that steed,
And the midnight message of Paul Revere.

—*Longfellow.*

Printed by special arrangement with Houghton, Mifflin & Co., publishers of Longfellow's Works.



BOSTON MASSACRE.

THE PAUL REVERE

is fourth of a series of patterns inspired by different yet characteristic phases of the "Old Colonial" style. "COLONIAL," "GEORGIAN" and "NEWBURY" have successively and successfully embodied this in its more elaborate aspects, but it is reserved for the "Paul Revere" to exemplify the elegant simplicity which, the more especially in silverware, distinguishes the taste of our forefathers. The threads that form its only ornamentation may be found on much of the early work, notably on that of Paul Revere, whose conspicuous abilities in this and other fields have made his name immortal, and the story of whose life is briefly told in the preceding pages.

This pattern is made in medium and heavy weights, all of which from the nature of its construction are substantial, and may be found in the stocks of leading jewelers of the United States and Canada. Purchasers of silverware should see that goods offered bear this trade-mark, which is a guarantee of Sterling quality.

TRADE MARK
STERLING

Towle Mfg Company *Silversmiths*

NEWBURYPORT MASSACHUSETTS .·. CHICAGO ILLINOIS
NEW YORK CITY

THE TOWLE MFG COMPANY DOES NO RETAIL BUSINESS ANYWHERE

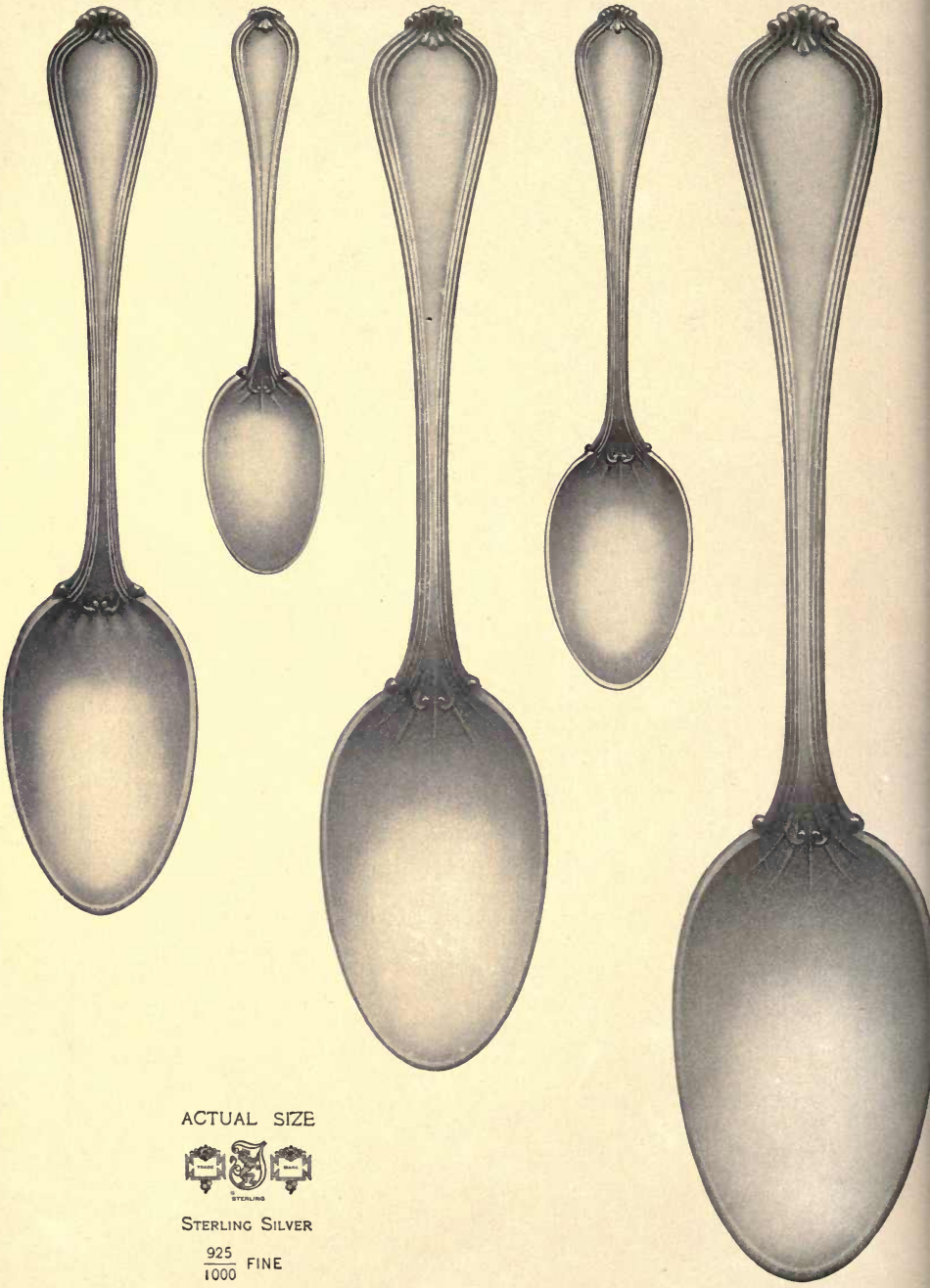
Tea Spoon.
Nos. 16 and 18.

Coffee Spoon.

Dessert Spoon.
Nos 24. 28 and 32.

Tea Spoon. P.M.

Table Spoon.
Nos 33. 39 and 45.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

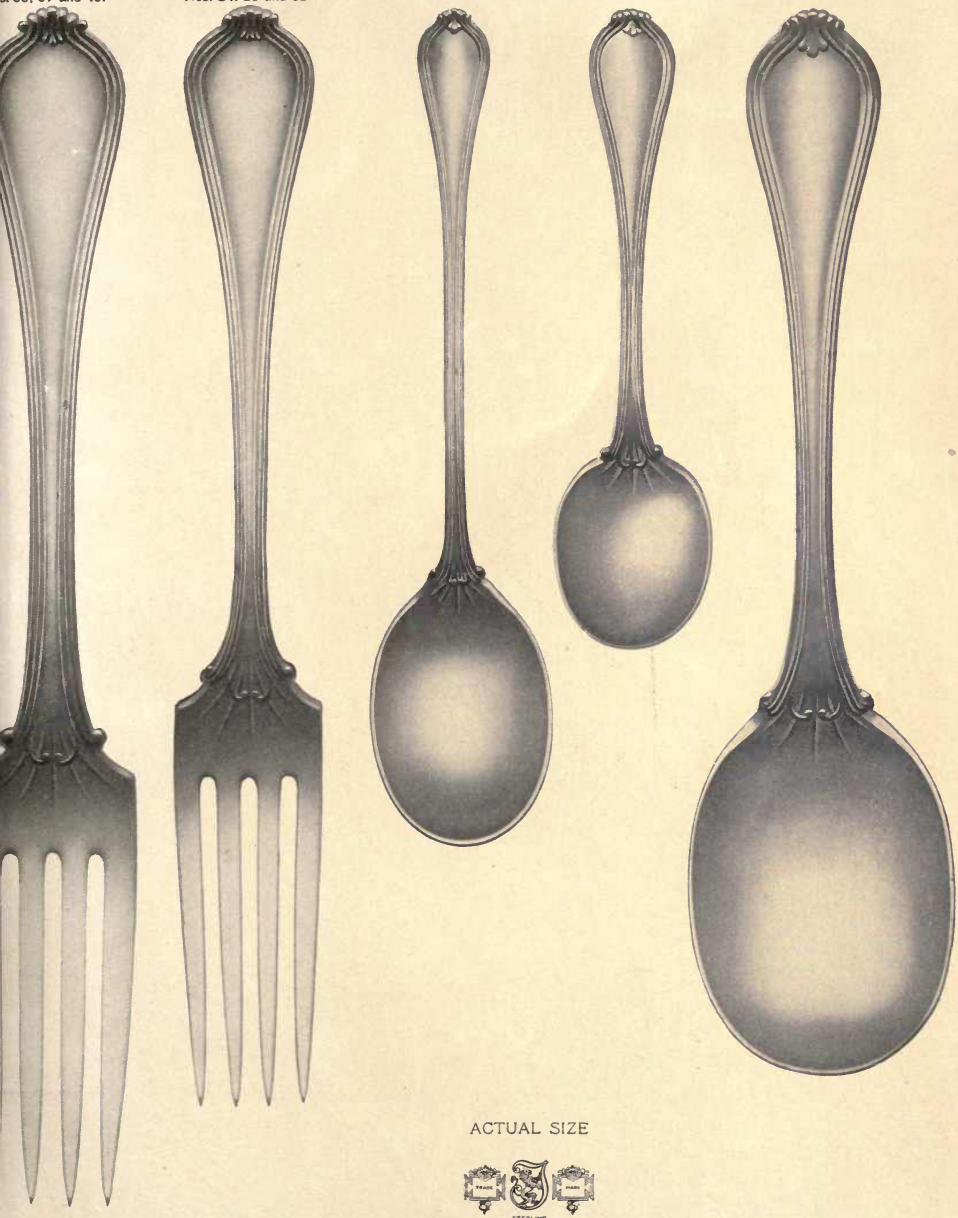
Table Fork
s. 33, 39 and 45.

Dessert Fork.
Nos. 24, 28 and 32.

Bouillon Spoon.

Chocolate Spoon.

Soup Spoon.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Orange Spoon.

Sugar Spoon.

Ice Cream Spoon.

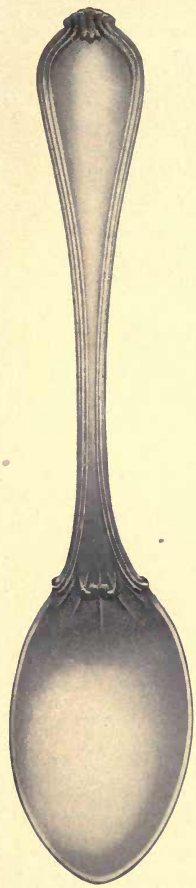
ACTUAL SIZE

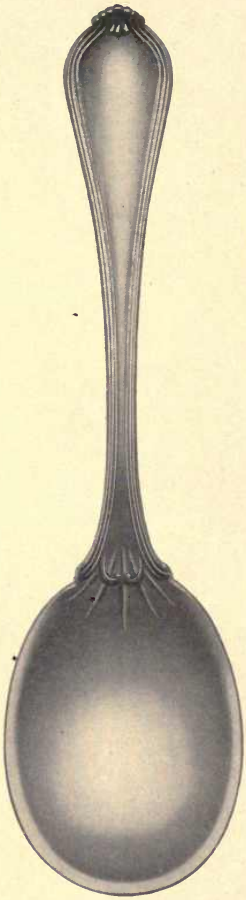
STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

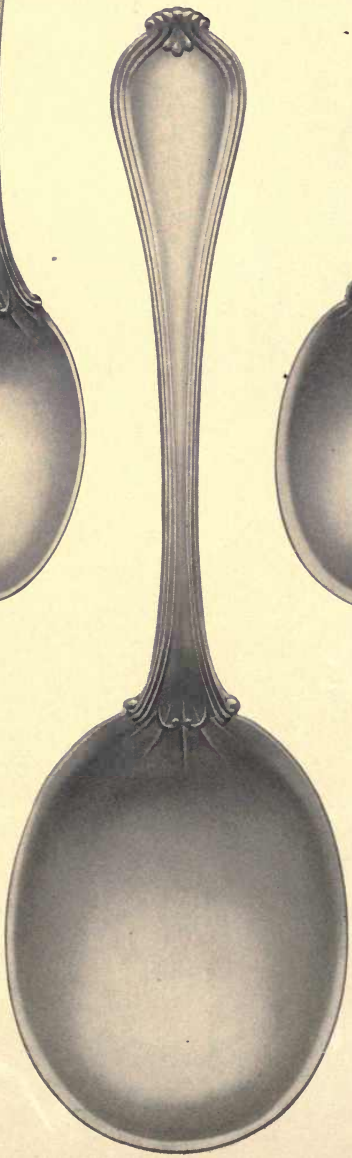
Jelly Spoon.

Preserve Spoon.





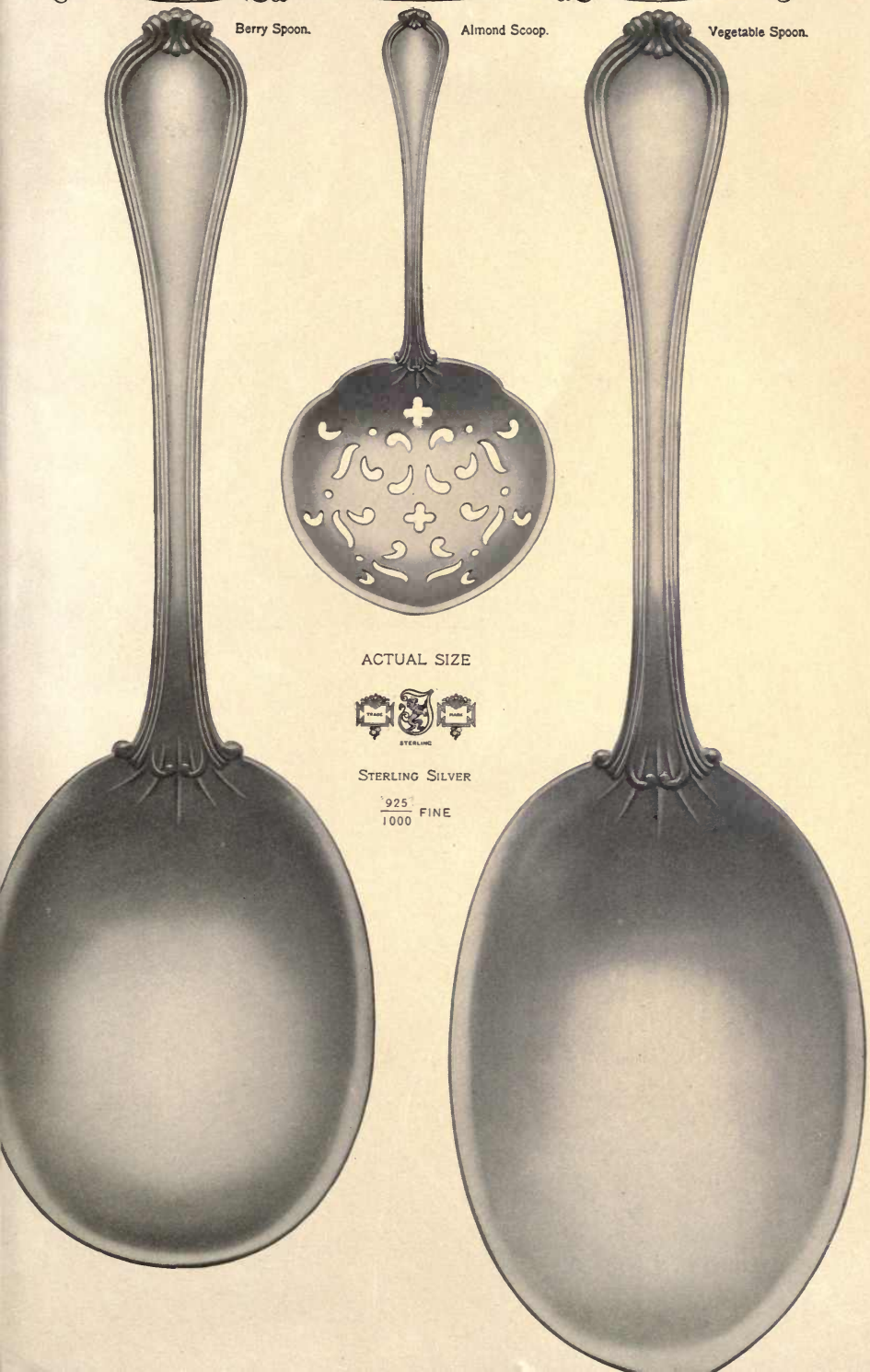




Berry Spoon.

Almond Scoop.

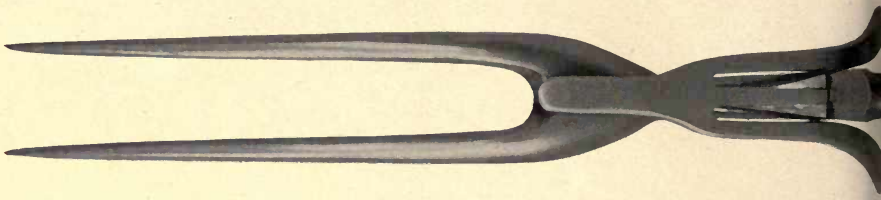
Vegetable Spoon.

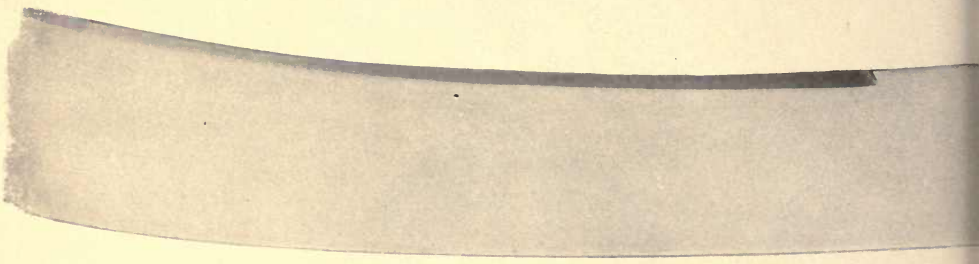


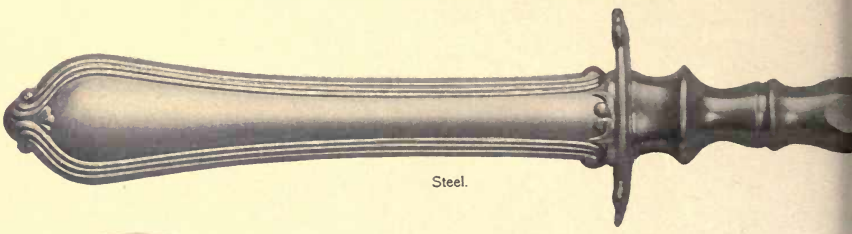
ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

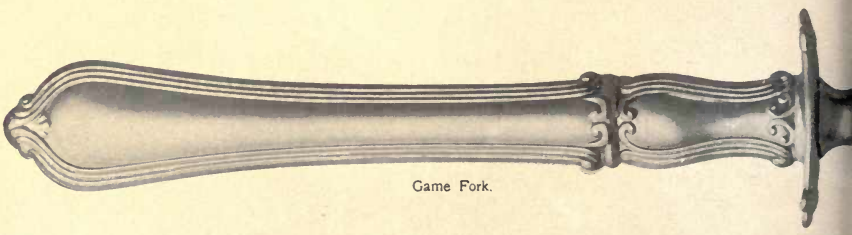




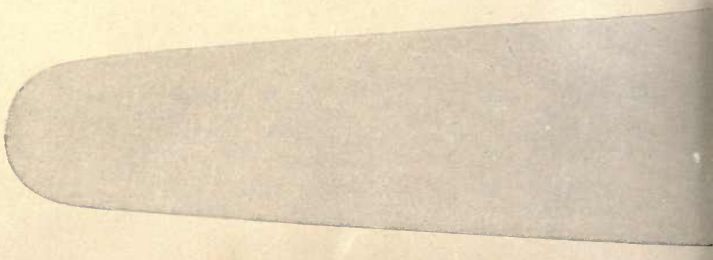


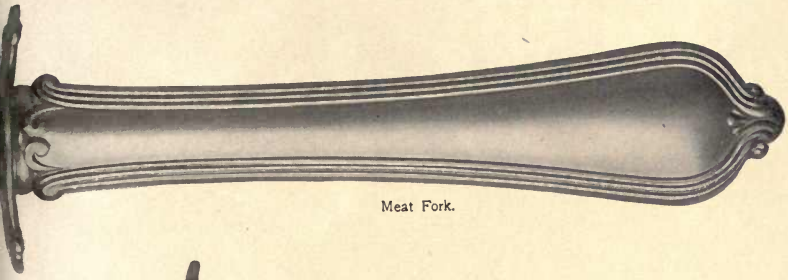
Steel.



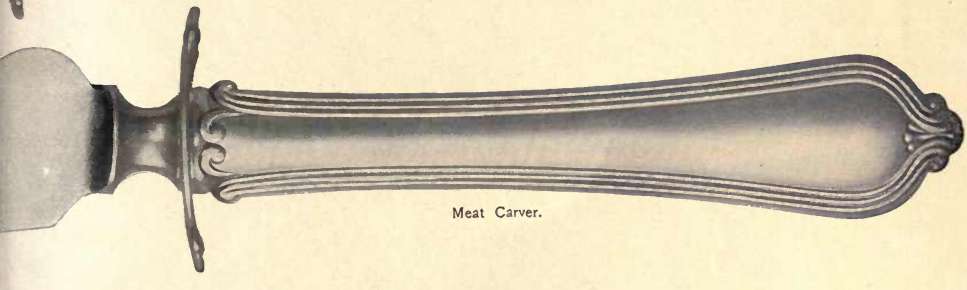


Game Fork.



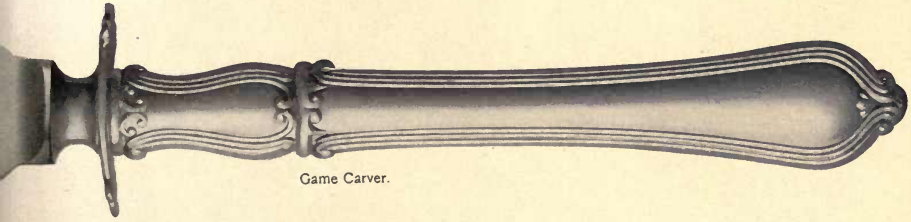


Meat Fork.



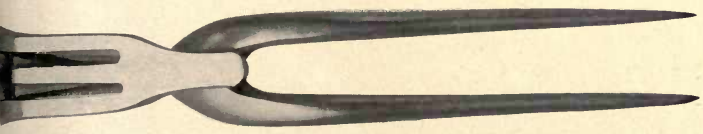
Meat Carver.





Game Carver.

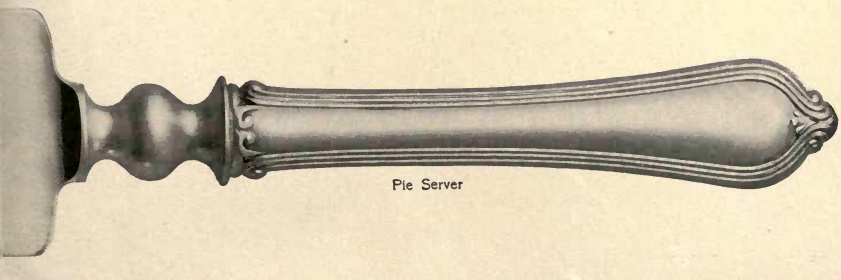
ACTUAL SIZE



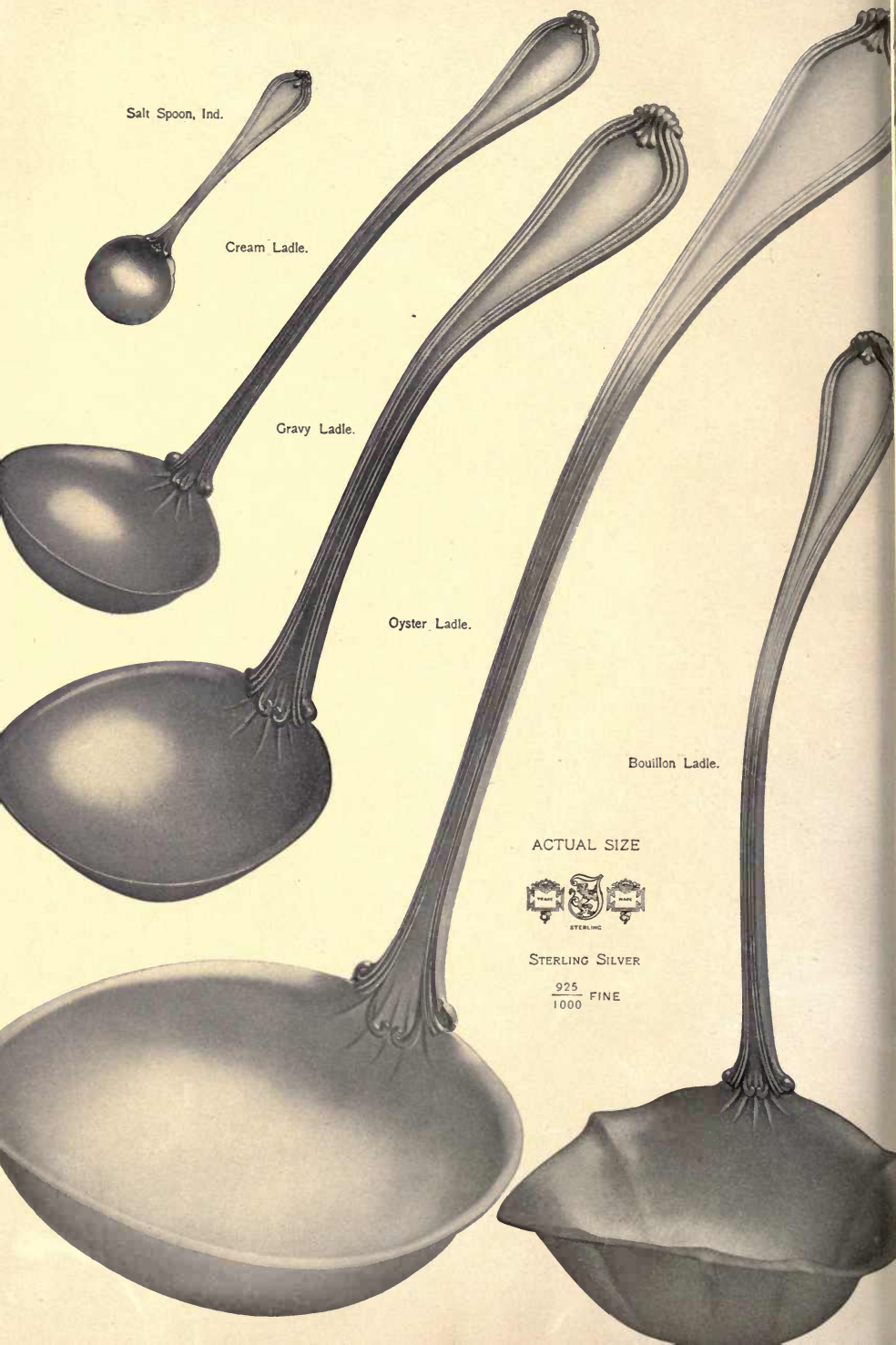


STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE



Pie Server



STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

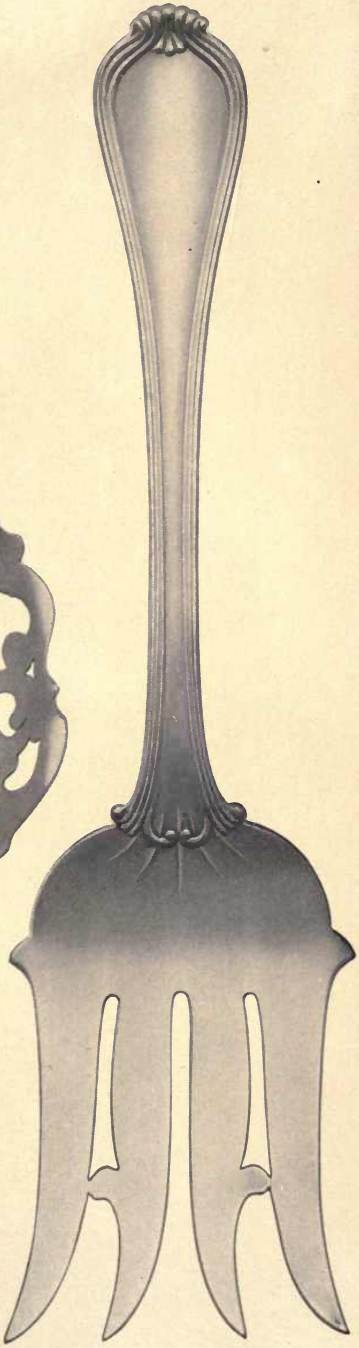
Salad Spoon.

Bonbon Scoop.

Salad Fork.





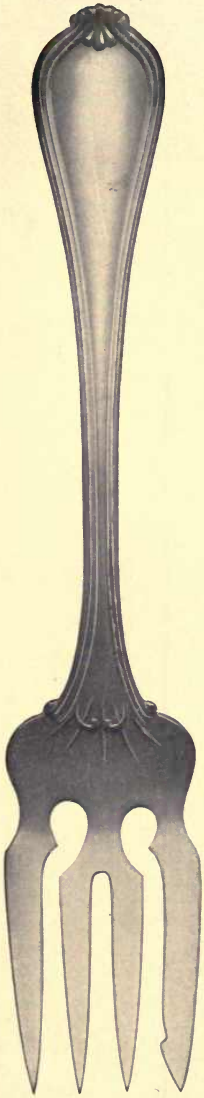


ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

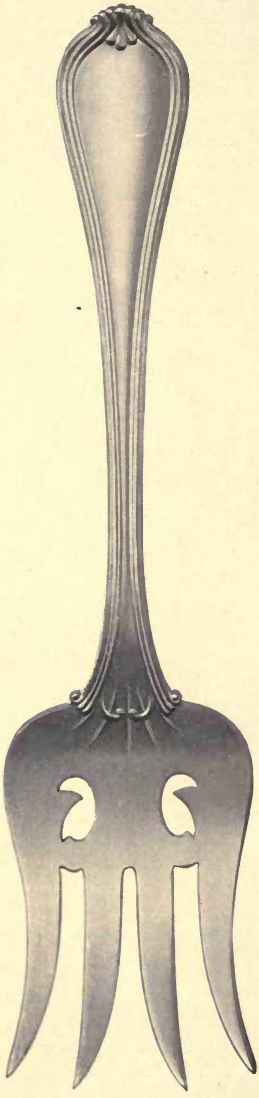
Individual Salad Fork, large.



Oyster Fork.



Beef Fork, large.

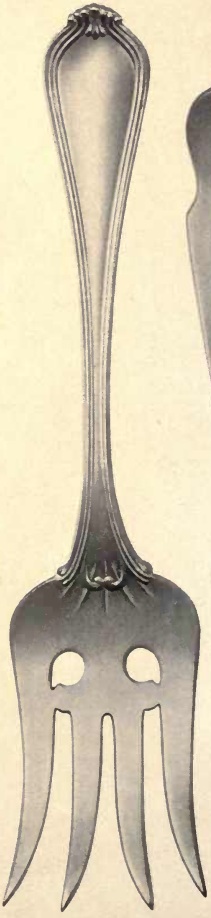


ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Beef Fork, small.



Individual Salad Fork, small.



Butter Spreader.



Butter Spreader. large.



ACTUAL SIZE

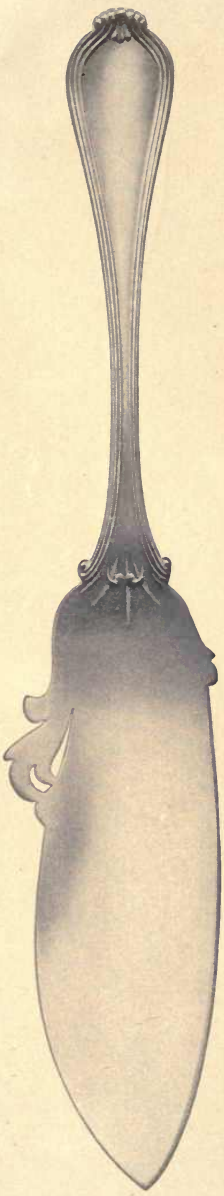
STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Butter Knife.



Jelly Knife.



Butter Knife Pick.



Child's Knife.



Fruit Knife.



Child's Fork.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

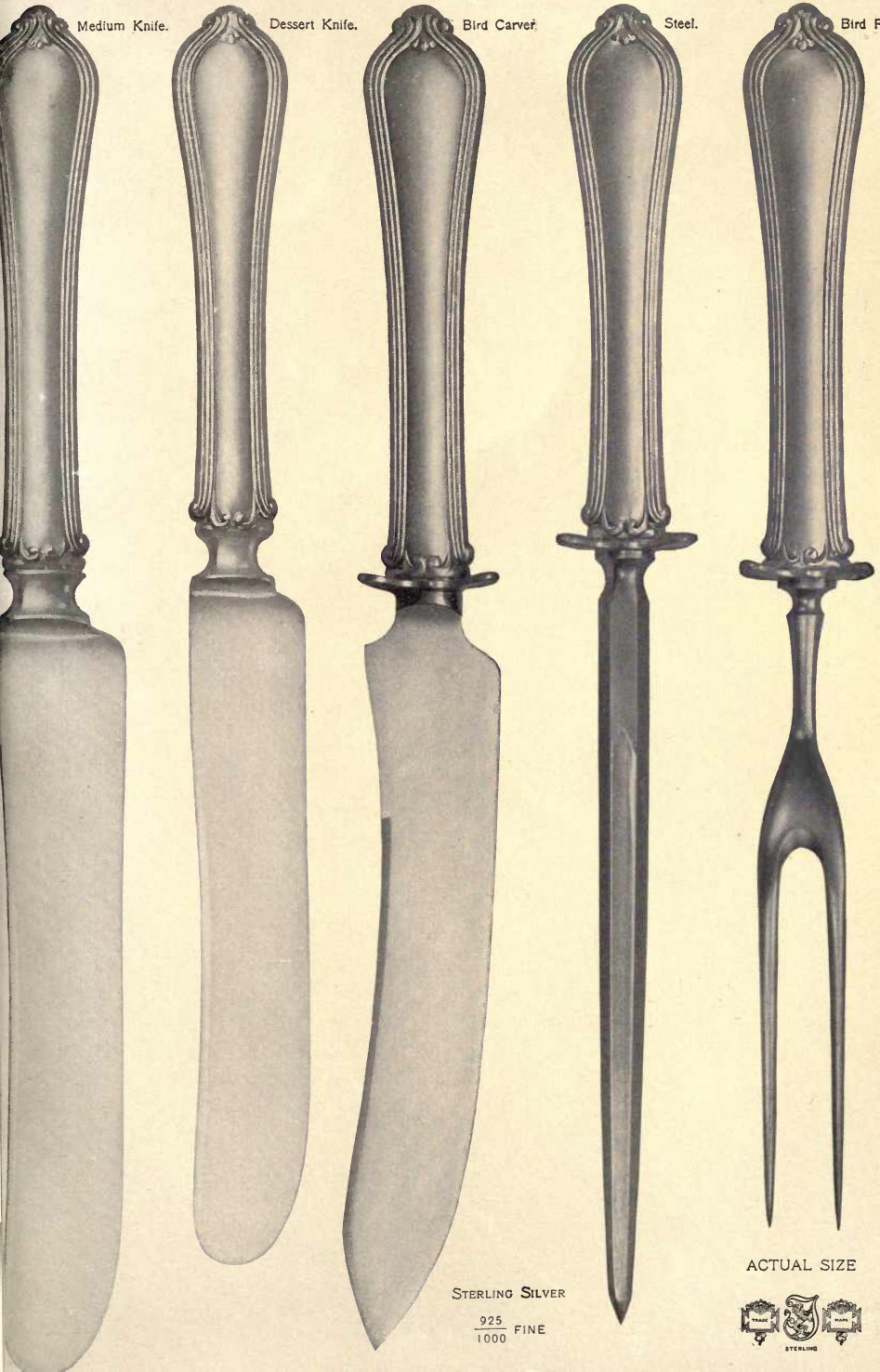
925/1000 FINE

Butter Spreader, H.H.



Child's Knife, H.H.





ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

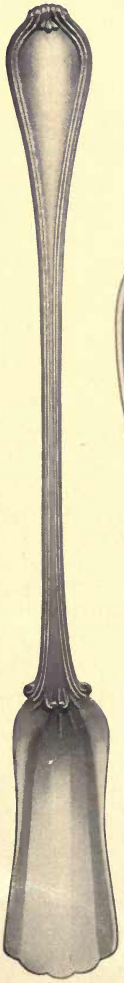
Iced-Tea Spoon.

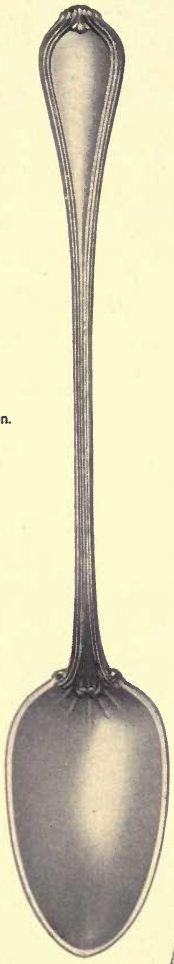
Ice Spoon, large.

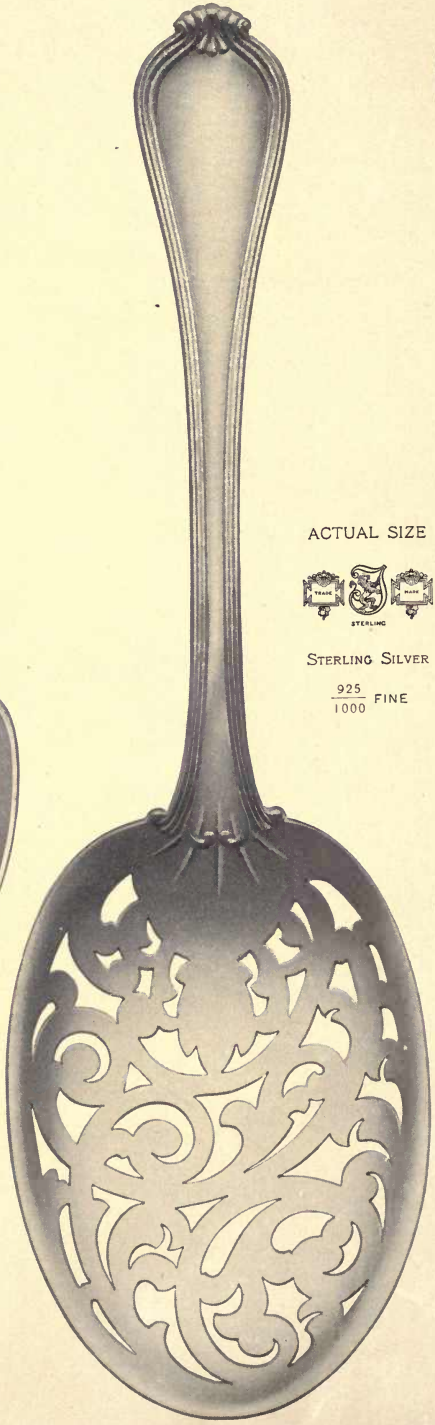
Olive Fork.

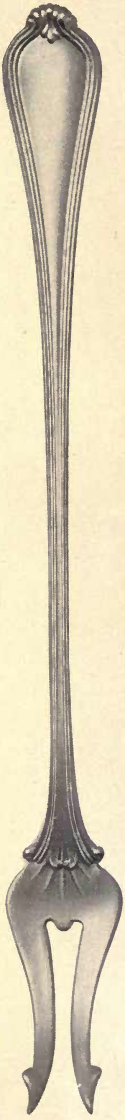
Olive Spoon

Horse Radish Spoon.









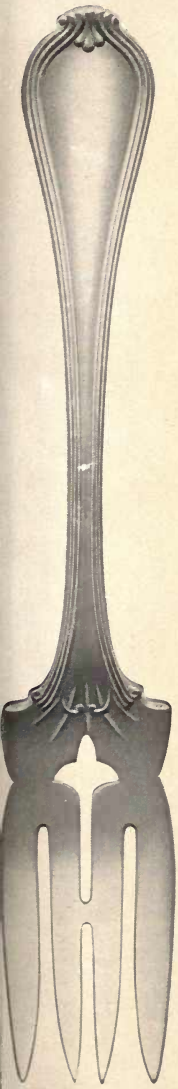


ACTUAL SIZE

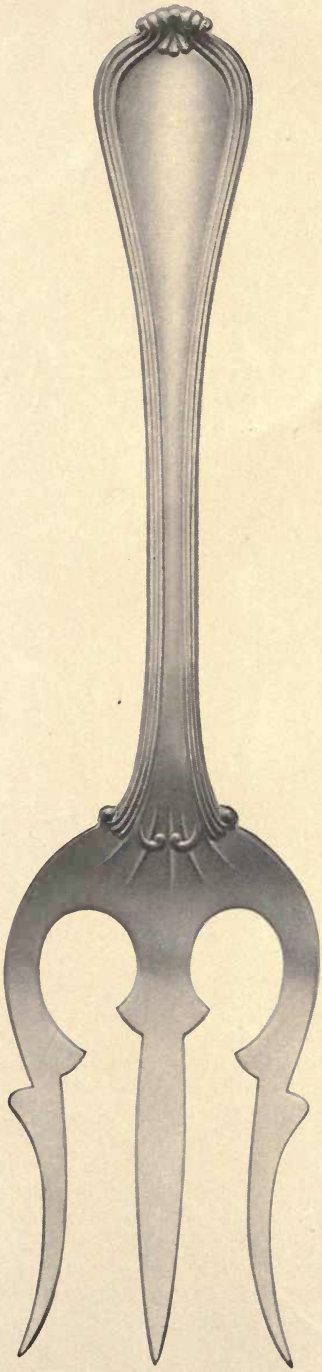
STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

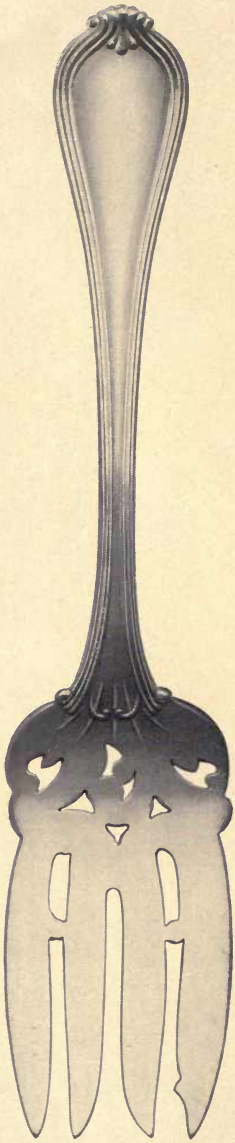
Individual Fish Fork.



Spinach Fork.



Cold Meat Fork.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Sardine Fork, large.

Asparagus Fork.

Sardine Fork, small.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

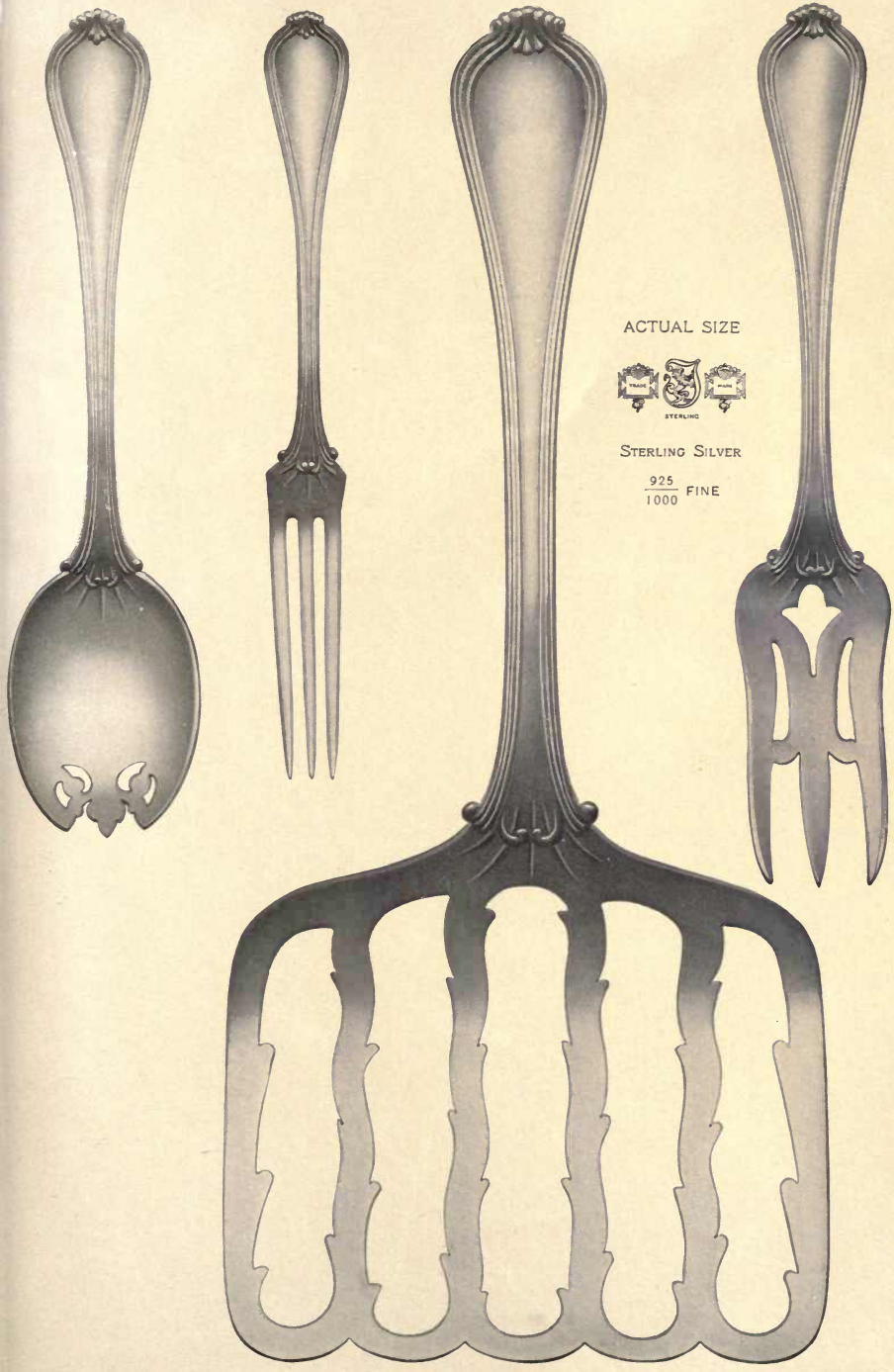
925/1000 FINE

Ice Cream Fork.

Berry Fork.

Toast Server.

Pickle Fork.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

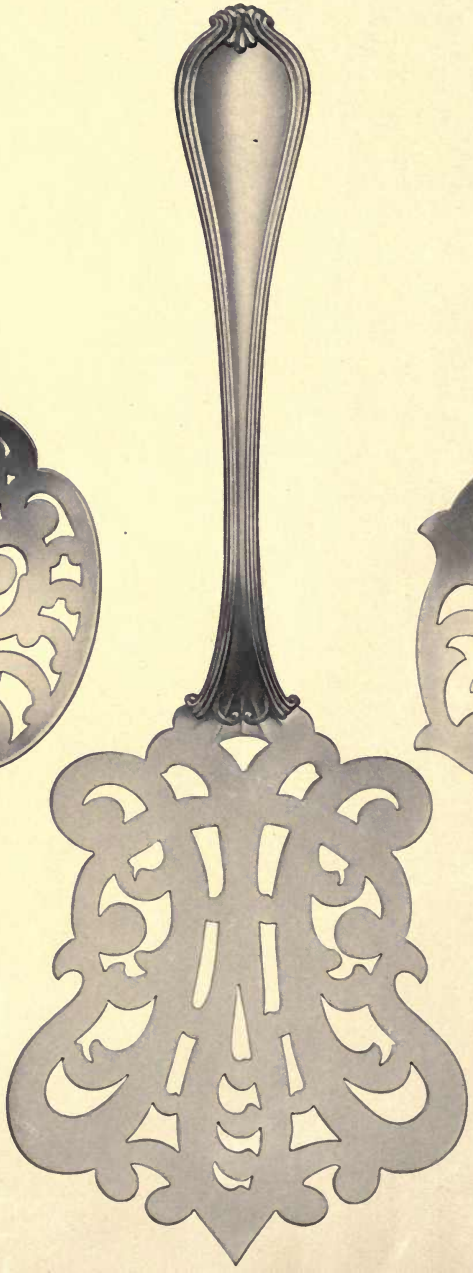
Lemon Server.

Cucumber Server.

Waffle Server.





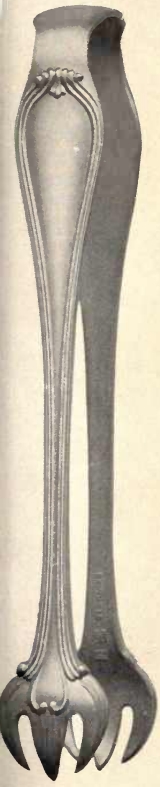


ACTUAL SIZE

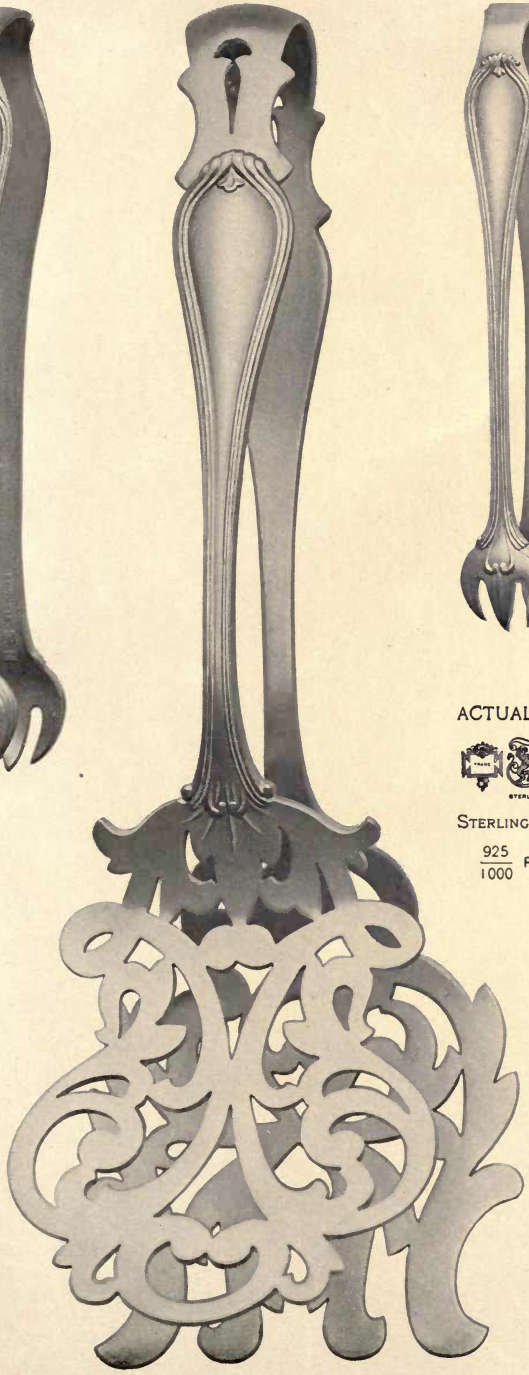
STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Sugar Tongs

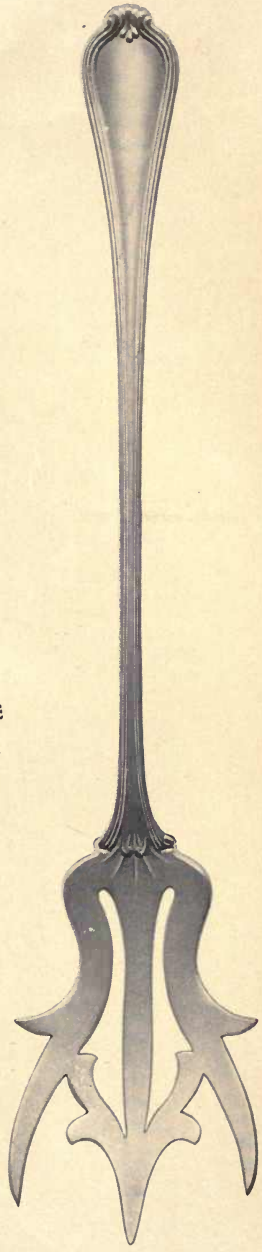


Asparagus Tongs.



Tete-a-tete Tongs.

Lettuce Fork.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

PAUL REVERE DINNER AND TEA SERVICE

The beauty and charm of Paul Revere's work as a silversmith are especially evidenced in the hollow-ware that bears his mark, which is characterized particularly by simplicity of design and refinement of outline and proportions. The PAUL REVERE ware here illustrated exemplifies these qualities to a marked degree and was prepared as much to supplement the PAUL REVERE pattern of flat-ware—and thereby make possible a complete and harmonious table-service—as to create in the spirit of this famous colonial craftsman an artistically meritorious design.

Every article pertaining to a Dinner or Tea Service is made in this style, of sterling silver $\frac{925}{1000}$ fine, and stamped with this special registered trade mark.



TABLE AND CHEST 371

CONTENTS OF CHEST 371

371. Chest with Table. Oak or Mahogany.
Plate Glass Front and Plate Glass Top for each Drawer.
Deck and two Drawers.
Accommodates 331 pieces Flat Ware and 7 piece Tea Set.
Height, 28½ inches. Front, 37¼ inches. Front to back, 23⅝ inches.

DECK—7634 Coffee Pot, 7634 Tea Pot, 7634 Sugar Bowl, 7634 Cream Pitcher, 7634 Waste, 7634 Kettle, 6234 Waiter

DRAWER NO. 1

12 Coffee Spoons	12 Ind. Salad Forks	12 Egg Spoons	12 Medium Knives
12 Bouillon Spoons	12 Ind. Fish Forks	12 Chocolate Spoons	12 Dessert Knives
12 Iced Tea Spoons	12 Ice Cream Forks	12 Sherbet Spoons	12 Tea Knives
12 Oyster Forks	12 Butter Spreaders	12 Orange Spoons	7 Piece Carving Set

DRAWER NO. 2

12 Tea Spoons P. M.	12 Fruit Forks H. H.	1 Berry Spoon	1 Butter Knife
12 Tea Spoons	12 Fruit Knives H. H.	1 Salad Spoon	1 Sugar Tongs
12 Table Spoons	12 Duck Knives H. H.	1 Salad Fork	1 Cream Ladle
12 Dessert Spoons	12 Ind. Fish Knives	1 Cold Meat Fork	1 Gravy Ladle
12 Table Forks	12 Soup Spoons	1 Fish Knife	1 Soup Ladle
12 Dessert Forks	1 Sugar Spoon	1 Fish Fork	

1345 Table. Height, 25¾ inches. Front, 38½ inches. Front to back, 32 inches. Combined Height of Chest and Table, 53⅞ inches.



TEA SET 7634 WAITER 6234



CREAM PITCHERS 5534 - 7234 - 7634
WATER PITCHERS 6764 - 6765

HOLLOW-WARE MADE IN PAUL REVERE PATTERN

5534	A. D. Coffee Set	
	Coffee Pot	Height 8½ inches. Capacity 3 half pints.
	Cream Pitcher	Height 4¾ inches. Capacity ¾ half pint.
	Sugar Bowl	Height 4⅛ inches.
3034	Asparagus Dish	Length 16⅜ in. Width 10¼ in. Height 1⅝ inches.
3234	Baking Dish	Diameter 12⅞ in. Height 2⅜ inches.
5234	Berry Bowl	Diameter 11½ in. Height 4⅛ inches.
5084	Berry Saucer	Diameter 6⅛ inches.
4835	Bon Bon Dish	Length 6⅝ in. Width 4⅞ in. Height 3⅛ inches.
5834	Bread Tray	Length 14⅜ in. Width 8¼ in. Height 2⅛ inches.
4084	Butter Dish, round	Diameter 7⅝ in. Height 1⅛ inches.
4134	Butter Dish, covered	Length 8⅛ in. Width 6¼ in. Height 5⅛ inches.
9604	Butter Plates, individ.	Diameter 3¼ inches.
9534	Cake Basket	Length 12¼ in. Width 9 in. Height 3¼ inches.
3764	Candelabrum	Height 14½ inches.
3734	Candlestick	Height 9⅛ inches.
6534	Card Tray	Diameter 6 inches.
8333	Celery Dip	Length 2⅝ in. Width 2 in. Height 1 inch.
4154	Celery Tray	Length 14 in. Width 6½ in. Height 2 inches.



AFTER DINNER COFFEE SET AND WAITER 5534

7884	Child's Cup	Height 4 inches.
6635	Chop Dish	Diameter 16 inches.
7634	Coffee Pot	Height 9⅜ inches. Capacity 6 half pints.
9734	Compotier	Diameter 8¼ in. Height 4 inches.
9735	Compotier	Diameter 12¼ in. Height 5¾ inches.
5384	Cream Cheese Dish	Diameter 6 inches.
5534	Cream and Sugar	
	Cream Pitcher	Height 4¾ inches. Capacity ¾ half pint.
	Sugar Bowl	Height 4⅛ inches.
7234	Cream and Sugar	
	Cream Pitcher	Height 5¼ inches. Capacity 1⅛ half pints.
	Sugar Bowl	Height 4 11/16 inches.
7634	Cream and Sugar	
	Cream Pitcher	Height 6⅛ inches. Capacity 2 half pints.
	Sugar Bowl	Height 6⅝ inches.
3933	Dessert Plate	Diameter 9 inches.
3934	Dinner Plate	Diameter 10 inches.

STERLING SILVER 925/1000 FINE



BREAD TRAY 5834
TEA CADDY 7464
COV'D BUTTER DISH 4134
SALT CELLARS 8333-8334
SYRUP PITCHER 8543
SYRUP PITCHER TRAY 8534
HOT MILK PITCHER 8614

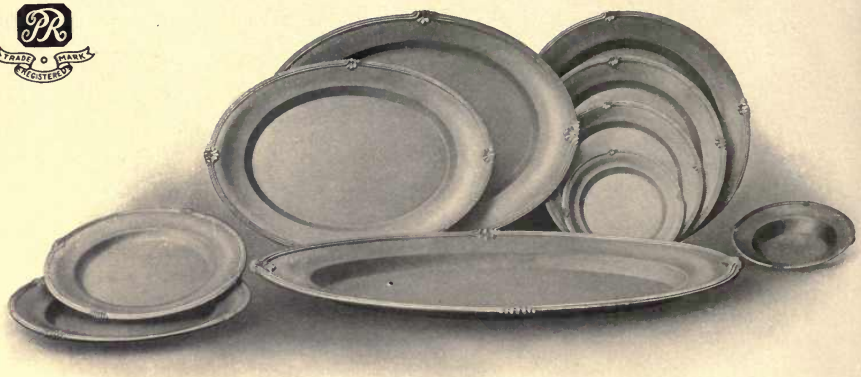
4235	Double Dish	Length 12½ in. Width 9¼ in. Height 5 inches.
	Bottom Dish	Length 12½ in. Width 9¼ in. Height 2 inches.
	Top Dish	Length 11⅜ in. Width 8⅛ in. Height 1⅞ inches.
6634	Entree Dish	Diameter 14 inches.
5334	Entree Dish, covered	Length 11⅛ in. Width 8⅜ in. Height 3⅞ inches.
4004	Fish Dish	Length 22½ in. Width 11½ in. Height 1½ inches.
9534	Fruit Basket	Length 12¼ in. Width 9 in. Height 3¼ inches.
9333	Fruit Dish	Length 10⅝ in. Width 7¾ in. Height 3¼ inches.
9334	Fruit Dish	Length 13⅛ in. Width 9½ in. Height 4 inches.
6834	Goblet	Height 6⅜ inches. Capacity 1½ half pints.
9434	Grape Fruit Bowl	Diameter 7½ in. Height 3 inches.
5733	Gravy Boat	Length 7⅛ in. Width 3¼ in. Height 4⅛ inches.
5733	Gravy Boat Tray	Length 8⅛ in. Width 6 inches.
5734	Gravy Boat	Length 8¼ in. Width 3⅝ in. Height 4¾ inches.
5734	Gravy Boat Tray	Length 9½ in. Width 7 inches.
3134	Griddle Cake Dish	Diameter 10¼ in. Height 4⅜ inches.
8614	Hot Milk Pitcher	Height 7¼ inches. Capacity 2 half pints.
4384	Ice Cream Dish	Length 16⅜ in. Width 10¼ in. Height 1⅝ inches.
5034	Ice Cream Plate	Diameter 6⅛ inches.

STERLING SILVER 925/1000 FINE



BERRY BOWL 5234 COMPOTIERS 9734 - 9735
FRUIT DISHES 9333 - 9334

7634	Kettle	Height 13 inches. Capacity 7 half pints.
3134	Muffin Dish	Diameter 10¼ in. Height 4⅜ inches.
8764	Napkin Ring	Diameter 1⅞ in. Width 1¼ inches.
8765	Napkin Ring	Diameter 1⅞ in. Width 1½ inches.
8766	Napkin Ring	Diameter 1⅞ in. Width 1¾ inches.
9433	Orange Bowl	Diameter 5½ in. Height 2¼ inches.
9834	Oval Meat Dish (or waiter)	Length 12 in. Width 8⅝ inches.
9835	Oval Meat Dish (or waiter)	Length 14 in. Width 10 3/16 inches.
9836	Oval Meat Dish (or waiter)	Length 16 in. Width 11⅝ inches.
9837	Oval Meat Dish (or waiter)	Length 18 in. Width 13 inches.
9838	Oval Meat Dish (or waiter)	Length 20 in. Width 14⅜ inches.
9839	Oval Meat Dish (or waiter)	Length 22 in. Width 15¾ inches.
3134	Pancake Dish	Diameter 10¼ in. Height 4⅜ inches.
8434	Peppers	Height 4½ inches.
	Pitchers—See Cream Pitchers, Hot Milk Pitcher, Syrup Pitcher, Water Pitcher.	
	Plates—See Dessert Plates, Dinner Plates, Service Plate.	
7024	Porringers	Diameter 4⅝ in. Height 1¾ inches. Capacity ¾ pint.
6534	Round Waiter	Diameter 6 inches.
6535	Round Waiter	Diameter 8 inches.
6536	Round Waiter	Diameter 10 inches.
6537	Round Waiter	Diameter 12 inches.
8333	Salt Cellar	Length 2⅝ in. Width 2 in. Height 1 inch.
8334	Salt Cellar	Length 3⅞ in. Width 2⅞ in. Height 1⅝ inches.



OVAL MEAT DISHES 9834-9835-9836-9837-9838-9839

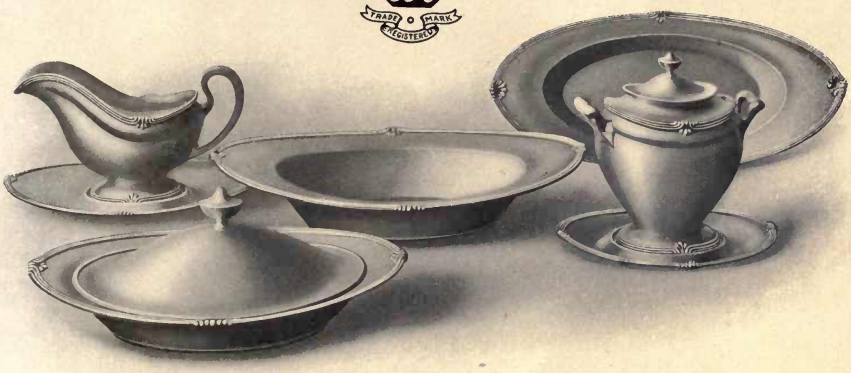
ROUND WAITERS 6534-6535-6536-6537

FISH DISH 4004 BERRY SAUCER 5084

DESSERT PLATE 3933 DINNER PLATE 3934

8434	Salt Shaker	Height 4½ inches.
5454	Sandwich Dish	Diameter 12 in. Height 1⅜ inches.
5733	Sauce Boat and Tray	
	Boat	Length 7⅛ in. Width 3¼ in. Height 4⅛ inches.
	Tray	Length 8⅛ in. Width 6 inches.
7333	Sauce Tureen	Length 6½ in. Width 3⅝ in. Height 6½ inches. Capacity 1½ pints.
7333	Sauce Tureen Tray	Length 7⅝ in. Width 6¼ inches.
7334	Soup Tureen and Tray	
	Tureen	Length 9½ in. Width 6½ in. Height 8 inches. Capacity 4 pints.
	Tray	Length 11 in. Width 8¾ inches.
6446	Square Waiter 6 inch.	Depth $\frac{6}{16}$ inch.
6447	Square Waiter 7 inch.	Depth $\frac{7}{16}$ inch.
6448	Square Waiter 8 inch.	Depth $\frac{8}{16}$ inch.
6449	Square Waiter 9 inch.	Depth $\frac{9}{16}$ inch.
6450	Square Waiter 10 inch.	Depth $\frac{10}{16}$ inch.
6451	Square Waiter 11 inch.	Depth $\frac{11}{16}$ inch.
6452	Square Waiter 12 inch.	Depth $\frac{12}{16}$ inch.
6453	Square Waiter 13 inch.	Depth $\frac{13}{16}$ inch.
5534	Sugar Bowl	Height 4⅛ inches.
7634	Sugar Bowl	Height 6⅝ inches.

STERLING SILVER 925/1000 FINE



GRAVY BOATS 5733 - 5734 CELERY TRAY 4154

GRAVY BOAT TRAYS 5733 - 5734

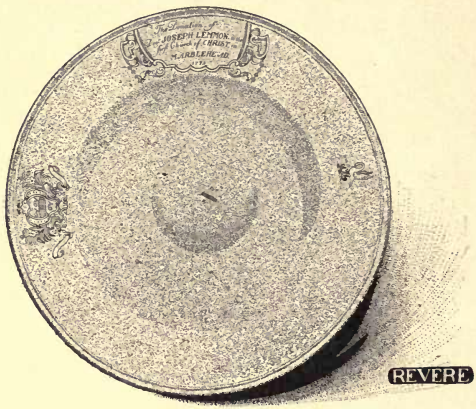
SAUCE TUREEN 7333 SAUCE TUREEN TRAY 7333

COVERED ENTREE DISH 5334

OPEN VEGETABLE DISH 4614

8534	Syrup Pitcher	Height 5½ inches. Capacity ⅜ pint.
8534	Syrup Pitcher Tray	Length 5¾ in. Width 4⅞ inches.
7464	Tea Caddy	Height 5 11/16 inches.
7634	Tea Set	
	Coffee Pot	Height 9⅜ inches. Capacity 6 half pints.
	Tea Pot	Height 7⅜ inches. Capacity 5 half pints.
	Kettle	Height 13 inches. Capacity 7 half pints.
	Cream Pitcher	Height 6⅛ inches. Capacity 2 half pints.
	Sugar Bowl	Height 6⅝ inches.
	Waste	Height 5 inches.
	Waiter	Length 30¾ in. Width 18½ inches.
3634	Tea Strainer	Length 6¾ inches.
3634	Tea Strainer Stand	Diameter 3 in. Height 1¼ inches.
	Tureens—See Sauce Tureen, Soup Tureen.	
4614	Vegetable Dish, open	Length 13⅜ in. Width 10 in. Height 2½ inches.
4634	Vegetable Dish, cov'd	Length 10½ in. Width 6¾ in. Height 7½ inches.
	Waiters—See Round Waiters, Oval Waiters, Square Waiters, Tea Set Waiters.	
7634	Waste	Height 5 inches.
6764	Water Pitcher	Height 9 inches. Capacity 5 half pints.
6765	Water Pitcher	Height 10⅞ inches. Capacity 8 half pints.

STERLING SILVER 925/1000 FINE



BAPTISMAL BASIN
First Church of CHRIST
MARBLEHEAD

THE TOWLE MFG COMPANY
would acknowledge indebtedness to
MR. ELBRIDGE HENRY GOSS
Author of the Life of Col. Paul Revere
MR. BENJAMIN F. STEVENS
Author of A Chapter of Provincial History
MR. EDWARD W. McGLENEN
for access to Paul Revere engravings
AND TO MR. N. L. RUSH AND
MISS ADA R. CONWAY
for other illustrations.
COMPILED AND ARRANGED BY
GEORGE P. TILTON OF THE *Towle Mfg. Company*
PRINTED BY
THE SPRINGFIELD PRINTING AND BINDING CO.,
SPRINGFIELD, MASS., U. S. A.

Silversmithing in Newburyport *from the* Seventeenth *to the* Twentieth Centuries

in a direct line

THE first silversmith in Newburyport—then a part of Newbury—was William Moulton, who was in this business in 1690. He was succeeded by the following descendants who continued and developed his craft:

Joseph Moulton, born in 1680
William Moulton, born in 1710
Joseph Moulton, born in 1740
William Moulton, born in 1772
Joseph Moulton, born in 1814

Anthony F. Towle and William P. Jones, apprentices of Joseph Moulton, third, began business under the name of Towle and Jones in 1857.

Anthony F. Towle and Edward B. Towle engaged in business as A. F. Towle and Son in 1873, and this partnership was the germ of the A. F. Towle and Son Company, incorporated in 1880, which in 1882 became the Towle Manufacturing Company; Anthony F. Towle and Edward B. Towle retiring.

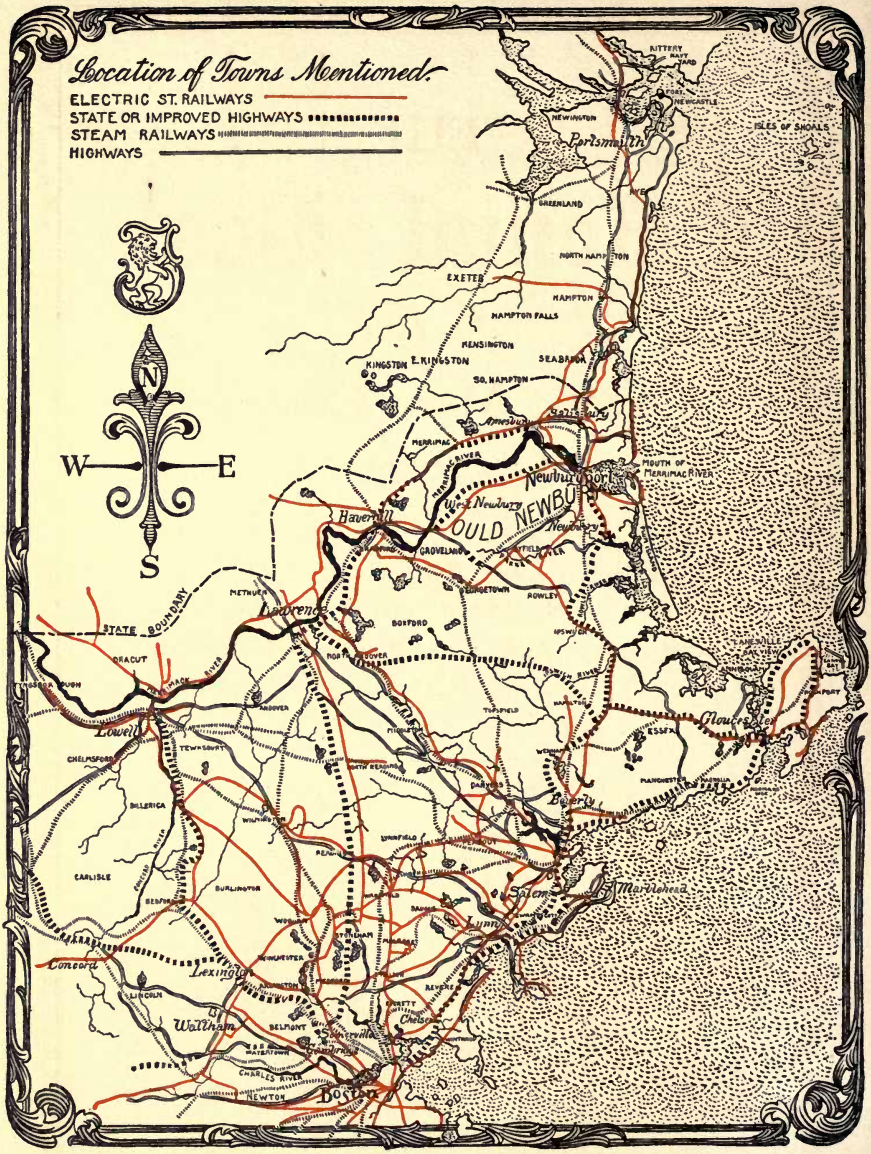
Of the incorporators of this Company in 1880, but two survive, those who hold respectively the offices of President and Treasurer and who have from the beginning constituted the management.

The Towle Manufacturing Company
Silversmiths
Factories: Newburyport, Massachusetts

SALESROOMS (wholesale only)

New York City
17 Maiden Lane
Silversmiths Building

Chicago, Illinois
42 Madison Street
Heyworth Building



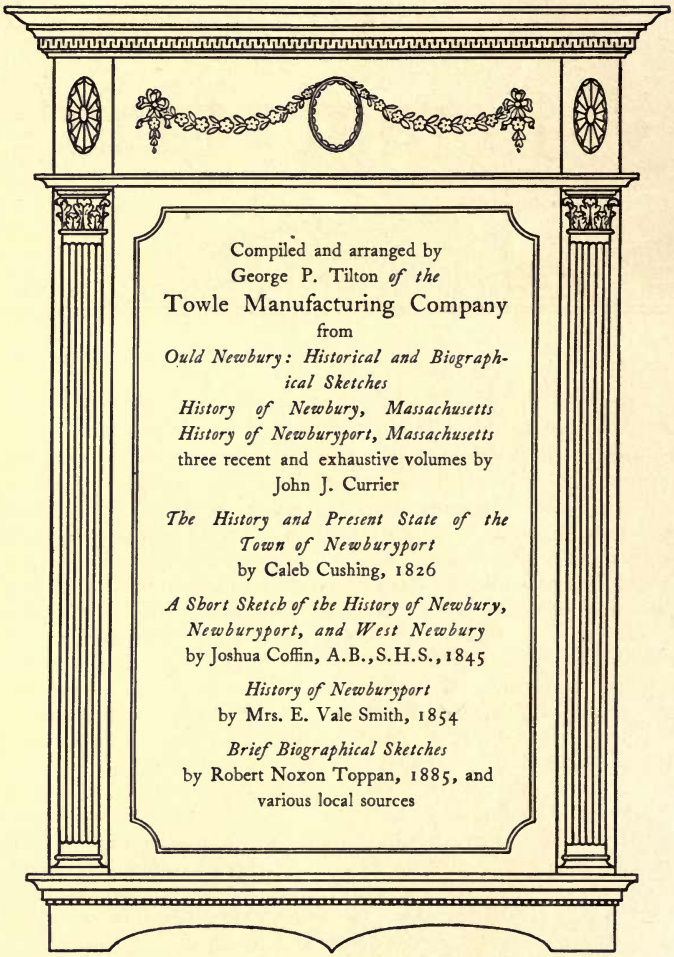
The coast territory of the original grant to the "Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England"

THE
Colonial Book
of The
TOWLE MFG. COMPANY
SILVERSMITHS

Which is intended to Delineate and Describe some *Quaint and Historic* Places in NEWBURYPORT and Vicinity and show the *Origin* and *Beauty* of the COLONIAL Pattern of Silverware



THE FIFTH EDITION



Compiled and arranged by
George P. Tilton *of the*
Towle Manufacturing Company
from
Ould Newbury: Historical and Biographical Sketches
History of Newbury, Massachusetts
History of Newburyport, Massachusetts
three recent and exhaustive volumes by
John J. Currier

The History and Present State of the Town of Newburyport
by Caleb Cushing, 1826

A Short Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury
by Joshua Coffin, A.B., S.H.S., 1845

History of Newburyport
by Mrs. E. Vale Smith, 1854

Brief Biographical Sketches
by Robert Noxon Toppan, 1885, and
various local sources

Copyright, 1908, by Towle Manufacturing Company

Press of Springfield Printing and Binding Company, Springfield, Mass.

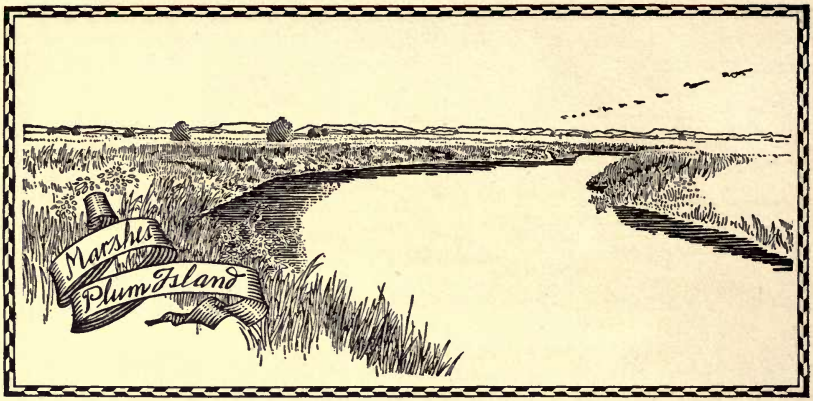


NEWBURYPORT

THE history of Newburyport is variously written, and its public affairs amply recorded; but this mass of material, precious as it is, only suggests the wealth of romance centering about the old town, locked up in journals and log-books, or fading away in the memories of a few relicts of earlier and more picturesque times. The ideals of to-day, here as everywhere else, are properly business and progress on the lines of modern opportunities; and this is the same spirit of enterprise which led our progenitors of seventy-five or one hundred years ago to their undertakings by sea and land, and brought them riches and renown in such generous measure. That they are interesting and picturesque is merely incidental; their purpose was as matter-of-fact and practical as any to-day, and as well attained; but time and changed customs lend charm to their personalities, while many of their deeds are records of bravery and greatness that would be memorable under any conditions.

The Puritan exodus of the early seventeenth century brought from England the colonists who founded the town of Newbury, from which Newburyport was later set off. Persecuted at home for their unwillingness to conform to the ritual of the established church, they chose to cross the ocean in the small vessels and with the scant knowledge of that day and endure the dangers and privations of a wilderness that they might have freedom to worship God in a simpler way than that prescribed for the Church of England.

In the spring of 1635 the nucleus of the band, which had reached Boston the previous summer and had gone forward to Ipswich, was joined by later arrivals and together they made their way by water to the north bank of a pleasant stream which the Indians called Quascacunquen because of a waterfall a few miles inland. The outlet of this river, which the settlers renamed the Parker in honor of the Reverend Thomas Parker their spiritual leader, is protected from the severities of the ocean by the marshes and sand dunes of Plum Island, and near it the voyagers landed to take possession of their grant. With few materials but those of the surrounding forest—harboring wild beasts and hostile Indians—they applied themselves to building habitations against

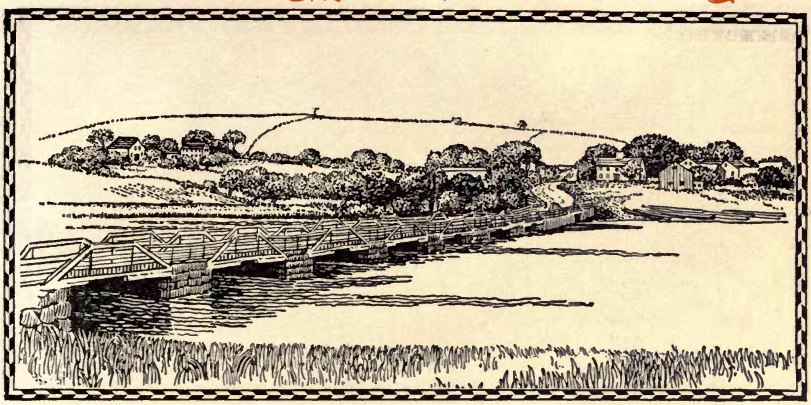


Plum Island Marshes with Sand Dunes in the distance. This island is about nine miles long and lies between the Merrimac and Ipswich Rivers

the bleak New England winter, and to the cultivation of crops indispensable to their sustenance. In this community were graduates of Oxford University and men of means who ably directed its affairs, chief of which was the systematic parceling of the land according to the requirements of each and his ability to develop it, and it is noteworthy that in many cases the descendants of these pioneers still occupy their allotments, which are among the most prosperous farms of the region. Cattle were imported from Holland for stock raising on a large scale and thriving "plantations" as they were then termed, were soon established which were incorporated under the name of Newbury, from Newbury in Berkshire, England, where the Reverend Thomas Parker had lived, and duly represented at the General Court held at Boston to administer the affairs of Massachusetts Bay. That they labored wisely and well is evident; but the story of their trials and achievements is a reproach to the cynic of to-day, who reaps with little labor the benefits for which they struggled and hoped, but of which, for the most part, they had little realization.

The growth of the town was to the northward, and soon from the shelter of the "Oldtown" hills the settlement stretched along the bank of the Merrimac, and, embracing eagerly the opportunities it offered, encouraged maritime enterprises in every way, until with the building of wharves and the establishment of ship-yards began the era which was to give Newburyport its real power and position. The small vessels for fishing became numerous, and were followed by larger and more pretentious craft, which carried to foreign ports the products of the country, and brought back the rich goods and outfittings needed in the rapidly growing community, or distributed through surrounding and inland towns. Through this commerce came wealth and culture, which were reflected in the magnificent living of the rich merchants, while the numerous ship-masters returned from foreign lands with minds broadened and stimulated by contact with other peoples and with tastes that greatly modified the old Puritan customs.

The differing interests of the "waterside" as the later settlement was at first called, and the farming districts of "Old Newbury" which enclosed it, gave rise to a reasonable desire on the part of the merchants and artizans of the former to establish a separate government more completely suited to their sec-



Oldtown Hill and Bridge over the Parke River near the landing place of the first settlers of Newbury

tional requirements, and as a result of consequent measures the town of Newburyport was set off and incorporated in 1764. At the time of its incorporation the town of Newburyport was rapidly expanding its commerce and manufacturing industries, and its people were keenly alive to all questions and matters pertaining to the country in general. As a part of Newbury it had furnished troops for the Indian and Colonial wars, and soon after its separation it was aroused by the disturbances which led to the Revolution, its interests being especially affected by the requirements of the Stamp Act which it was among the first to resent by public demonstrations. With the outbreak of the war patriotism was universal and the cause was heartily supported from the first Lexington alarm. Many troops were furnished in which were officers who gained high rank in the Continental army and whose deeds of valor are national history.

The naval forces were greatly strengthened by ships built here, and from here also numerous privateers sailed with letters of marque and returned with rich prizes to be in turn fitted out on the same errands. Many are the thrilling tales of capture, imprisonment, and escape told by the returning heroes, and it is small wonder that with the prospect of booty and adventure active young men took naturally to the sea.

Commercial activity suffered a severe blow in the embargo placed on foreign trade by the government in 1807, and while it lasted shipping was at a complete standstill. A few years later, in 1811, came a second misfortune, in the form of the great fire which in one night destroyed sixteen acres of the business district, including nearly all the public buildings and institutions. Though in a measure soon recovered from, these calamities seriously checked the advancing prosperity, and though there were yet large importing interests they failed to reach their former importance, and have now, with changed methods of transportation, almost entirely disappeared. In their place have come mills and factories with their attendant needs and influences, bringing a larger if not a wealthier population, and it is by these that the city must continue to thrive.

The manufacture of silverware is one of these factors, which, having its beginning, as shown by authentic record, in the modest enterprise of William



Spencer-Pierce or "Garrison House," Little's Lane, Newbury, built 1670

Moulton in 1689, has steadily developed until it is now one of the most important industries, and it is especially fitting that a Colonial pattern of spoons and like tableware be produced where one of the first silversmiths of the country worked, and established a business which has been continued without interruption to the present day.

During this eventful history many men have arisen here to be enrolled among the world's acknowledged benefactors, and movements of local inception have attained national and world wide importance.

The growing interest in such matters fostered by historical societies, improvement societies, and the various organizations of descendants of Revolutionary patriots, is a marked sign of the times, and to such it is hoped these pages will appeal. To those who visit Newburyport, they will serve as an introduction; and others, though far away, may realize some of the beauties and attractions of this old New England city.

THE EARLY WARS.

IN the foregoing sketch we have briefly touched upon the part of Old Newbury, and later, Newburyport, in our country's early wars. Their record in the establishment and defence of our National government can be but outlined here, yet however incomplete this account, it seems fit at a time of such wide awakening to the glory of our past, when individuals recall with justifiable pride the services of patriotic ancestors, that the notable accomplishments, and not less glorious though ineffectual efforts of a community, be indicated for the many to whom the full history is not available.

In the early expeditions against hostile Indians, Newbury took an important part, from the Pequod war, two years after the first settlement, in which the town furnished one-fifteenth of the Massachusetts quota; the King Philip war, in which more than one-half its eligible inhabitants were enlisted; the French and Indian war, when a part of its expedition against Cape Breton was cast



Curson's Mill on the Artichoke River, an early institution

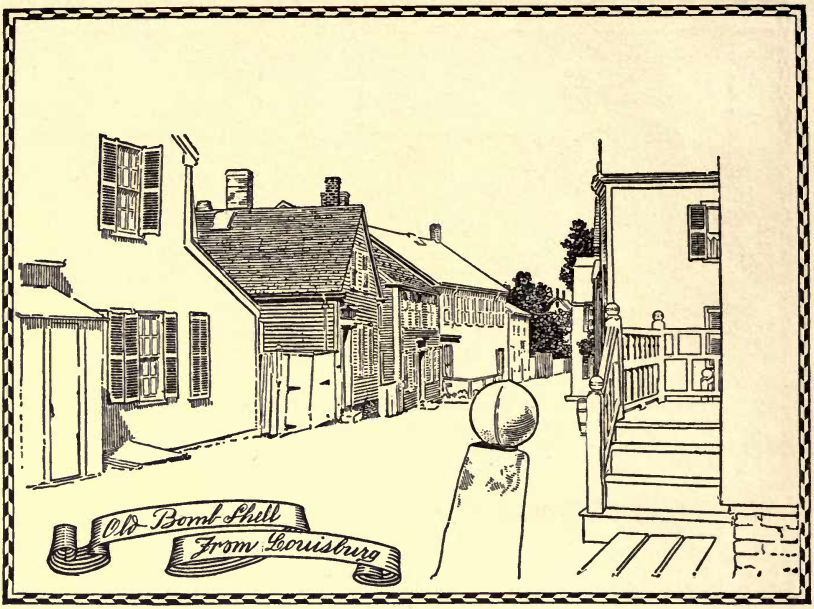
away and lost; to the war with the Norridgewocks, which was terminated by the killing of Sebastian Rallé, their French leader, by Lieut. Jaques.

During the frequent wars between France and England, while this country was still a province, many men went from here, to fight in England's cause on the Canadian frontier. Chief among those were Col. Moses Titcomb, Capt. William Davenport, and Nathaniel Knapp. The former, serving in many campaigns under Sir William Pepperell, took part in the capture of Louisburg and the battle of Crown Point, where he was shot while directing his regiment in most effective operations. Capt. Davenport raised companies and served in two campaigns, being with Gen. Wolfe on the plains of Abraham, and a few days later at the surrender of Quebec.

It was reserved, however, for the thrilling issues of the war of independence to call forth the universal and unwavering patriotism of the residents of Old Newbury. The story of pre-revolutionary agitation in Newburyport is one of steadily threatening protest, from the first application of the Stamp Act. As early as 1765 a stamp distributor was hung in effigy, while visiting strangers were subjected to rough handling, if they were not quick to proclaim their antipathy to this measure. Such treatment was perforce exercised upon strangers, if at all, as in this town only four persons were suspected of loyalism and of these there was proof against but one, who died before the call to war which would have revealed his position. This was a record perhaps unequalled.

From that time to the actual outbreak of hostilities, Newburyport was in a ferment of restrained rebellion; this unity of opinion and harmony of action would have been impossible in a lesser cause, and was the more remarkable when we consider that such action meant the sacrifice of a large part of the town's greatest interest, her commerce and its dependent shipbuilding, and that the rejection of British goods meant the retirement of the many vessels in that trade.

This was the actual result; but instead of turning the people from their elected course it added to their determination, and they organized to prevent possible smuggling of the detested commodities. Under the wise and temperate



Bombshell brought from Louisburg by Nathaniel Knapp, in 1758

leadership of the Committee of Safety, they corresponded with neighboring towns and the remoter colonies, and when the first blow was struck at Lexington it found them ready and impatient for the great struggle for civil liberty.

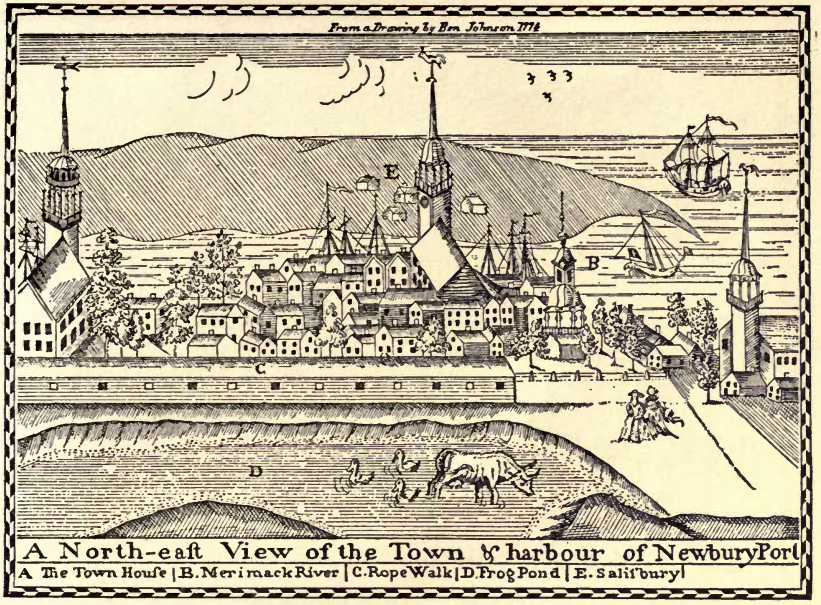
It was eleven o'clock at night on the nineteenth of April, 1775, when the courier bearing news of the fight at Lexington reached this town; but not a moment was lost, and before midnight the first detachment of minute-men was galloping over the road, while morning found four companies on the way to the scene of the conflict. At the termination of this alarm these companies returned, but others were soon formed for regular service in the Continental army, and did memorable work at the battle of Bunker Hill, where two cannon from Newburyport were lost.

Space forbids following these troops through this and other battles, but a few figures rise pre-eminent, and no account, however slight, would be complete without them.

Col. Moses Little was in command of a regiment in many important battles of the Revolution, beginning with Bunker Hill, where he was officer of the day when Washington took command. On account of ill health brought on in the service, he declined the commission of brigadier general, and the command of a special expedition raised by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Col. Edward Wigglesworth was appointed to a regiment early in 1776, and served with distinction for three years, when he was retired at his own request. He took a prominent part in Arnold's expedition on Lake Champlain, being third in command, and materially aided the retreat of the flotilla when it was hemmed in by the enemy.

Captain, afterward Major, Ezra Lunt was another who served at Bunker Hill, and it is asserted that his company was formed in the broad aisle



A quaint but impossible view of a part of Newburyport

of the Old South church at the close of a sermon, in response to the pastor's appeal for volunteers; and that it was the first volunteer company of the Continental army.

Jonathan Titcomb was made brigadier for service in Rhode Island under General Sullivan, and the Newburyport Artillery Company, Thomas Thomas, captain, also served in that campaign.

Here formed and embarked the important expedition under Benedict Arnold, then a valued officer in the patriot army, which, penetrating with great difficulty to Quebec, assisted Montgomery in his gallant assault.

As it was with maritime affairs that Newburyport was chiefly identified, it is to the sea that we must look for her most brilliant and individual victories. Congress soon realized that our shipping was being rapidly exterminated by the armed vessels of the enemy, and issued letters of marque to assist the feeble and barely established navy in retaliating for these encroachments; ship owners here were quick to accept these privileges, and many privateers were fitted out and manned, often by the flower of the town's youth; one of these, the Yankee Hero, the second of that name, sailing in 1775 under Capt. James Tracy, with twenty guns and a crew of one hundred and seventy men, including fifty from Newburyport's first families, was never afterward heard from. The spirit that animated these bold mariners may be judged from the announcement made on the occasion of prayers in church for the success of the "Game Cock," the first privateer to sail out of any port, that she hoped to "scour the coast of our unnatural enemies," though she was a sloop of but twenty-four tons. She sailed from Newburyport in August, 1775, and brought several prizes into port.

It would be difficult to estimate the number of these privateers, but that they were numerous and successful will be understood when it is stated that



A Nineteenth Century view of Newburyport

twenty-four ships of which Mr. Nathaniel Tracy was principal owner, with a tonnage of 6,330 and carrying 2,800 men, captured from the enemy one hundred and twenty vessels amounting to 23,360 tons, and which with their cargoes were sold for three million nine hundred and fifty thousand specie dollars. Mr. Tracy was also principal owner in one hundred and ten other vessels, twenty-three of which were letters of marque. These vessels were closely allied to the regular navy, which was now gaining strength, and we find the same men alternating between the command of privateers and government vessels, as the fortunes of war permitted.

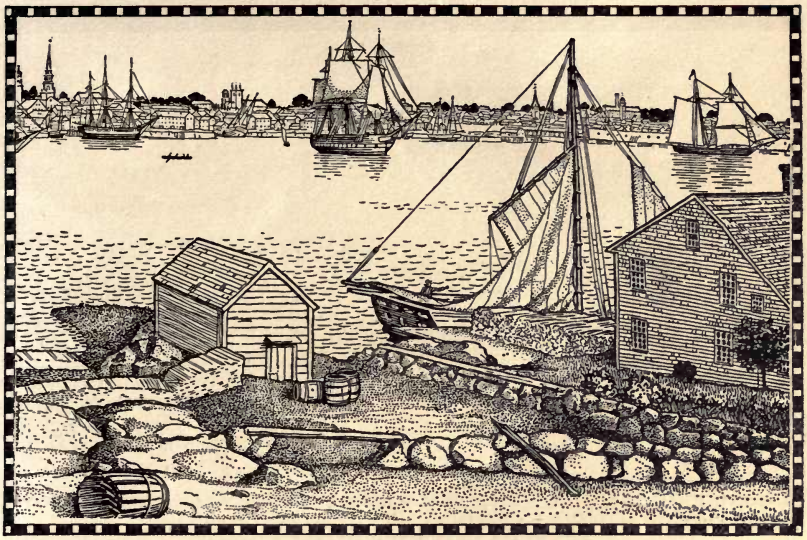
In August, 1775, the schooner Diligent and the sloop Machias Liberty were armed and equipped here and employed by the General Court to protect the Massachusetts coast until more efficient warships could be obtained.

The frigates Boston, Hancock, and Protection, and the brig Pickering, were built here, as well as the sloop of war Merrimac which was built by subscription and tendered to the government, when its funds were reduced, to be paid for at a very low price when convenient. She was commanded by Capt. Moses Brown of this port, a remarkably gallant sailor, and during the five years that she was in commission made many important captures.

The warships Warren and Alliance — named in honor of the memorable treaty with France and first employed to convey Lafayette to his native country — were also built on the Merrimac, just above Newburyport, and were fitted out at this place.

The name of Paul Jones, the intrepid and irresistible "Citizen of the World," as he later styled himself, whose brilliant prowess was developed in the service of the United States, is connected with Newburyport through two of his ablest lieutenants, Henry and Cutting Lunt.

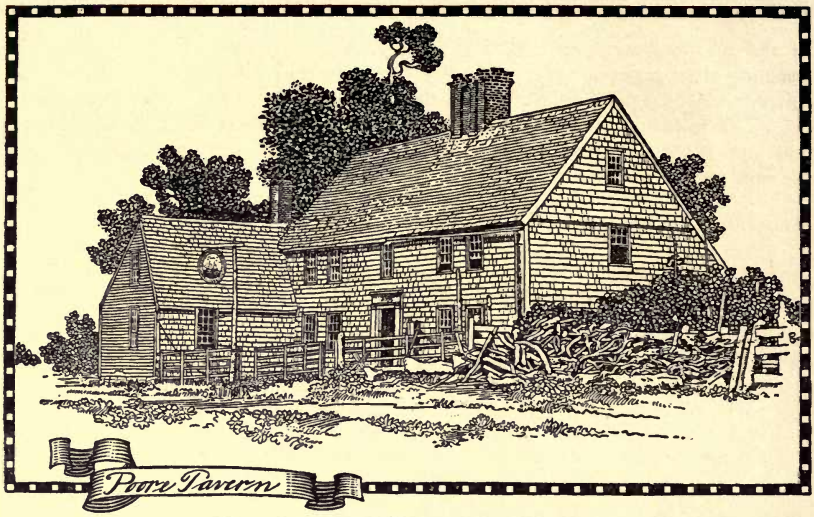
The messieurs Lunt, cousins, first shipped in the brig Dalton, Captain Eleazer Johnson, which sailed, with a crew of one hundred and twenty men,



from King's Island, Salisbury

November 15, 1776, was captured the twenty-fourth of the following December, by the sixty-four-gun man-of-war Reasonable, of the English Navy, and her crew cast into Mill Prison, Plymouth, where they remained, and suffered great hardships, for more than two years, and were finally released through the efforts of Benjamin Franklin. During this time Charles Herbert of Newburyport, one of the number, wrote a journal which he preserved in spite of the close inspection to which they were subjected. After his death this journal was published and forms a most interesting and valuable record of life in an English prison. Henry and Cutting Lunt, on obtaining their liberty, went to France and enlisted as midshipmen with Paul Jones, on the *Bon Homme Richard* then fitting out at L'Orient. They were speedily promoted to lieutenancies, and served their able commander, whom they greatly admired, in many of his fiercest engagements, including that with the Serapis. It was in this terrible battle, when Commodore Jones was fighting against heavy odds, that his success was almost reversed by the traitorous act of his subordinate, Captain Landais. The latter was in command of the ship Alliance before mentioned, and, inspired by jealousy, continued under the presumable excuse of firing at the enemy, to rake the decks of the *Bon Homme Richard*, in spite of the frantic signals of the latter. Many Newburyport men were in the crew of the Alliance at that time, and were thus obliged to fire on their friends and townsmen. When Paul Jones was recruiting for a frigate building for him at Portsmouth, he came to Newburyport to engage Henry Lunt, and expressed great regret when he found that Lieutenant Lunt had sailed on the letter of marque ship Intrepid, of this port. He remarked that he would prefer Mr. Lunt to any officer he had ever known. Many seamen from Newburyport also served under Jones in the Ranger, *Bon Homme Richard*, Alliance, and Ariel.

While men-of-war and privateers carried brave men to seek the enemy abroad, those left at home were far from idle. Forts were established and



One of the first Taverns in Newbury

maintained at the mouth of the river, and ship-building was very active, while the English ship Friends, which had mistaken this port for Boston, was captured off the bar, by the stratagem of adventurous spirits who had observed her actions from the town and boarded her in open boats.

In the gathering of munitions of war Newburyport was of much service to the State, and on several occasions was able to supply cannon and gunpowder in considerable quantities. In the early days of the struggle, before the arrival of special importations the town was called upon by the provincial congress to send several barrels of powder to Cambridge, which the committee of safety was loth to do, as they felt that their small store was needed to furnish the batteries erected on Plum Island for the defense of the harbor. Their reply, however, expresses the following remarkably unselfish sentiment:

"We are, therefore, very loath to part with the little we have unless the public cause renders it absolutely necessary, in which case we shall readily give up the last ounce, the destruction of this Town being a trivial matter in our estimation compared with a final defeat of the army."

On the seventeenth of June, 1779, three British warships entered Penobscot Bay and took possession of the town of Castine. News of this invasion reached Newburyport soon afterward and an address was immediately forwarded to the General Court, at Boston, noting the fact and urging an expedition to recover the port, together with an offer of four ships mounting seventy-two guns to be manned and equipped for this purpose within a week. The Board of war were already planning such an expedition and the proffer was gratefully accepted, the ships being ordered to rendezvous at Boston. The fleet, comprising thirty-seven vessels, sailed on the tenth of July, but various delays proved fatal, and the Americans were driven up the Penobscot river by a large British fleet which suddenly appeared just as an assault was about to be made. Many ships were burned to prevent their capture, and the officers and crews made their escape through the forest as best they could. Much suffering resulted and Newburyport sent a vessel to the Kennebec with provisions for the relief

of the refugees, also contributing largely to defray their further expenses in reaching their homes. Had the affair been directed with the vigor that characterized Newburyport's initiative a different result would have been probable.

The following, from the reply to the communication of Tristram Dalton and others of the Committee of Safety shows the current appreciation of Newburyport patriotism:

War Office, 30th June, 1779.

Tristram Dalton, Esq.

Sir: — Your Favor of the 27th Instant we received & are happy in noticing the Spirited Exertion of the Gentlemen in Newbury Port which have given animation to all who wish to promote the present important Expedition, the Success of which we are in opinion with you, depends on an early & vigorous attack. * * * We wish to pay the Tribute of applause so justly due to the disinterested & strenuous efforts now making by the worthy Gentlemen of Newburyport but the great hurry of office at this critical junction must be our apology for the omission; however we must add that it evinces that genuine regard to the Glorious cause in which we are all embarked, for which the Citizens of that Town have ever been distinguished.

We are &c

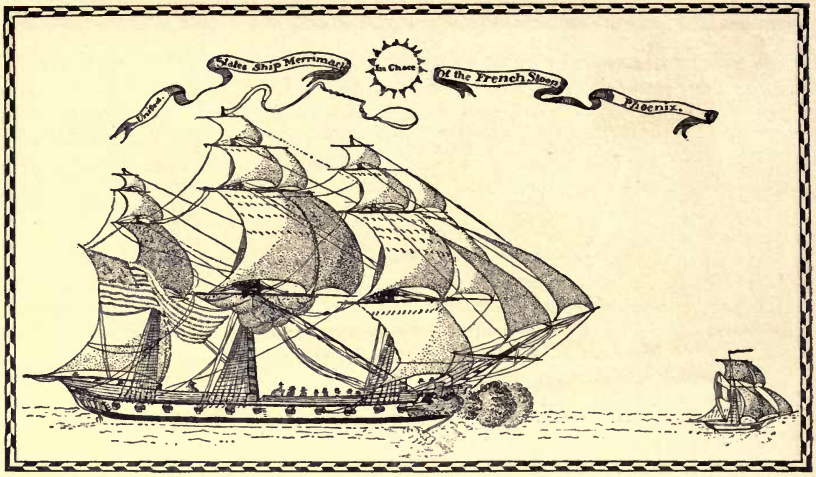
By order of the Board

SAM'L PHIPS SAVAGE, *Prest.*

The war of 1812 found Newburyport just recovering from the fire of 1811, and the paralyzing Embargo of previous years. In striking contrast to their war spirit in the Revolution, the people of this town were almost unanimously opposed to this second war with England, and this not for reasons of mere commercial policy, however much they needed business, but on the ground that such a war was unjustified, and that the differences might easily be settled in other ways. An address adopted in full town meeting was sent to the legislature of Massachusetts, in which they declared their willingness to stand by the Constitution and defend their rights, and their equal unwillingness to take any aggressive part in the proposed war. These sentiments were in the main adhered to throughout hostilities, and in pursuance of them, forts were manned at the mouth of the Merrimac and at other points on Plum Island, which served to keep at bay several English ships that hovered around this part of the coast in the hope of destroying the sloop of war Wasp and gunboats Number Eighty-one and Number Eighty-three, then building here.

Though privateering shared to a great degree the unpopularity of the war, a considerable number were fitted out here, some of which made brilliant records. Chief among these was the brig Decatur, Captain William Nichols, which, during two weeks of one voyage, captured eight vessels, four of which were armed. Earlier in the war Captain Nichols was in command of the merchant ship Alert, which was taken by the British man-of-war Semiramis, and ordered to Plymouth under guard from the latter. Before reaching that port, however, Captain Nichols and his men regained control of the ship and imprisoned the British seamen in the hold. Unfortunately, they soon fell in with another British ship, the Vestal, which





From a drawing made by one of the crew

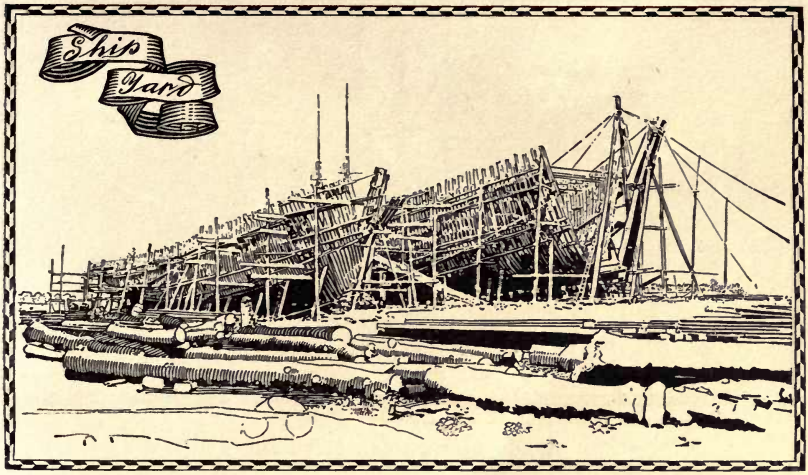
again took them and carried them to Portsmouth, England. This may have determined Captain Nichols to his latter course which was of undoubted service to the National cause.

Privateering, though apparently very remunerative during the war of the Revolution, did not prove so in the end, except as it stimulated business for the time being, and the enormous fortunes gained by individuals were much reduced by later losses and contributions to the expense of the war. In addition to the many merchant ships captured by the English, twenty-two vessels, carrying over one thousand men, sailed from here and were never afterwards heard from.

In the eight years from the battle of Lexington to the proclamation of peace, Newburyport raised for current expenses $2,522,500, which was eighty-five times the aggregate of appropriations for an equal period immediately preceding.

It was at first intended to print here the names of all who served in the Revolutionary wars, from Newbury and Newburyport, but the impossibility of this becomes apparent when we find that in the neighborhood of fifteen hundred were in the army alone, at one time or another; while the number of those that were in the navy or privateers would be difficult even to estimate. In place of this, the publishers of this book will freely send to any of Newbury or Newburyport ancestry, all available record of any name submitted, or will, in any other way possible, identify early patriots.

ALTHOUGH commerce and ship-building were the chief industrial interests of Newburyport in its early years, invention and manufacturing were by no means absent. Reference has been made to the antiquity of silversmithing here, and much more might be said of the extent of this industry, and the variety of articles manufactured. Some of them, as for instance silver shoe-buckles, are now obsolete, while silver thimbles and necklaces of gold beads, though still used, are not commonly the product of silversmiths. In 1824, machinery was invented here for the manufacture of silver thimbles, and an extensive business was developed in this line, but it has long since ceased to exist.



One of the North End Ship Yards

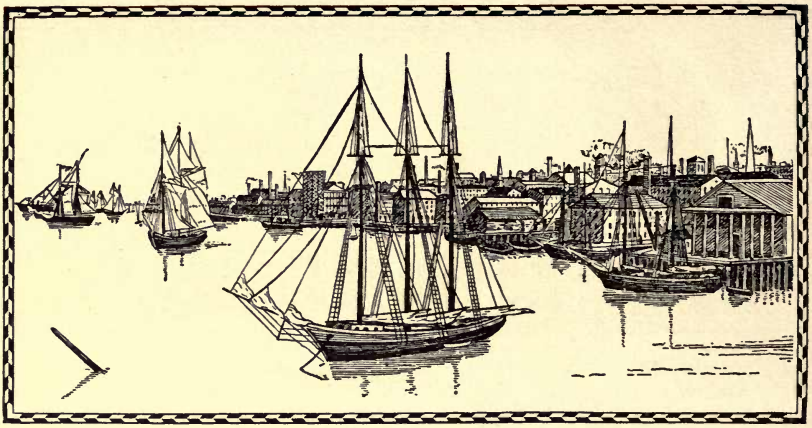
Many instances might be cited of great men who were trained as gold or silver smiths, but whose talents afterwards enriched other branches of art or science. In the old world, Cellini and Michael Angelo were prominent examples, and, later, Paul Revere arose in this country and rendered important services for the welfare, comfort, and prosperity of a struggling people. In like manner, Jacob Perkins, an early Newburyport silversmith, was too richly endowed with ideas and ambition to limit his efforts to a narrow field. When he was but fifteen years of age the master to whom he was apprenticed died, and he was left in charge of the business, but through his skill in engraving he was engaged at the age of twenty-one to make the dies for the Massachusetts mint and from that turned his attention to designing machinery for coining the money.

He was born July 9, 1766, and died July 13, 1849, after a life of versatile activity in the mechanic arts and sciences, where, in the face of triumphs that would have satisfied many, he continued to turn from one problem to another, gaining new laurels from each. One of his most important inventions was a machine for making nails, produced when he was but twenty-four years of age. At that time all nails were forged by hand, and a good workman could produce one thousand in a day. With his perfected machines, the daily product of one man was increased to ten kegs, of one hundred pounds each.

He associated with himself Messrs. Guppy & Armstrong, of Newburyport, who built the machines, and together they established a manufactory at Newbury Falls, a part of the town now called Byfield, where water-power was available.

In the following extract from an advertisement in the Impartial Herald, Newburyport, 1795, we catch a glimpse of business methods in those days of quaint customs:—

The patentee would inform the public that they have begun the manufacture of brads, and will have a considerable number in fourteen or twenty days. As some will naturally think they cannot supply the whole continent and will there-



A late view of the water front

fore order from abroad, they would say that they have three engines which will make thirty-six hundred thousand weekly, and will add one engine each month.

N. B. A few whitesmiths may have constant employ and liberal wages.

Proprietors { Jacob Perkins, Inventor.
Guppy & Armstrong.

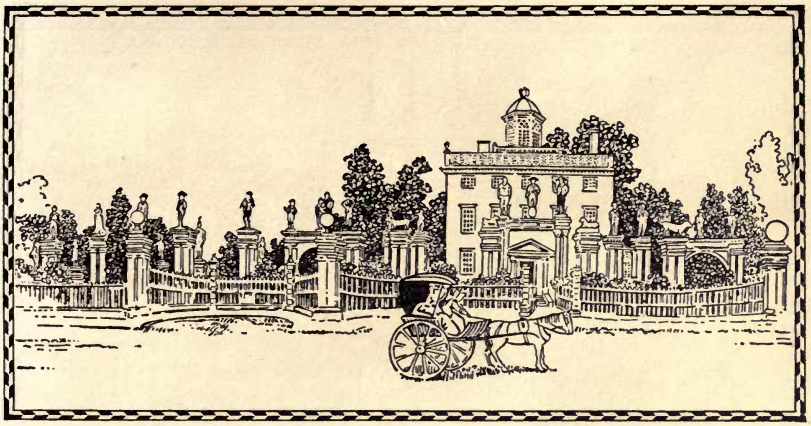
To follow in detail all the enterprises and achievements of Jacob Perkins would unduly extend this article, and we can only briefly refer to the most important.

During the war of 1812, he was employed by the national government in the construction of machinery for boring out old and honey-combed cannon, and he invented a steam gun that discharged one thousand balls a minute.

He demonstrated the compressibility of water, inventing the Piezometer for this purpose, and also invented instruments for measuring the depth of the sea, which he described in a treatise published in London in 1820. He also experimented on new types of the steam engine, in some employing steam at a pressure of 65 atmospheres, or 975 pounds to the square inch.

He invented a stereotype check-plate for the reverse of bank-bills, designed for the prevention of counterfeiting. This was very successful, there being no record of an attempt to counterfeit it, whereas the practice had been very common with those previously used.

He made great improvements in the method of hardening steel and particularly applied these to the production of more durable printing plates. His process, which is still in use, made possible the hardening of the most delicately engraved plates without injury, and in 1819 he went to London to bring it to the attention of the directors of the Bank of England. They desired to use the process but declined to pay the stipulated price and the bank did not get the benefit of it until the patent expired. Other banks and business houses did purchase rights however, and Mr. Perkins spent the remainder of his life in London, where he was known as the "American Inventor" and was honored with the medals of the Society of Liberal Arts.



"Lord" Timothy Dexter's residence, built in 1771

Another industry inaugurated by Newburyport capital was located at the falls in Byfield. This was the Newburyport Woolen Company, established in 1794, the first company incorporated for that business in the state, and by some authorities named as the first woolen manufactory in America. The carding and other machines for its equipment were built by Standring, Guppy, & Armstrong, in Newburyport, being set up in "Lord" Timothy Dexter's stable; and were the first made in this country.

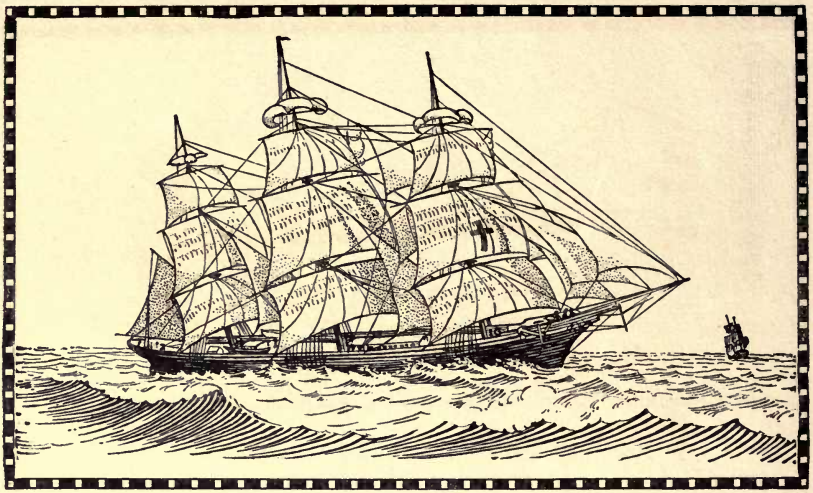
At Newbury a fulling mill had been in operation since 1687, when it was established by Peter Cheney, who sold it to John Pearson, by whose descendants it was operated as a fulling mill and blanket factory until destroyed by fire. It was succeeded by the present mill, established by the Pearsons, who are most prominently identified with this industry.

At Byfield, also, machinery for making wooden shoe-pegs was invented by Paul Pillsbury. This article completely revolutionized the manufacture of shoes.

Other industries that at the beginning of this century contributed largely to Newburyport's prosperity, were: Cordage-making, employing fifty hands; boot and shoe making (Newbury and Newburyport together), employing upwards of one hundred and fifty hands, these being scattered in the little shops that dotted the country in that day; comb-making, the product of which was nearly $200,000, annually; tobacco-manufacture, in the form of snuffs and cigars; tanning; morocco-dressing; wool-pulling; carriage-building; and not least of all, distilling. Rum was a very important commodity, freely drunk by high and low; and few advertisements of merchandise were seen without the announcement of a choice hogshead of rum, generally in large type at the head of the list. At the close of the last century there were ten distilleries in active operation here, contributing to the reputation of New England rum.

Another notable feature was Newburyport's importance as a publishing centre, and the extent of its retail book-trade.

The first newspaper here was established in 1773, by Isaiah Thomas and Henry W. Tinges, who, on December 4 of that year, issued the first number of the Essex Journal and New Hampshire Packet.



The Clipper ship Dreadnaught

As no complete record is available, only a few of the books published here can be alluded to, but some of these were of much importance.

The first system of Arithmetic published in this country was the work of Nicholas Pike, a Newburyport school-master, and was published here in 1787. This was a very comprehensive work, and was an authority for many years. General Washington expressed his gratification at this purely American product.

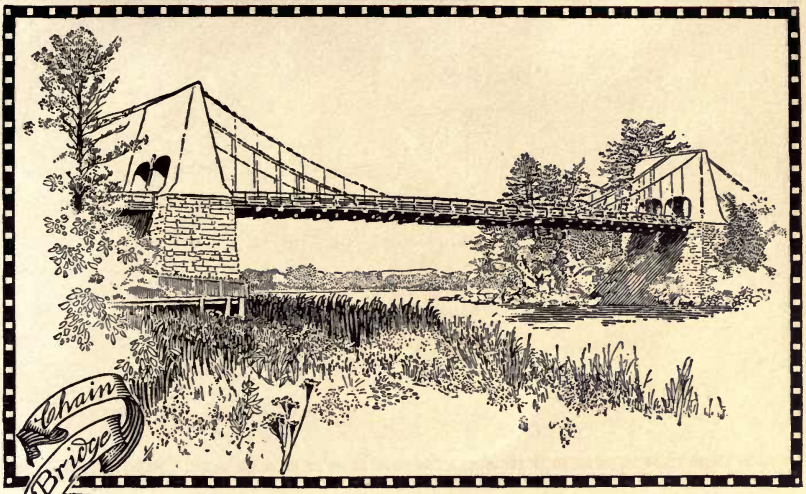
Blunt's famous "Coast Pilot" and other nautical works were published here by Blunt & March, who also issued many other volumes, including medical works, Bibles, Testaments, hymn books, and other religious works, such as "Christ's Famous Titles and Believer's Golden Chain, together with Cabinet of Jewels."

Other works were: Quarles' "Emblems and Hieroglyphics of the Life of Man," 1799, with copperplate engravings; "The Life of Nelson"; "The Life of Paul Jones"; "The Poetical Works of Peter Pindar, a Distant Relation of the Poet of Thebes"; the "Idler," in two volumes; and Volume II of "Letters Written by the late Right Honorable Philip Dorman Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield," Volume I of which was published at Boston.

The publishers of these were Angier March successor to Blunt & March, Thomas & Whipple, and John Mycall.

An evidence of the magnitude of this business is the extensive advertising of books in the local papers of that time, and the fact that one of the stores burned in the great fire of 1811 contained a stock of $30,000 worth of books.

Newburyport is, or has been, more or less identified with some of the most prominent educational institutions of the present, first among which is Harvard College. The town of Newbury contributed to the support of this institution in its earliest years, and had the honor of claiming its first graduate, Benjamin Woobridge of this town being placed at the head of the class of nine who completed the course in 1642. Position in the class was determined by the standing or rank of the families of members, a method in keeping with the rigid social distinctions of those days.



One of the earliest Suspension Bridges

Newburyport furnished seven professors to Harvard College, including Samuel Webber, who was made president in 1806, and Cornelius Conway Felton, who was similarly honored in 1860. Other college presidents born here were Samuel C. Bartlett of Dartmouth, Leonard Woods of Bowdoin, and Benjamin Hale of Hobart.

Dummer Academy, Newbury, was founded by Governor Dummer in 176[illegible], and was the first institution of its kind in operation in America. It has had a notable history, and is still in a flourishing condition.

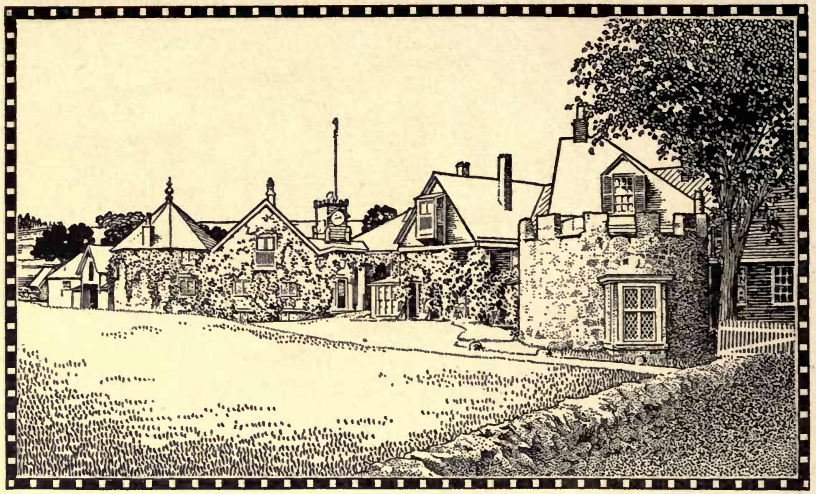
EMINENT MEN OF EARLY TIMES RESIDENT HERE, NOT ELSEWHERE MENTIONED.

Chief Justice Samuel Sewall, the subject of Whittier's poem of which the quotation on the first page of this book is the beginning, was born in England in 1652, during the temporary residence of his parents in that country, his father being Henry Sewall, one of the first settlers of Newbury, and one of the most learned and respected men of his time. He married Hannah Hull, daughter of John Hull, master of the Massachusetts Mint, referred to on another page as the first silversmith in Boston, who presented the bride with a dowry equal to her weight, in silver sixpences.

Theophilus Bradbury, a jurist of distinction and member of Congress under Washington's administration, was born here in 1739. He was also justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.

Charles Jackson, a son of Jonathan Jackson, was born in 1775, and became an eminent lawyer and justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.

Patrick Tracy Jackson, born in Newburyport in 1780. Merchant and originator, with his brother-in-law, Francis C. Lowell, of cotton-cloth manufacture in America. They invented machinery, and established a mill at Waltham which was in successful operation many years, and was said to be the first manufactory in the world to combine cotton spinning and weaving, under



Indian Hill Farm

one roof. Later, Mr. Jackson purchased the entire site and water privilege of the present city of Lowell, which he founded, and named in honor of his brother-in-law and former partner, then dead. In 1830, Mr. Jackson, in company with Mr. Boot, conceived the project of constructing a railroad in New England, and, overcoming great obstacles, completed it in 1835. This was the Boston & Lowell Railroad, now a part of the Boston & Maine system.

Charles Toppan, the first president of the American Bank Note Company, was born in 1796, and studied engraving in Philadelphia. He was later associated with Jacob Perkins, with whom he went to England to introduce improvements in bank-note engraving. In 1858, he organized the American Bank Note Company of New York, with branches in Boston, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, New Orleans, and Montreal.

Jacob Little, son of a prosperous merchant of Newburyport, was born in 1797, and at an early age entered the employ of a prominent merchant of New York. He afterwards became a member of the New York Stock Exchange, and was the acknowledged head of the financial world of that city.

William Wheelwright, one of Newburyport's greatest benefactors, was born in 1798. He was a ship-master, and was cast away on the coast of Brazil in 1823; which led him to settle and engage in business in South America, in the development of which he became a prominent factor. He established steamship lines and built the first railroads on that continent, overcoming tremendous natural obstacles, and finally accumulating great wealth. His statue in bronze stands in the public square of Valparaiso, Chile, the gift of the people, in recognition of his achievements. He always retained his attachment for and interest in his native town, and in his will provided for the establishment of a scientific school here, when the fund, which now amounts to nearly $500,000, should be sufficient. A part of the income of this is now used to defray the expenses of a scientific education for such graduates of the High School as desire it, some being maintained in Europe for this purpose.



The first Wolfe Tavern

Caleb Cushing, the eminent lawyer and statesman, was born in Salisbury in the year 1800, but came to Newburyport with his parents at the age of two years. He was educated for the bar, and early achieved distinction in his profession. He served four terms as a member of Congress, was minister to China and to Spain, attorney-general of the United States under President Pierce, and represented this country at the Geneva tribunal. He was also commissioned brigadier-general in the Mexican war, and held many other important offices.

Others whom Newburyport has been proud to call her sons by birth or adoption are:

Right Reverend Thomas M. Clarke, Bishop of Rhode Island, born here in 1812.

Benjamin Perley Poore, journalist and author, born in 1820 at Indian Hill Farm, Newbury, the home of his ancesters for many generations.

General A. W. Greeley, of the United States Army, commander of the Arctic Expedition bearing his name. He was born in 1844.

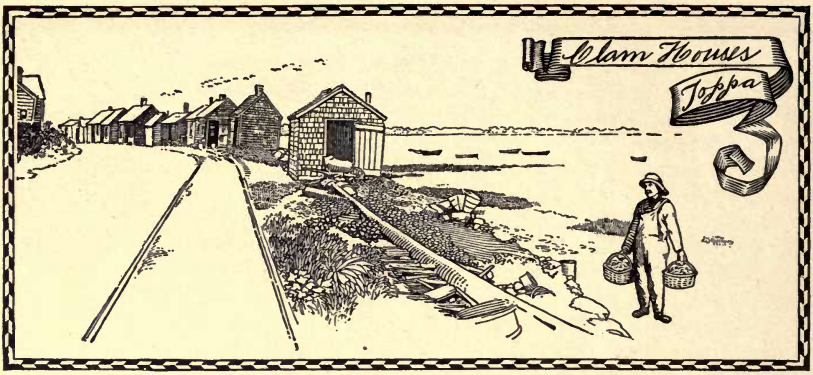
William C. Todd, founder of the Free Reading Room of this city, and donor of $50,000 to maintain a free newspaper reading room in the Boston Public Library. Mr. Todd was born in Atkinson, N. H., in 1823; and was for many years principal of the Female High School of this city.

Josiah Little, founder of the Public Library.

Michael Simpson, by whose liberality the Public Library building was greatly enlarged and improved.

George Peabody, the famous London banker, whose benefactions amounted to millions of dollars. Mr. Peabody received his early business training here in the employ of his brother, but was obliged to leave Newburyport after the great fire of 1811, which he was one of the first to discover. He endowed the Newburyport Public Library with a fund of $15,000.

James Parton, historian and biographer. For many years he owned and occupied the house on the northeasterly corner of High and Oakland Streets.



The picturesque centre of a primitive industry

NOTES.

The quaint old sign of the Wolfe Tavern is a pleasing reminder of the ancient institution of that hostelry, as well as a token of early patriotism and tribute to military greatness.

Captain William Davenport brought back from the plains of Abraham enthusiastic appreciation of his late commander, General Wolfe, who fell a sacrifice to bravery in the hour of his hard-earned victory. When, therefore, in 1762, Captain Davenport transformed his dwelling near the lower end of Fish (now State) Street to a tavern, he dedicated it to his lamented leader, and placed in front a swinging sign, elaborately carved, with a portrait of General Wolfe surrounded by a wreath entwined with scrolls, the whole appropriately painted and gilded. This highly decorative emblem was freely threatened with destruction, during the Revolutionary war, when only the hatred of all things British was thought of and former pride in the achievements of Wolfe forgotten. While all other reminders of royalty were destroyed, and notwithstanding the declaration of a local newspaper, that it was an "insult to the inhabitants of this truly republican town," it remained in place until destroyed by the great fire of 1811. The present sign was erected in 1814, when the tavern was removed to its present location.



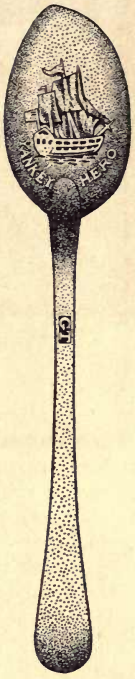
Before the introduction of railroads, the Wolfe Tavern was the property, and a station of the Eastern Stage Company, which ran daily trips with relays of horses, to Boston and Portsmouth; and the arrival and departure of the stages, which, it may be noted, were all built in Newburyport, were events of considerable importance, and attended with consequent excitement. The Eastern Stage Company was the forerunner of the Eastern Railroad Company, which road is now operated by the Boston & Maine Railroad Company.

The brick building on the corner of State

and Harris Streets, which was the nucleus of the present hotel building, was first occupied as a residence by Colonel John Peabody, uncle of George Peabody, and then a merchant in this town.

Saint Paul's Church of Newburyport has the distinction of being the oldest in the Protestant Episcopal diocese of Massachusetts, and one of its early ministers, the Right Reverend Edward Bass, D.D., was the first bishop of this diocese, which then included Rhode Island and New Hampshire.

The beginning of this parish was due to the removal of the Second Parish church of Newbury, in 1711, from its meeting-house near Sawyer's hill to a new one at the west end of the parish. The parishioners living near the old meeting-house desired to continue to worship in it, but it was torn down and removed in the night-time by a company of men and boys from the neighborhood of the new meeting-house. A new building was then begun near the site of the old one, but the dominant body of the parish appealed to the General Court to prevent this, and those concerned in its erection were formally directed to desist from their work until a hearing on the matter should be held by the Court. This was followed by a counter-petition from the builders for permission to "go on with their meeting-house," in reply to which the General Court repeated its order, to be served by the sheriff, and also ordered that officer to summon the delinquents to appear before the Court to answer for their contempt. Not to be circumvented, the offenders appealed to the Church of England, and under its authority and with its ritual made bold to complete their building, which they named Queen Anne's Chapel, and sever their allegiance to the Second Parish. King's Chapel of Boston, then the only Protestant Episcopal church in this section of the country, supplied one of its ministers temporarily, and then the Reverend John Lambton, chaplain of her Majesty's ship "Phenix" was transferred to this parish and remained in charge of it nearly a year when he was relieved by the arrival of the Reverend Henry Lucas from England in September, 1715. Thus, within a century, descendants of the Puritan settlers sought the protection of the church their forefathers had left England to be rid of.

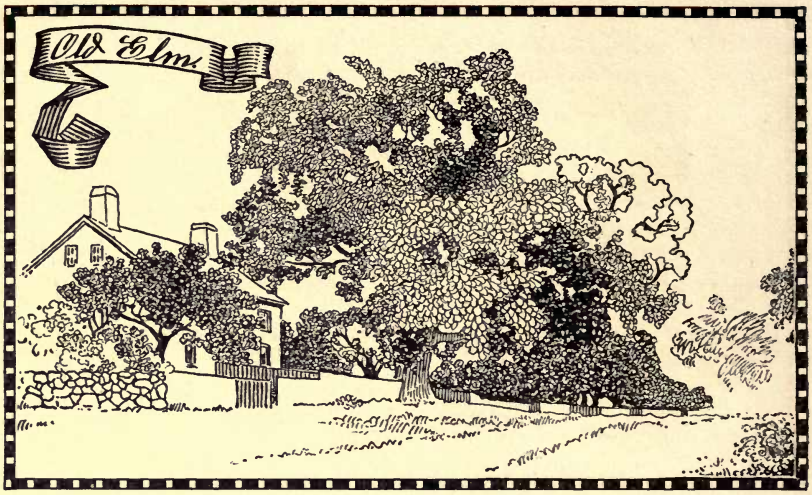


A Newburyport Souvenir Spoon of the Revolution



JONATHAN PLUMMER
"Poet Laureate to 'Lord' Timothy Dexter"

The parish prospered and in 1738 began the erection of a larger building in the more thickly settled part of the town, which they named Saint Paul's Church. This for twenty-five years shared with Queen Anne's Chapel the services of the Reverend Matthias Plant and his assistant and successor, Reverend Edward Bass,



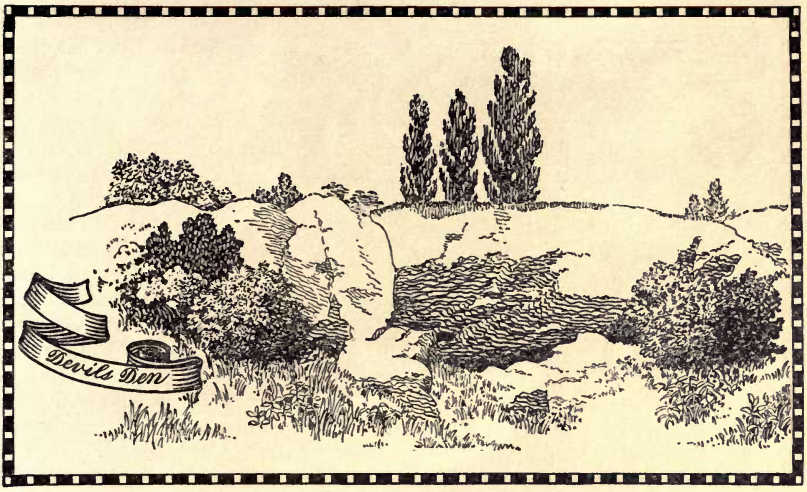
The subject of a poem by Hannah Gould

but in 1766 the older building was abandoned and the parish concentrated at Saint Paul's Church. By the conversion of King's Chapel at the time of the Revolution, Saint Paul's Church, which at that time modified its rubric to suit republican principles, became the oldest of the diocese.

The Pre-Revolutionary disturbances in France extended to that country's West Indian possessions and the wealthy planters of those colonies were obliged to flee with their families for personal safety. From 1788 to 1793 large numbers of these *emigrés* came to Newburyport from Martinique and Guadeloupe in the vessels plying between those islands and this port, and for some years they were an esteemed element in the community. Some of these died before the crisis in their national affairs was reached, and are buried here, and a few became permanent residents, but the greater number returned to their homes and possessions when tranquillity was restored.

The famous Siamese twins Chang and Eng, were brought to this country from Tringana, Siam, by Captain Abel Coffin of the Newburyport ship Sachem, and after their first exhibition and subsequent tour of Europe they visited here on several occasions. The following announcement concerning them is from the Newburyport Herald September fourth, 1829.

> Double Siamese Boys about 18 years old (lately arrived in ship Sachem Capt. A. Coffin) the most valuable and extraordinary natural curiosity ever before presented the Public will be exhibited in Washington Hall, Green Street, on Monday & Tuesday next only.
>
> Hours assigned for exhibition each day from 9 to 1 o'clock A. M. from 3 to 6 o'clock P. M.
>
> Price of admission 25 cents, children under 12 years of age half price.
>
> (For farther particulars see Bills.)



An abandoned Limestone Quarry of early days

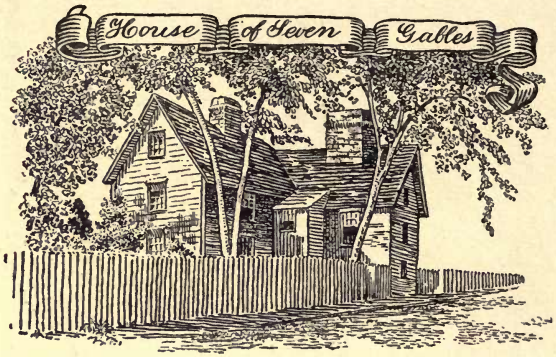
The American Academy of Arts and Sciences had its inception here and was incorporated in 1780 with leading citizens of Newburyport, Salem, and Boston as members. It has done much to promote scientific investigation and has published many volumes of research in this field. Its present headquarters are in the building of the Massachusetts Historical Society at Boston.

Two Newburyport men, members of Captain Richard Titcomb's company, were of the number that conveyed Benedict Arnold to the British ship Vulture, in September, 1780, and scorned his offer of promotion, if they would follow him in his then announced desertion from the American to the English forces.

One of the ancient institutions of Newburyport is the office of town-crier. It is now neither appointive nor elective, the present incumbent having, years ago, succeeded to it, and continued without opposition. In early times he commanded attention with a drum, and one of his duties was to escort petty culprits through the principal streets, calling attention to their offences, which they also were sometimes required to proclaim. The business of the present picturesque exemplar is, however, mostly confined to announcements of excursions or entertainments, varied with the promotion of retail trade, and his "Hear what I have to say!" is preceded by the clang of a large hand-bell. It is doubtful if this functionary survives anywhere else in the United States.



The Curfew Bell, which has recently given its name to a movement to compel the retiring of young people from the streets at nine o'clock in the evening, has, with the exception of a short interval in



the last decade, been rung here nightly for one hundred and ninety-two years, and it is indeed a curfew, or signal for retiring, for many people.

The first vessel to display the American flag on the river Thames, was the Count de Grasse, Captain Nicholas Johnson, of this port.

A Newburyport ship, the Indus, was also the first to sail from this country to Calcutta, after the war of 1812, and made the return trip before news of her arrival there had otherwise reached here.

A few months later in the same year, another vessel, the Dryad, sailed from here to carry to Calcutta the first five missionaries of the American Board of Foreign Missions, an organization established here by a Newburyport and a Salem clergyman, but which has long since outgrown its early home and removed to broader fields.

The history of ship-building at this port, includes many items of general interest. While it is impossible, through imperfect registration, to ascertain the exact number of vessels built on the Merrimac, it is probable that, from first to last, the number would be upwards of two thousand.

The water-line model which enabled a designer to more easily and accurately ascertain the lines and sections of his creation, was invented here by a prominent ship-builder, Orlando Merrill, in 1794. The original model of this invention is now preserved in the rooms of the New York Historical Society.

In 1853 the celebrated clipper ship Dreadnaught was built here, a vessel whose remarkable record of crossing the Atlantic in a little more than thirteen days, was equal to those of many steamships.

Newburyport closed the record of ship-building in Massachusetts, with the launching, in 1882, of the Mary L. Cushing, the last vessel of that class built in this state.

Although the various societies of Daughters of the Revolution are of comparatively recent formation, the spirit which they represent was manifest in Newburyport as early as 1796, as shown from the following from the Impartial Herald of that year.



Newburyport, February 26, 1796. Female patriotism. A number of ladies belonging to

this town met on Monday, in honor of the day that gave birth to the man "who unites all hearts," and dedicated a few glasses to the following truly sentimental and highly republican toasts.



1. May our beloved *President* preside at the helm of government longer than we shall have time to tell his years.
2. Mrs. Washington, respected consort of our illustrious chief.
3. May the fair patriots of America never fail to assert their independence, which nature equally dispenses.
4. Maria Charlotte Corday. May each Columbian daughter, like her, be ready to sacrifice their life to liberty.
5. The day that saw the wondrous hero rise shall, more than all our sacred days, be blessed.

WHILE the purpose of this book is to give, in connection with Colonial silverware, an outline of the Colonial and Revolutionary history of Newburyport, it is also designed to note briefly some of the chief points of interest in neighboring cities and towns. This reference to its main object is made that any seeming lack of proportion between the representation of a place and its known importance may be understood, and the random character of the selections accounted for.



Salem is particularly rich in points of interest around which history or tradition has left its charm of romance or pall of tragedy. It was here that occurred the first armed resistance of the Revolution, when, on the 26th of February, 1775, the march of three hundred British troops sent by General Gage to seize munitions of war was arrested. From here came Colonel Timothy Pickering, one of Washington's most trusted advisers, and to whom was given successively every office in his cabinet, when the latter became president.



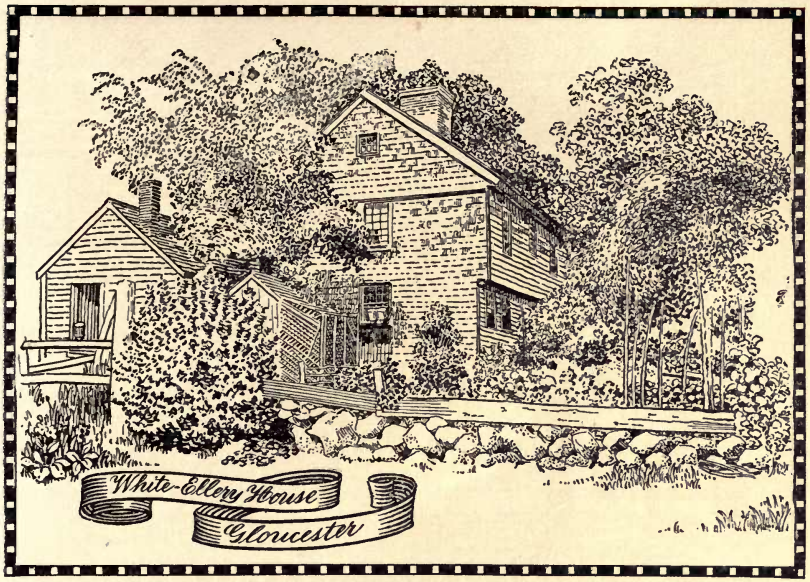
Where a great institution had its birth

In addition to its wealth of history and the memories of its once famous commerce, its heroes of war and statecraft, and its merchant princes, Salem is remembered and particularly visited as the home of Hawthorne and the scene of several of his romances. His birthplace, the home of his youth, the "House of Seven Gables," the "Grimshaw House," and Custom House, as well as the many other houses and haunts immortalized in his writings, bring to the thoughtful visitor a vivid sense of personal acquaintance, not to be gained alone by the reading of his works. Other cities have historic associations and fine old architecture, have had even the witches — of painful memory — but only Salem can show these originals of storied scenes.

THOUGH small in point of population, Marblehead has strongly marked characteristics, and has played a very important part in the history of our country. Like the other seaport towns of northern Massachusetts, it furnished many men for the navy of the Revolution, and none were braver or hardier than the sons of this rocky and picturesque hamlet. Chief among these was Captain Mugford, to whose memory and that of his crew a memorial has been erected. He captured, off Boston harbor, in May, 1776, a British ship, laden with military supplies; but, after sending this safely to port, was the same day killed, while defending his ship against an attack of the enemy.

Here lived Agnes Surriage, beloved of Sir Henry Frankland, and here also is the scene of Whittier's poem of "Skipper Ireson's Ride," though the story is doubtless largely imaginary.

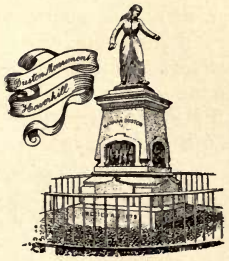
The old town is said to have been a resort of pirates and buccaneers from the Spanish Main, but it is pleasanter to contemplate its visitors of to-day, the magnificent yachts that rendezvous here from the coast.



The home of prominent Gloucester families. Built about 1705

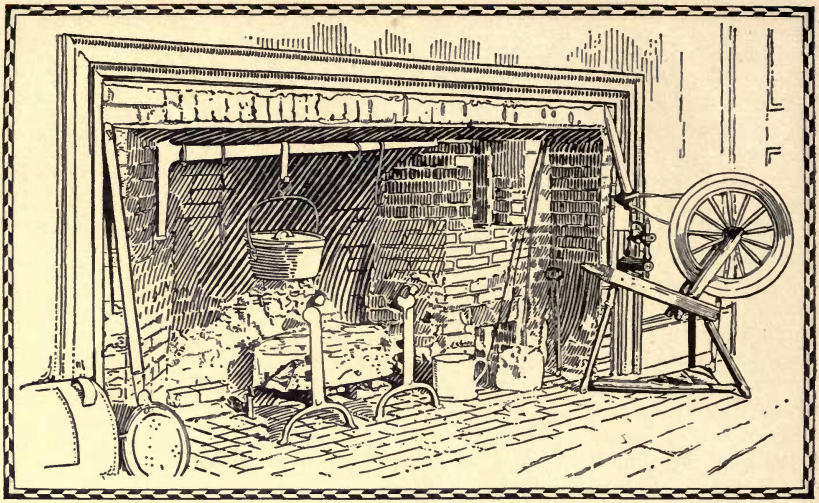
ACROSS the harbor from Marblehead is Beverly, the two arranged like sentinels, guarding the approach to Salem, which is further inland. Marblehead and Beverly divide other honors, for the regiment commanded by Colonel Glover was recruited from both places, and took an active part in the Revolution. It was at one time stationed at Beverly, to cover the movements of British men-of-war lying in the outer harbor. This regiment was frequently selected by Washington for enterprises requiring great courage and skill, as instanced by its responsible part in the evacuation of New York by the American army in 1776. Its most notable achievement, however, was the memorable passage of the Delaware, when, on the night of Christmas, 1776, Washington's army was enabled, under the skilful guidance of these men of Marblehead and Beverly, to cross in safety the stormy and ice-filled river, and capture at Trenton a large part of the British army.

Beverly was bombarded by the British ship Nautilus, but suffered no great damage. In return, her privateers, which were early commissioned, brought in many valuable prizes and materially aided the American cause.



AT the time of the Revolution and for the first half of this century, the whole of Cape Ann was known as Gloucester. Since that time the towns of Rockport and Annisquam have been set off, thus reducing the territory of Gloucester.

Fishing, in which it is now supreme, has always been its leading industry, and the "Captains Courageous" of Kipling were no less so when courage meant the braving of hostile guns as well as tempest and rocky shores.

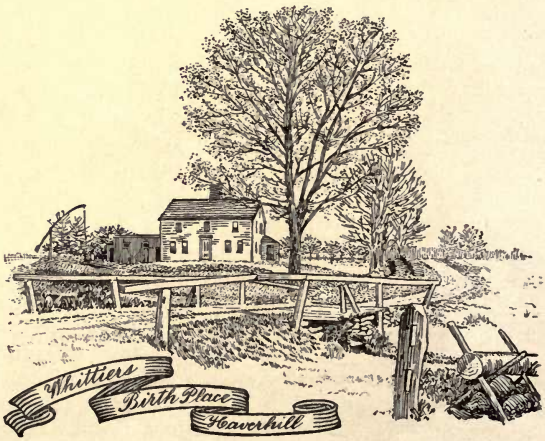


Fireplace in Whittier's birthplace

A Newburyport privateer, the Yankee Hero, reinforced by Gloucester sailors, was captured, off the Cape, by a British man-of-war, disguised as a merchantman, after a hard-fought battle. Among the noted patriots of those days, Captain Harraden of Gloucester was a famous and successful fighter who did great service for his country. The souvenir spoon commemorating this event, shown on page 23, was probably the first of this character in America.

On the southerly side of the entrance to Gloucester harbor lies the reef of Norman's Woe — remembered in Longfellow's "Wreck of the Hesperus" — the ceaseless peal of the floating bell warning the mariner of its menacing presence, as when, on that fatal night of old, the skipper's daughter cried: —

"O father! I hear the
church-bells ring,
O say, what may it be?"

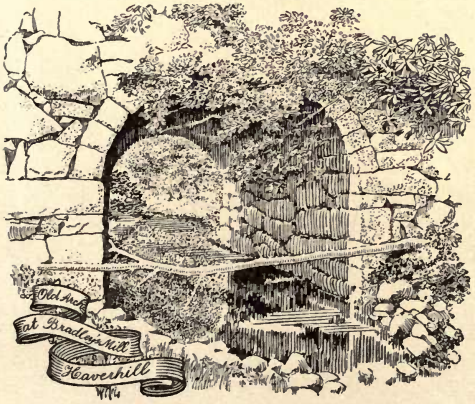


HAVERHILL, which is to-day a populous and busy city, lacked the advantages of the coast towns, and although settled in 1640, did not reach its present development until the era of manufacturing had superseded that of

commerce. It was, however, notably active in the events leading up to the Revolution, and furnished, both promptly and willingly, its full quota of men and funds for that war.

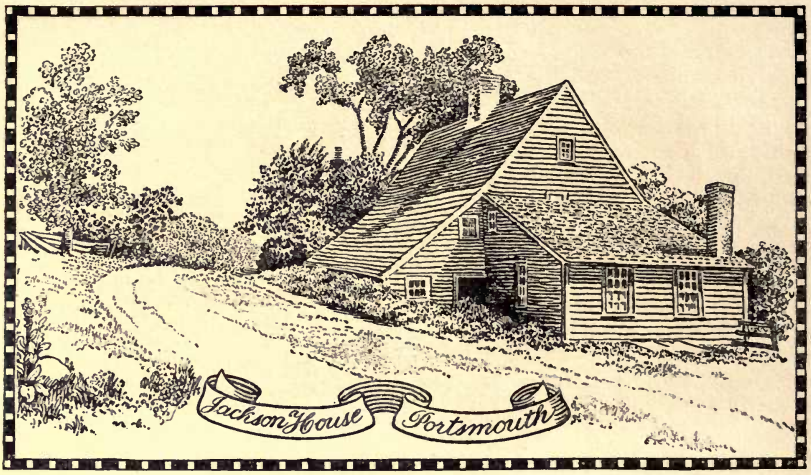


In earlier times, Haverhill suffered severely from Indian attacks, its inland situation rendering it particularly liable to this danger. The most famous of these took place on the fifteenth of March, 1697, when thirty-nine persons were killed or captured, and a number of houses burned. Among those taken prisoners were, Hannah Duston — whose husband, Thomas Duston, fought his way to safety, with seven of their eight children — and Mary Neff, her nurse. After traveling some days and suffering many hardships, they were brought to an island in the Merrimac, situated a few miles above what is now Concord. Early on the morning of April 30, while the savages all slept, Mrs. Duston aroused her nurse and an English youth who had been longer a prisoner, and, arming themselves with tomahawks, they killed their captors, to the number of ten, a squaw and youth escaping. After scuttling all the canoes but one, they provisioned that and started back to Haverhill, but, before going far, decided to return and scalp the Indians, as evidence of their deed; this they did, finally reaching home in safety. One of the features of Haverhill is the Hannah Duston monument commemorating this event.



ONE of the most interesting of neighboring cities is Portsmouth. From the earliest time it has been fortified, and later its fine deep harbor led to the establishment of the Navy Yard and attendant government institutions.

All the prevalent sentiments of liberty and independence noted in accounts of other places were characteristic of Portsmouth, though the town had probably a greater num-



One of the oldest houses of Portsmouth, N. H.

ber of prominent loyalists than any other, save Boston. They were roughly handled by the patriots, and at the outbreak of open hostilities were obliged to seek safety elsewhere.

One of the first decisive acts of the Revolution, if not the first, was successfully consummated here, on the night of December 14, 1774, four months before the battle of Lexington.

On that night, a party of men, anticipating the garrisoning of Fort William and Mary, at Newcastle, by the forces of the king, descended on the fort, surprising and overpowering the sentinel and commandant, forced its surrender, and removed to Portsmouth upwards of one hundred barrels of gunpowder and fifteen of the lightest cannon. The munitions were effectively used in the Revolution, a large part of the gunpowder being sent to Cambridge.

Portsmouth was markedly aristocratic in early times, and the elegant Colonial mansions that still adorn its streets are reminders of the days of affluence, when, like Newburyport and Salem, it gloried in a large foreign trade or hoarded the gains of privateering.

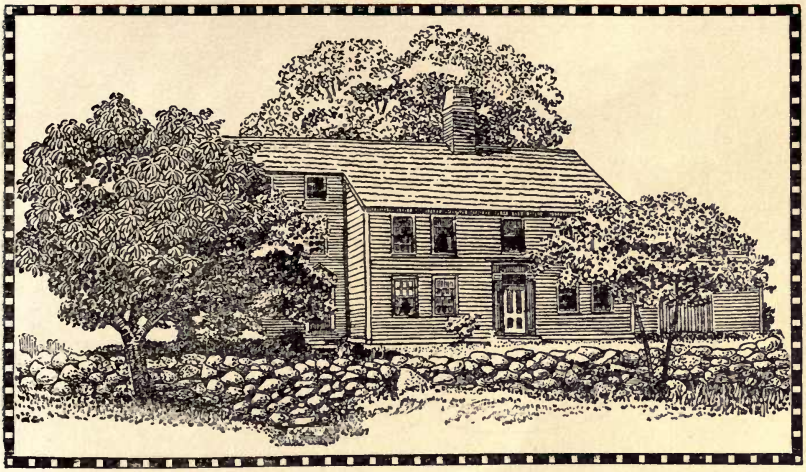
A FEW miles from Newburyport, in the town of Amesbury, is the home of Whittier's later years, and from there, in 1892, he was buried, the simple service attended by a gathering of genius such as few occasions could attract.

An interesting reminder of Whittier, in Amesbury, is the "Captain's Well," the subject of his poem of that name.

It was constructed by Captain Bagley, in or about 1794.

> "I will dig a well for the passers-by,
> And none shall suffer from thirst, as I."

AS active revolution had its beginning in the battles of Concord and Lexington, battles which filled the roads from far and near with hurrying minute-men, pressing eagerly to the aid of their heroic compatriots, we have included illustrations of a few of the many historic



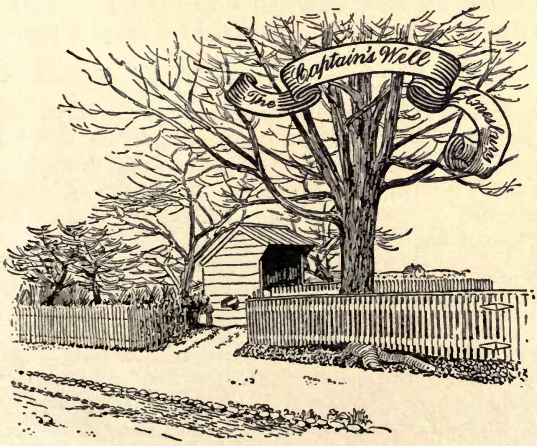
Barrett House, Concord, home of Col. James Barrett

buildings and commemorative monuments identified with this uprising, with which these towns abound.

All the towns here written of, and many others, share in a degree, with Concord and Lexington, the glory of these monuments; for, while only those favored by proximity arrived in time to take part in the fighting, all responded immediately to the alarm.

SOME PLACES OF HISTORIC INTEREST IN NEWBURYPORT AND VICINITY WHICH MAY BE REACHED BY ELECTRIC CARS.

NEWBURYPORT IS SITUATED AT THE MOUTH OF THE MERRIMAC RIVER, WHICH JOINS THE ATLANTIC ON THE NORTH SHORE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY, THIRTY-SEVEN MILES FROM BOSTON, AND IS REACHED BY TWO DIVISIONS OF THE BOSTON AND MAINE RAILROAD, FROM THE NORTHERN UNION STATION, CAUSEWAY STREET, BOSTON.



Parker river, named for Rev. Thomas Parker, one of the first settlers who landed on its north shore in 1635. Its Indian name, Quascacunquen, signified waterfall. It is about four miles from the railroad station.

A boulder on the river bank, a quarter-mile



Held by Earl Percy during the Battle of Lexington. Built, 1695

below the bridge, marks the landing-place of the first settlers, and a monument on the Lower Green near by commemorates this event.

The picturesque Spencer-Pierce house, also called the "Garrison House," built by Daniel Pierce about 1670, on a farm of four hundred acres laid out to John Spencer in 1635.

"Trayneing Green," laid out in 1642. Scene of the encampment of Quebec expedition under Benedict Arnold, September, 1775, and location of a boulder and bronze tablet commemorating the event.

The Noyes House on Parker Street, built about the year 1646 by Rev. James Noyes, associate pastor with Rev. Thomas Parker. Near by is the old elm of Newbury, a tree of romantic origin, and the subject of a poem by Hannah Flagg Gould.

The Coffin house, High Street, occupied by Tristram Coffin, in 1653, and afterwards the residence of Joshua Coffin, the historian of Newbury, also remembered as Whittier's "Village Schoolmaster." Still occupied by descendants of the first owner.



The Illsley house, High Street, near head of Marlborough Street, built in 1670, and at one time a tavern. Near by, from 1653 to 1755, was the Blue Anchor Tavern, the most important of early inns.

House No. 65 High Street, owned and occupied by Caleb Cushing at the time of his death.

First Presbyterian meeting-house, Federal Street, erected in 1756, and rebuilt in 1856.



Used as a Hospital after the Battle of Bunker Hill. Built about 1760

Here Rev. George Whitefield, the great evangelist, preached, and was buried in a vault under the pulpit.

Nos. 3 and 5 School Street, the house where William Lloyd Garrison was born.

Nos. 9 and 11 School Street, the house where Rev. George Whitefield died.

Bombshell, on a stone post at the corner of Middle and Independence Streets. Brought from Louisburg by Nathaniel Knapp, after the capture of that fortress, in 1758.

Market Square. On the southeasterly side stood the house owned by William Morse, whose wife, Goody Morse, was, in 1679, convicted of witchcraft and sentenced to death; but, the people becoming more enlightened, the sentence was not executed. This was probably the first case of trial and conviction for witchcraft in Massachusetts.

In the centre of the square was the meeting-house of the First Religious Society, the spire of which, being struck by lightning, was studied by Benjamin Franklin and became the subject of a communication read before the Royal Society of London.



Rooms of Newburyport Marine Society, State Street, organized in 1772; containing curiosities gathered by members. Open to visitors from 10 to 12 A. M., 2 to 4 P. M.

No. 21 Charter Street, for many years the residence of Hannah Flagg Gould, author of several volumes of prose and poetry.



Craigie-Longfellow House. Washington's headquarters, 1775-6.

Public Library building, erected in 1771 by Patrick Tracy, a prominent merchant, as a residence for his son, Nathaniel Tracy, also a merchant and ship owner who attained wide prominence by reason of the magnitude of his operations and the magnificence of his living. Washington occupied apartments in this house in 1789, and Lafayette was entertained here in 1824. In 1865 the building was purchased and adapted for the present use, and was added to in 1882, by the generosity of Michael Simpson. On the first floor are: a free reading-room, maintained for many years through the liberality of William C. Todd, Esq., who, on his death in 1903, endowed this and the newspaper reading-room of the Boston Public Library; and the rooms of the Historical Society of Old Newbury, where visitors may inspect objects of historic interest. Some of the rooms on this floor retain their original character.

Dalton House, No. 95 State Street, built in 1750, and occupied by Tristram Dalton, the first senator to Congress from Massachusetts. Was later occupied by Moses Brown, a wealthy merchant. Now owned and occupied by the Dalton Club.

Frog Pond and Bartlett Mall, now included in Washington Park, were first improved in 1800, through the exertions and liberality of Captain Edmund Bartlett. Further improved in 1888 from plans by Charles Eliot.

The Court House stands on this Mall, and nearly opposite is the Putnam Free School building, one of the earliest and most liberal institutions of its kind. At the easterly end of the Park is a statue of Washington by J. Q. A. Ward, presented to the city by Daniel I. Tenney.

House No. 34 Green Street, built in 1879 by Hon. Theophilus Parsons, an eminent jurist, with whom John Quincy Adams and Robert Treat Paine studied law, and occupied by him until 1800.

Brown Square, given to the city by Moses Brown in 1802. The statue of William Lloyd Garrison was presented to the city by William H. Swasey, Esq., and is by David M. French of Newburyport.

Meeting-house of the First Religious Society, Pleasant Street, built in 1800. A fine example of early architecture, with characteristic interior.

High Street, St. Paul's Church. The first building was erected here in 1738, and was taken down in the year 1800, to make room for the present edifice. It has many interesting architectural features, one of which is the bishop's mitre surmounting the belfry which was put up to signify its change to the cathedral of the diocese, and also a bell made by Paul Revere.

Dexter house, No. 201 High Street, built by Jonathan Jackson in 1772, and later purchased and occupied by "Lord" Timothy Dexter, a wealthy and eccentric character, by whom it was adorned with many wooden statues, since removed. It was purchased in 1874 by Mr. George H. Corliss, the renowned engine builder, who occupied it until his death.

Lowell-Johnson house, No. 203 High Street, built about 1774 by John Lowell, son of Rev. John Lowell, who was afterwards judge of the United States Circuit Court. He was the father of Francis Cabot Lowell, for whom the city of Lowell was named, grandfather of the founder of the Lowell Institute of Boston, and also grandfather of James Russell Lowell. The house was later occupied by John Tracy, son of Patrick Tracy, and he entertained here, in 1782, the Marquis de Castellux, Baron Talleyrand, and other officers of the French army.

House No. 244 High Street, frequently the home of John G. Whittier during the last years of his life.

The Toppan house, No. 10 Toppan Street, built by Jacob Toppan in 1670, and still in possession of his lineal descendants.

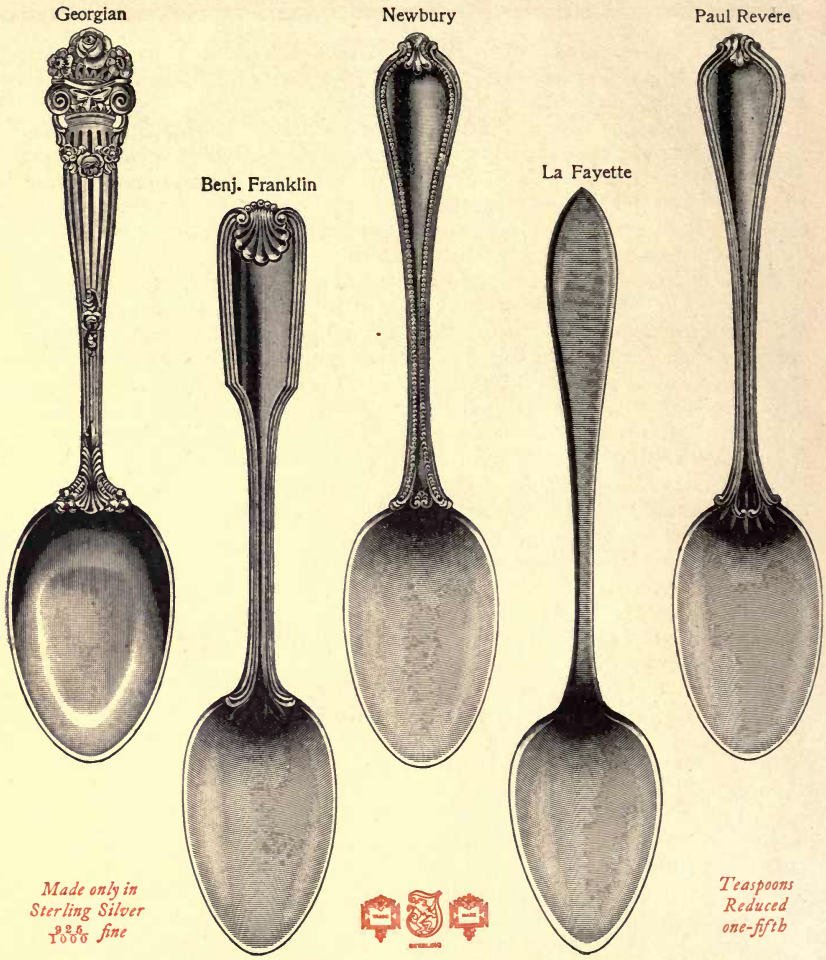
Pillsbury Place, No. 265 High Street. This was first the farm of Edward Rawson, Clerk of the town and member of the House of Deputies. Later, he was for thirty-five years secretary of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. In 1651 it was by him sold to Job C. Pillsbury, who in 1700 erected a dwelling house, which was destroyed by fire in 1889, and of which the present structure, owned and occupied by his descendants, is a copy.

Atkinson Park, with monument to the soldiers and sailors of the Civil War—the Volunteer,—by Theo Alice Ruggles Kitson, and observatory.

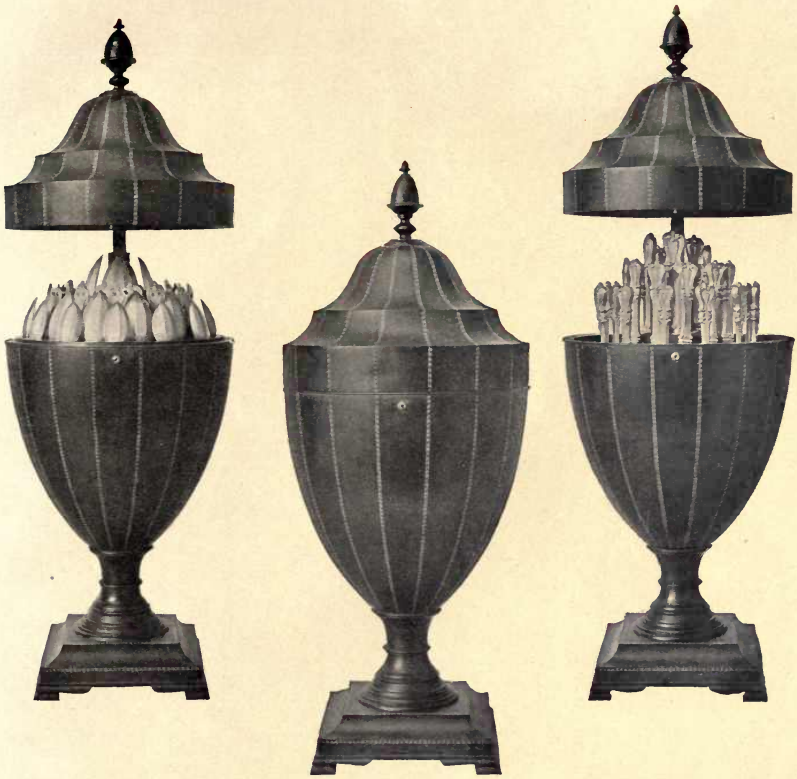
Essex, Merrimac, or "Chain" Bridge. Here in 1792 was erected the first bridge across the Merrimac river. It was, in 1810, superseded by the present suspension bridge, which was the second of its kind in the country.

Deer Island, home of Harriet Prescott Spofford. The house here was, in the early part of the century, a noted tavern and toll-house for the bridges on either side.





THE five patterns shown on this page represent the continuance of the Colonial idea, which has become a distinctive feature of the product of the Towle Manufacturing Company, both in Table Flat Ware and Hollow Ware. The Colonial pattern embodies the purity and dignity of the style of architecture and furniture whose name it bears. The popularity of this style is deep-rooted and growing, and it is now accepted as the most characteristic and appropriate realization of American taste. A unique feature of this design is the faceted effect of the spoon bowls, which thus harmonize with the angular shapes of the Colonial style, but yet are so slightly indented that this form is no detriment to use, being, in fact, hardly perceptible when so tested. This style of bowl has been fully protected by letters patent, and can be had only in the Colonial pattern which is made in sterling silver ($\frac{925}{1000}$ fine); it may be purchased of first-class Jewelers throughout the United States and Canada. Buyers of silverware should carefully examine the trade-mark, which is a guarantee of quality.



COLONIAL KNIFE, FORK, AND SPOON CASES

Height, 26 inches

Of inlaid mahogany, accurate reproductions (by permission) of rare examples in Pendleton House, the Colonial museum of the Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, Rhode Island.

The unmistakable Colonial character of these makes them extremely effective in dining-room decoration and particularly appropriate for containing the Colonial Pattern.

TOWLE MFG. COMPANY

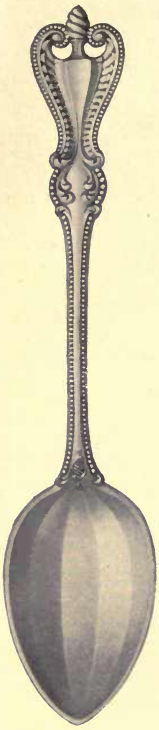
Silversmiths

NEWBURYPORT MASSACHUSETTS

Chicago, Illinois, 42 Madison Street; Heyworth Building
New York City, 17 Maiden Lane; Silversmiths Building

The TOWLE MFG. COMPANY does no retail business anywhere

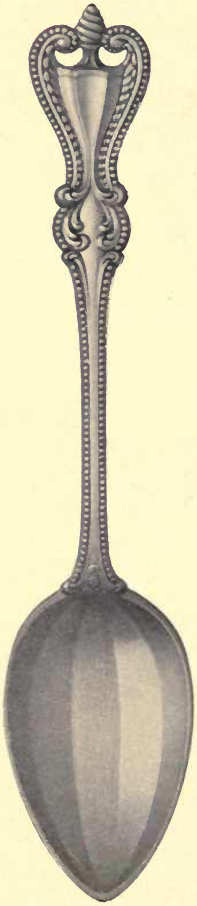
Tea Spoon, P. M.



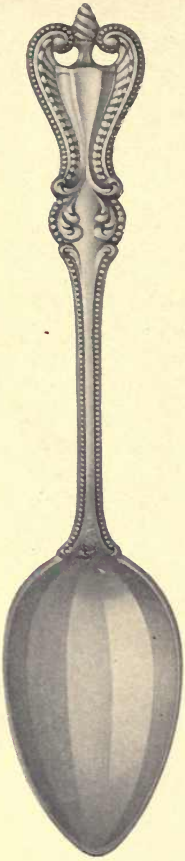
Coffee Spoon



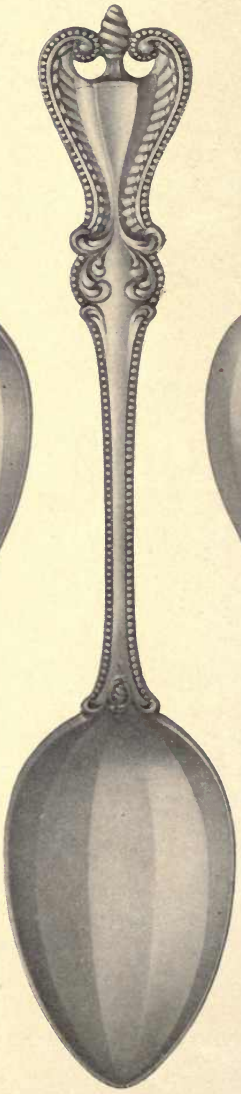
Tea Spoon
Nos. 15 and 18



Tea Spoon, small
No. 13



Dessert Spoon
Nos. 26, 30 and 34

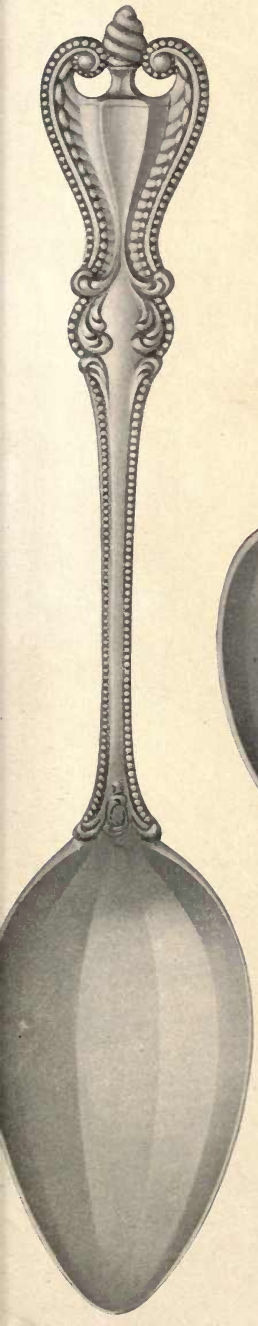


Tea Spoon, small
reverse

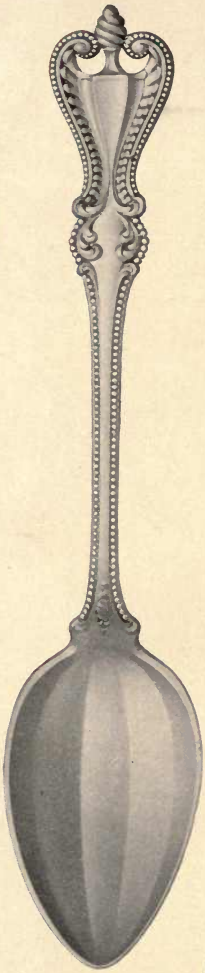




Table Spoon
Nos. 36, 41 and 45



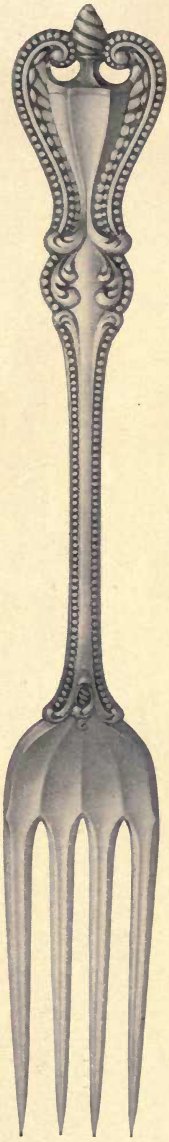
Pap Spoon



Dessert Fork
Nos. 26, 30 and 34



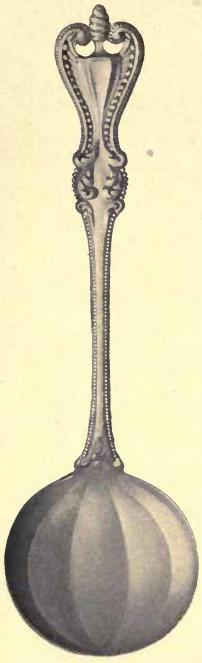
Table Fork
Nos. 35, 39 and 43



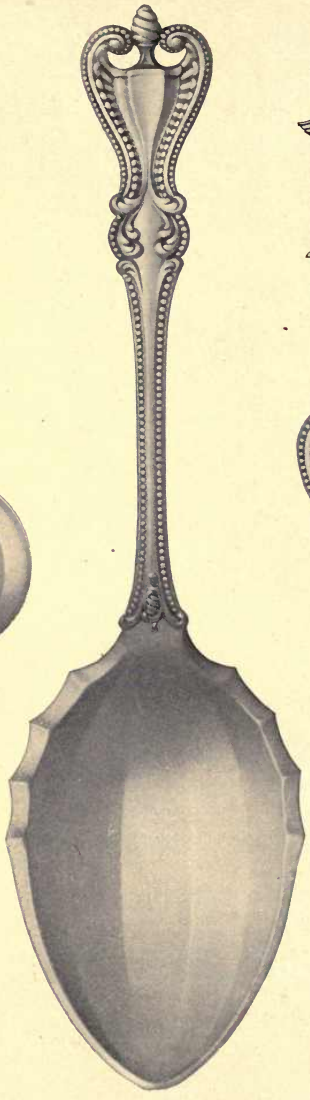
Dessert Fork
reverse



Chocolate Spoon

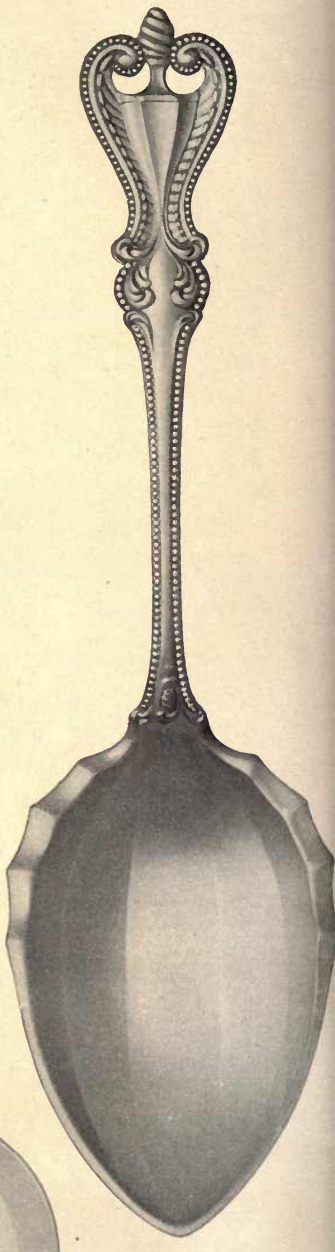


Jelly Spoon

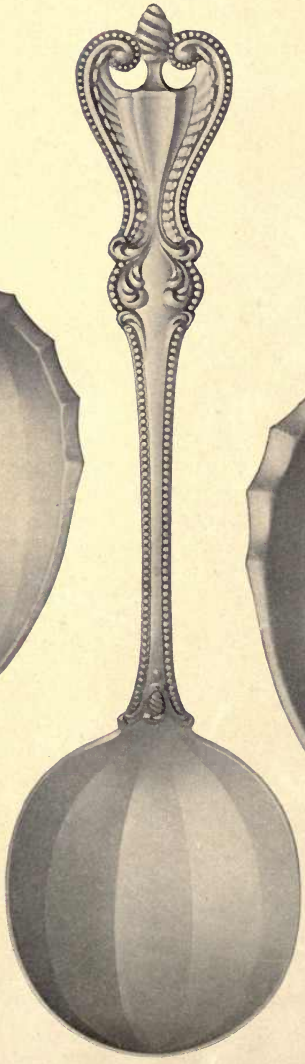


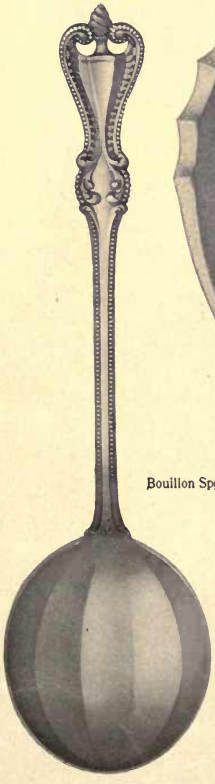


Preserve Spoon

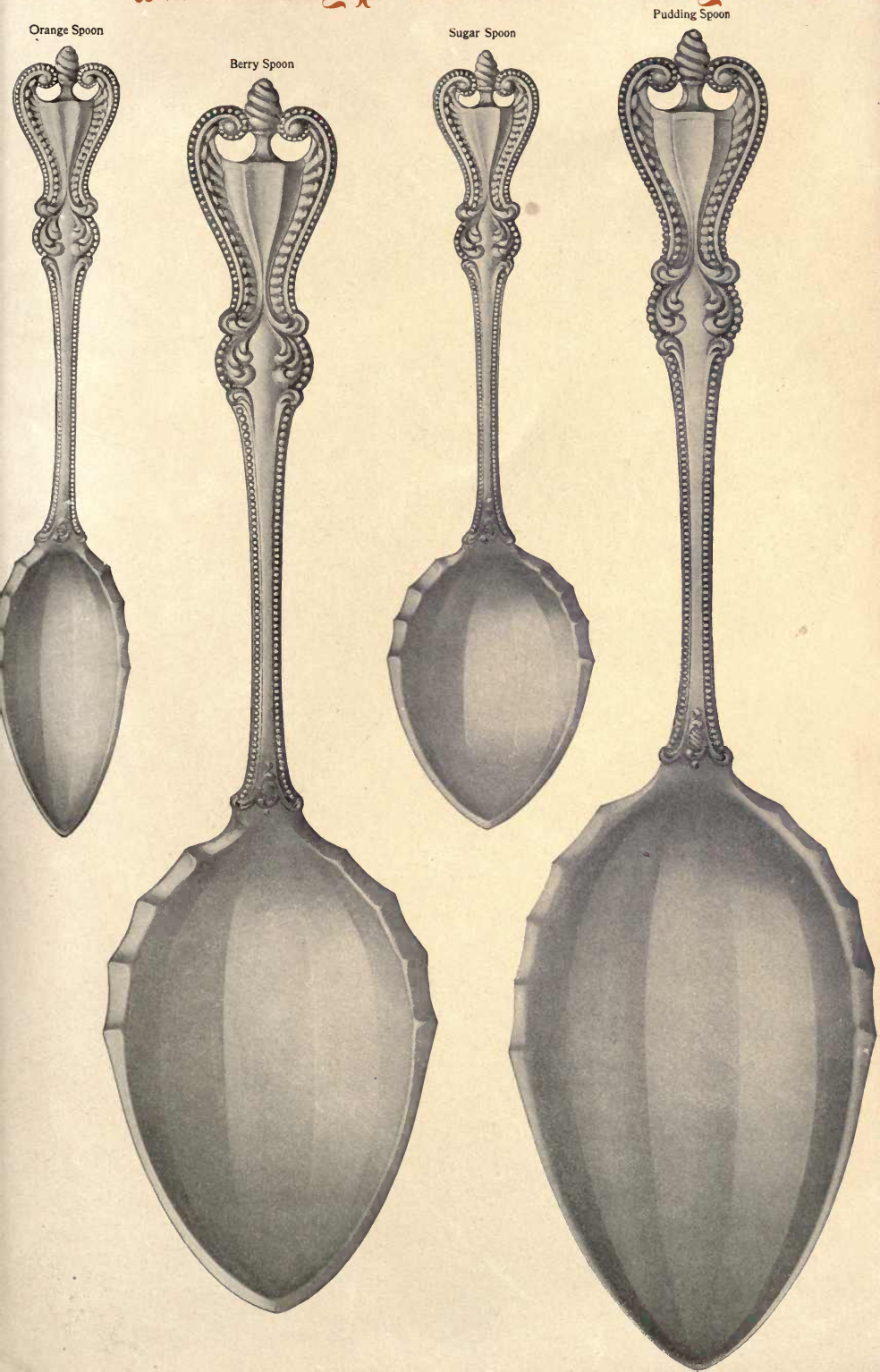


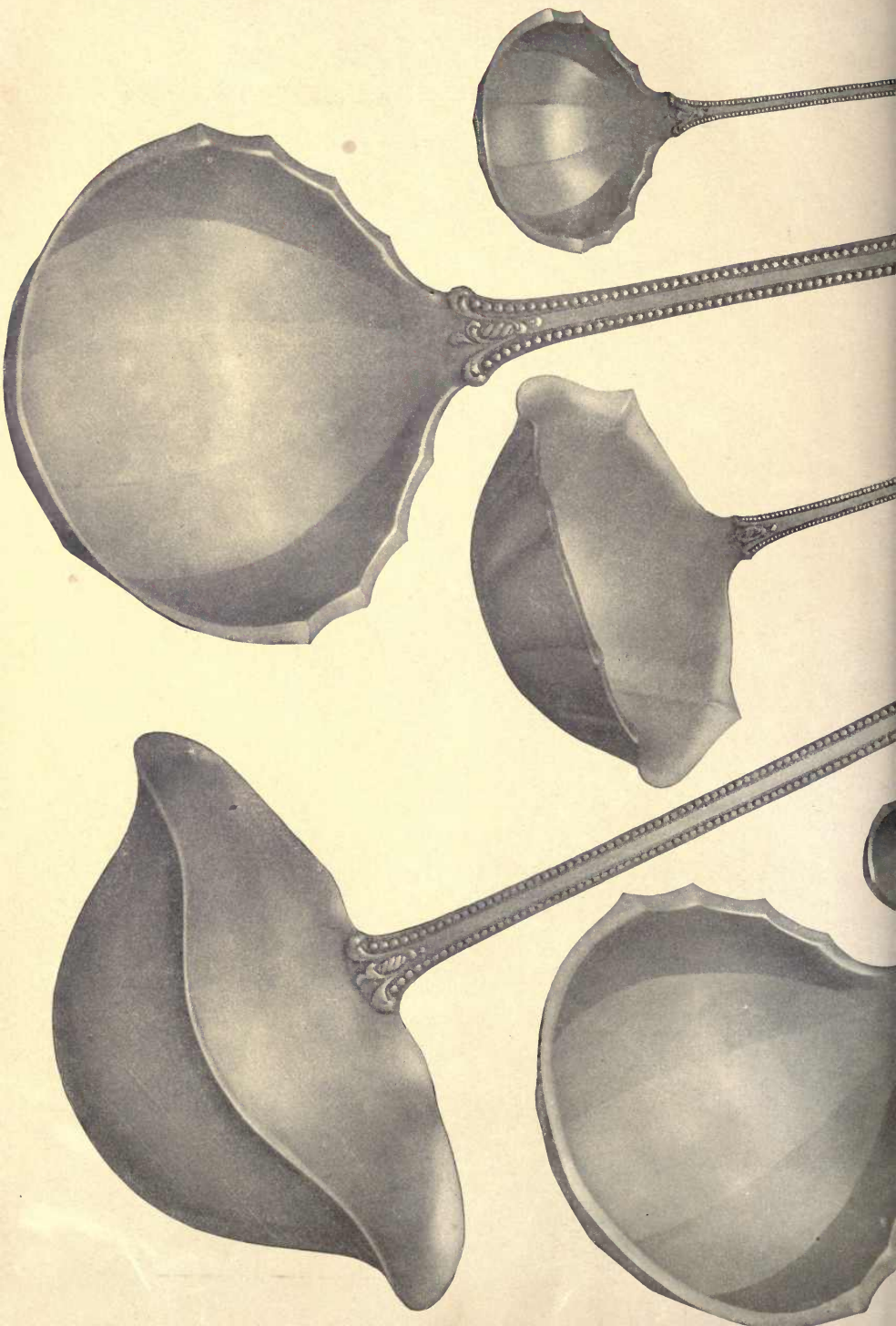
Soup Spoon

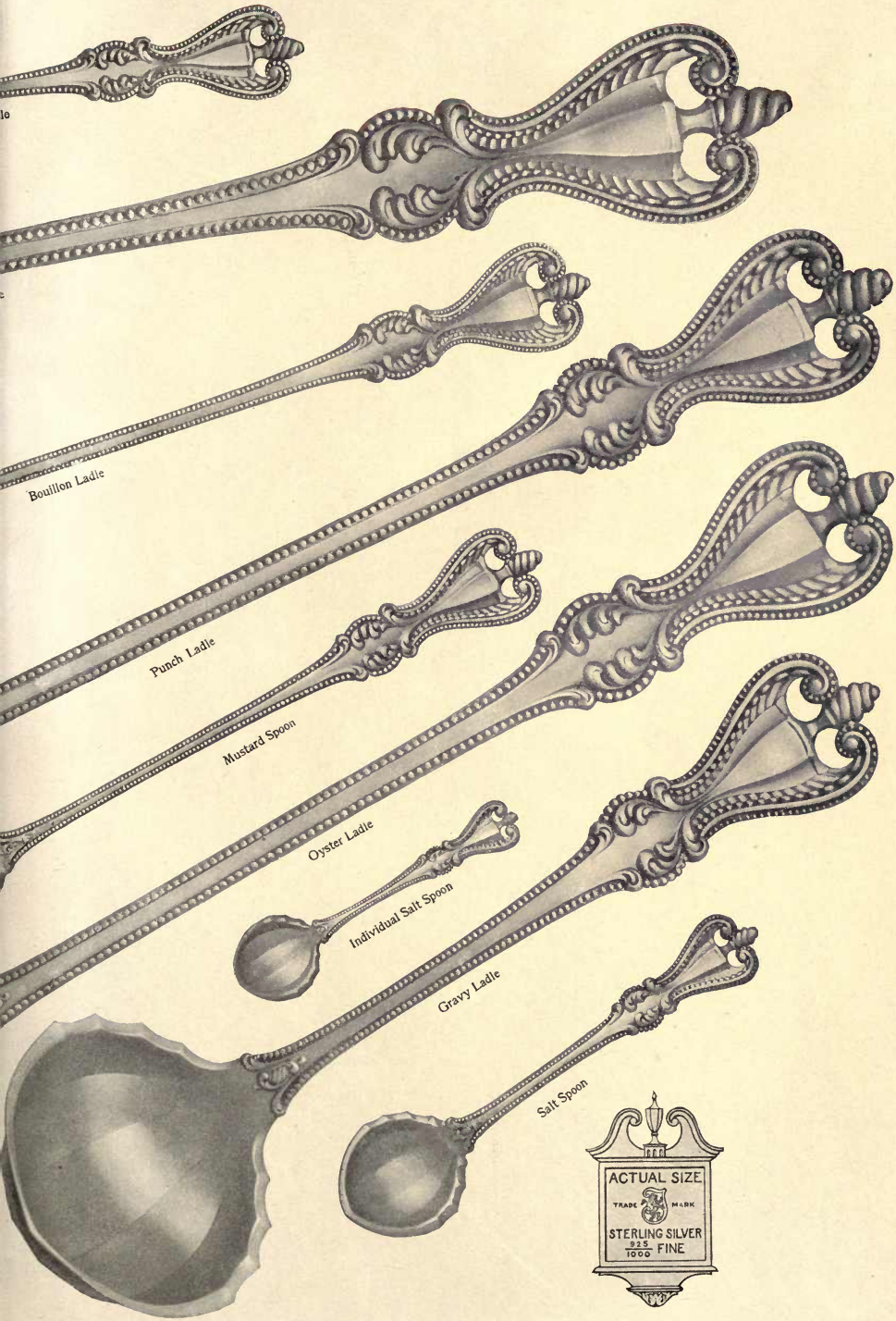


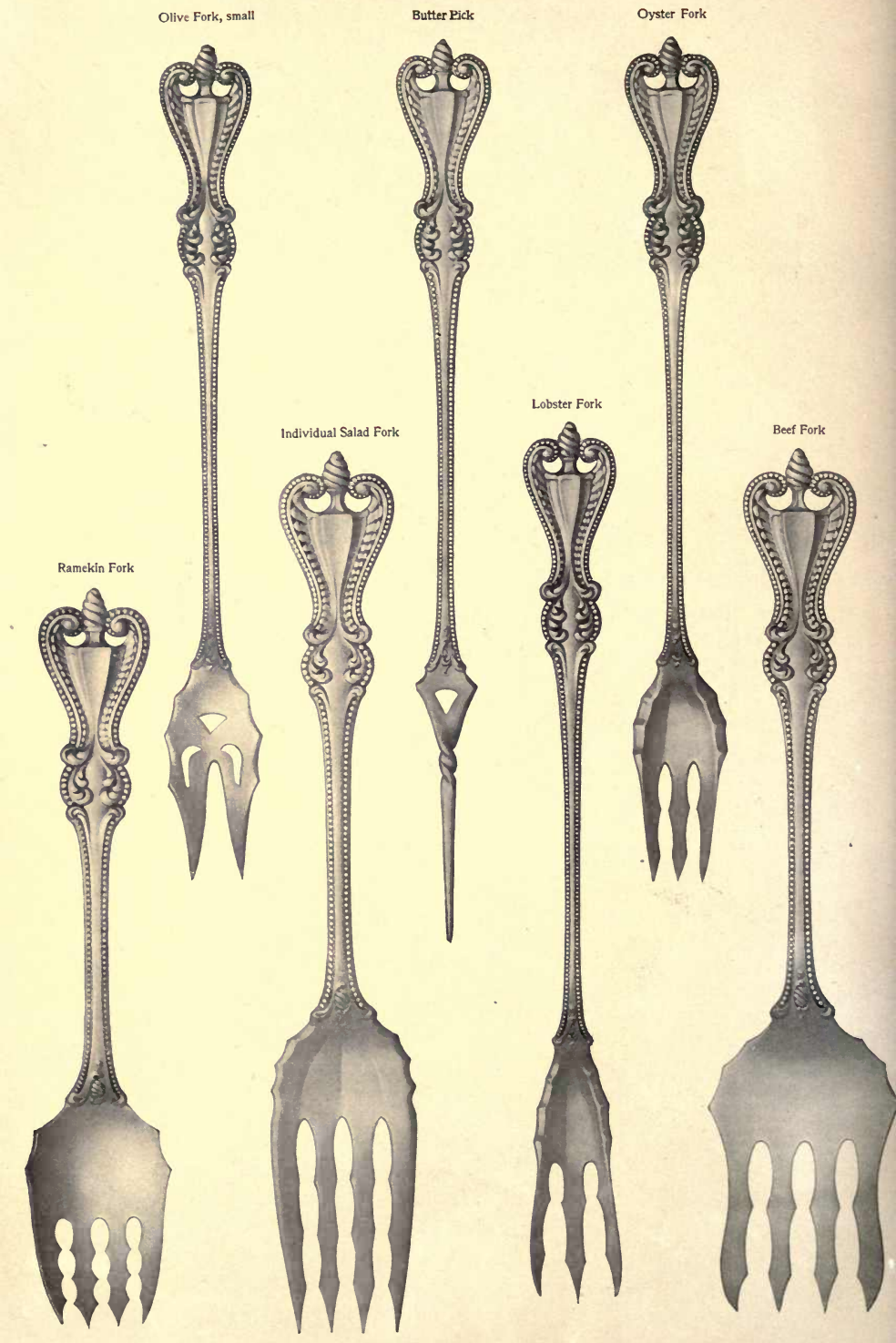


Bouillon Spoon


Orange Spoon
Berry Spoon
Sugar Spoon
Pudding Spoon




Bouillon Ladle
Punch Ladle
Mustard Spoon
Oyster Ladle
Individual Salt Spoon
Gravy Ladle
Salt Spoon
ACTUAL SIZE
TRADE MARK
STERLING SILVER
925/1000 FINE


Olive Fork, small
Butter Pick
Oyster Fork
Individual Salad Fork
Lobster Fork
Beef Fork
Ramekin Fork

Ice Cream Fork

Egg Spoon

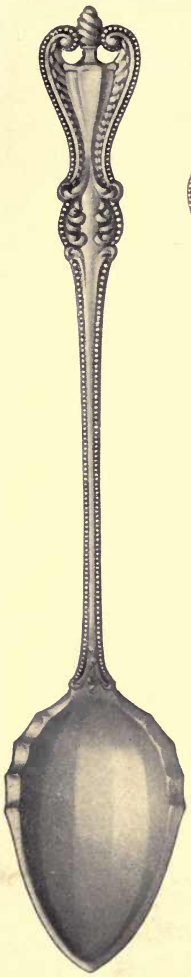
Cold Meat Fork, large

Cold Meat Fork

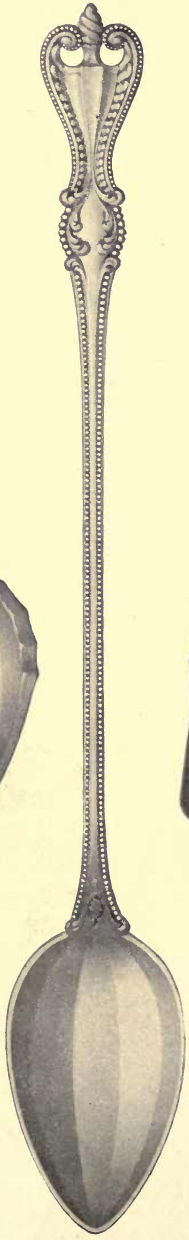
Individual Fish Fork



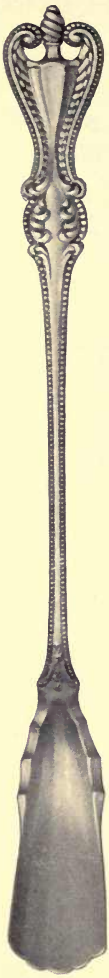
Chow Chow Spoon



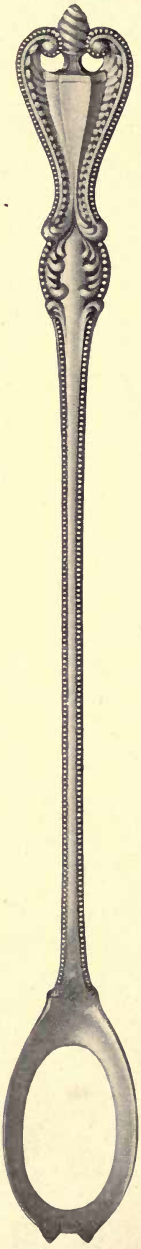
Iced Tea Spoon



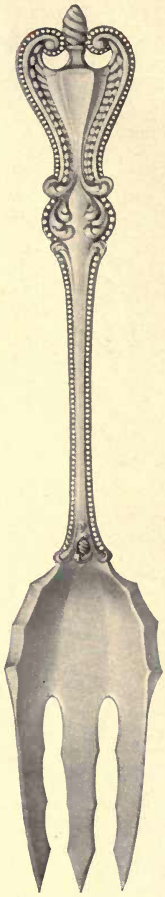
Horse Radish Spoon



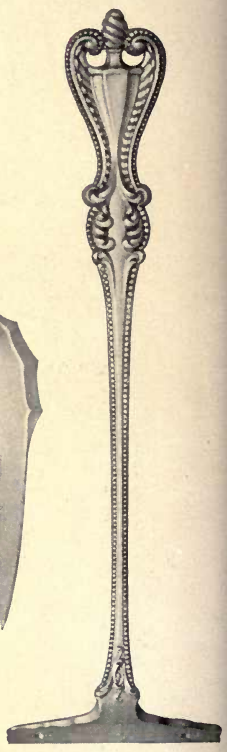
Ideal Olive Spoon



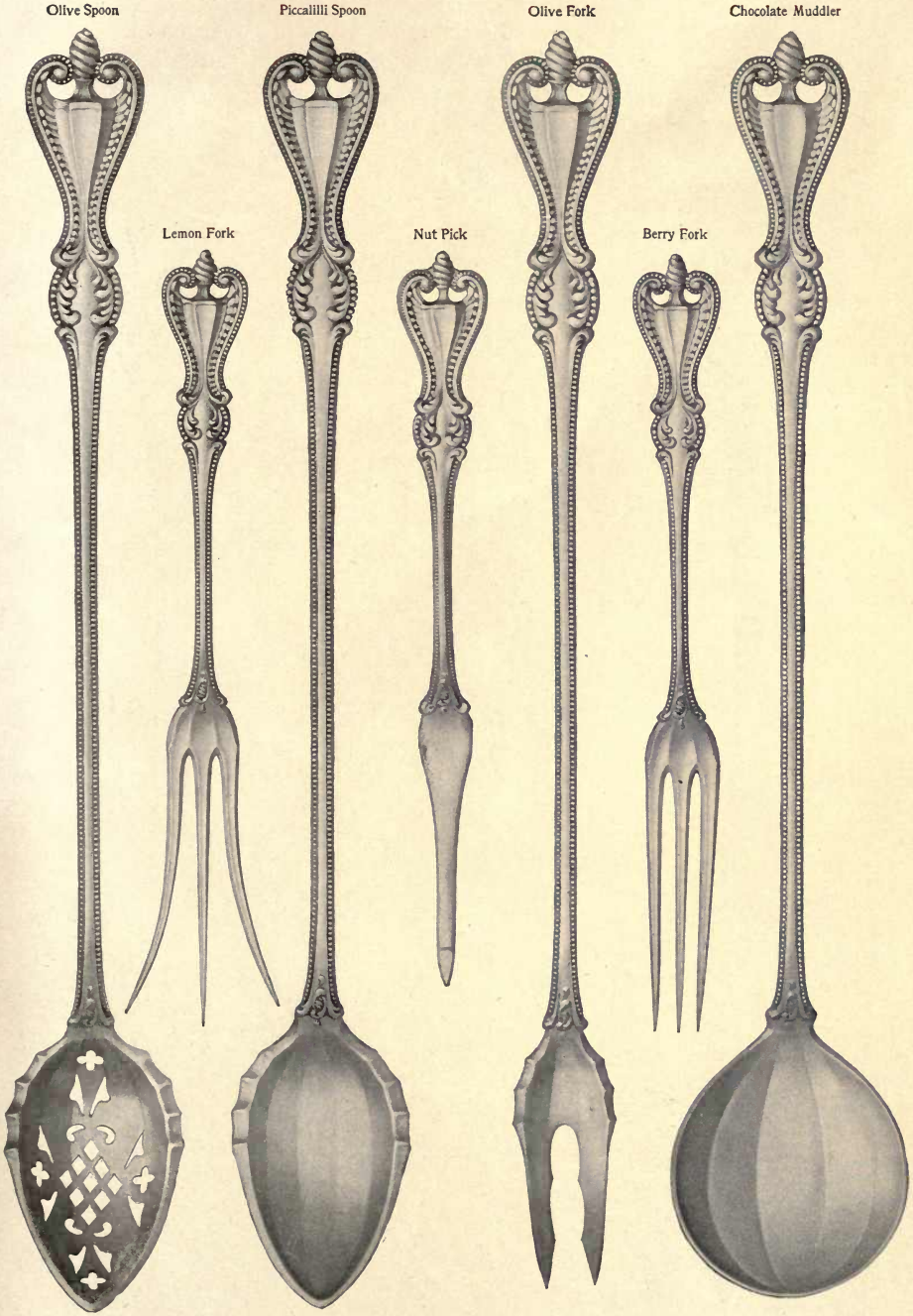
Pickle Fork



Food Pusher



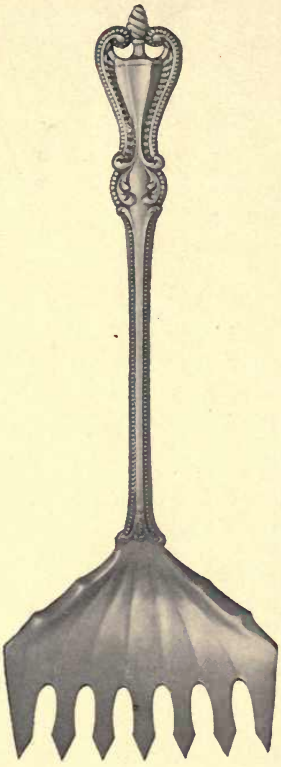



Olive Spoon
Piccalilli Spoon
Olive Fork
Chocolate Muddler
Lemon Fork
Nut Pick
Berry Fork

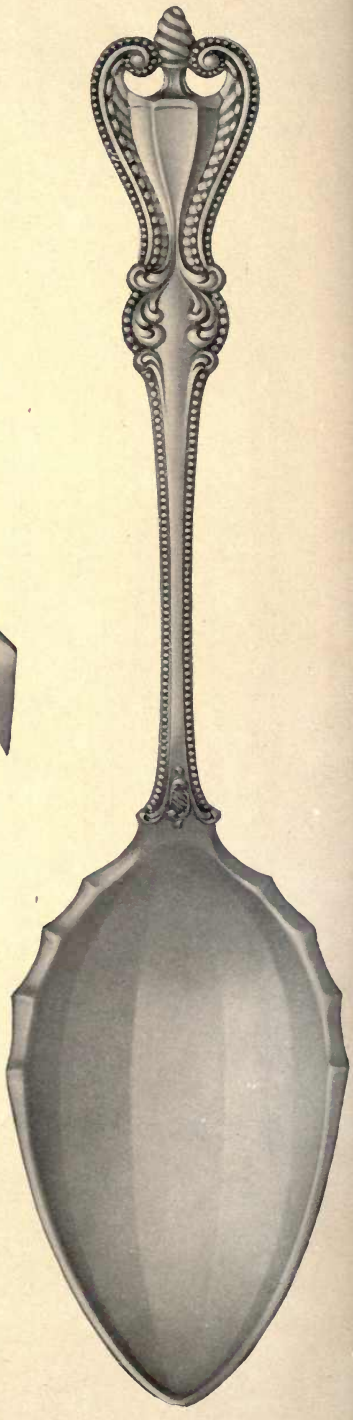
Salad Fork



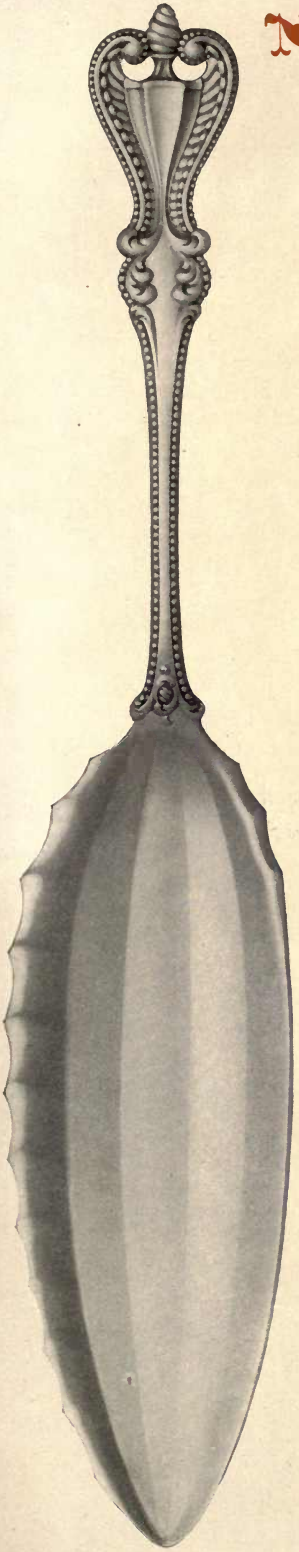
Sardine Fork



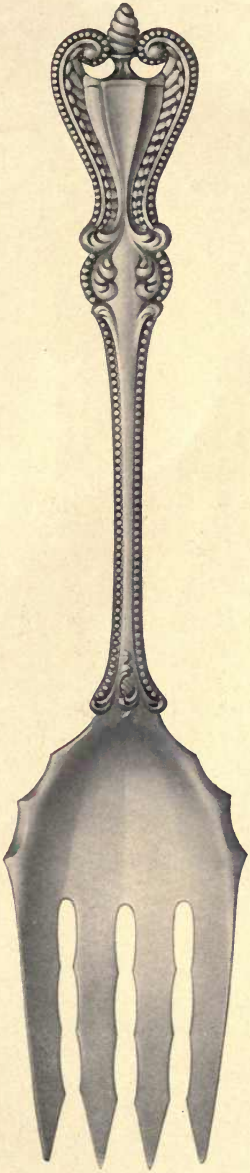
Salad Spoon



Trout Knife



Trout Fork



Jelly Knife






Child's Fork
Child's Knife
Child's Spoon
ACTUAL SIZE
TRADE MARK
STERLING SILVER
925/1000 FINE
Poached Egg Server
Bread Fork

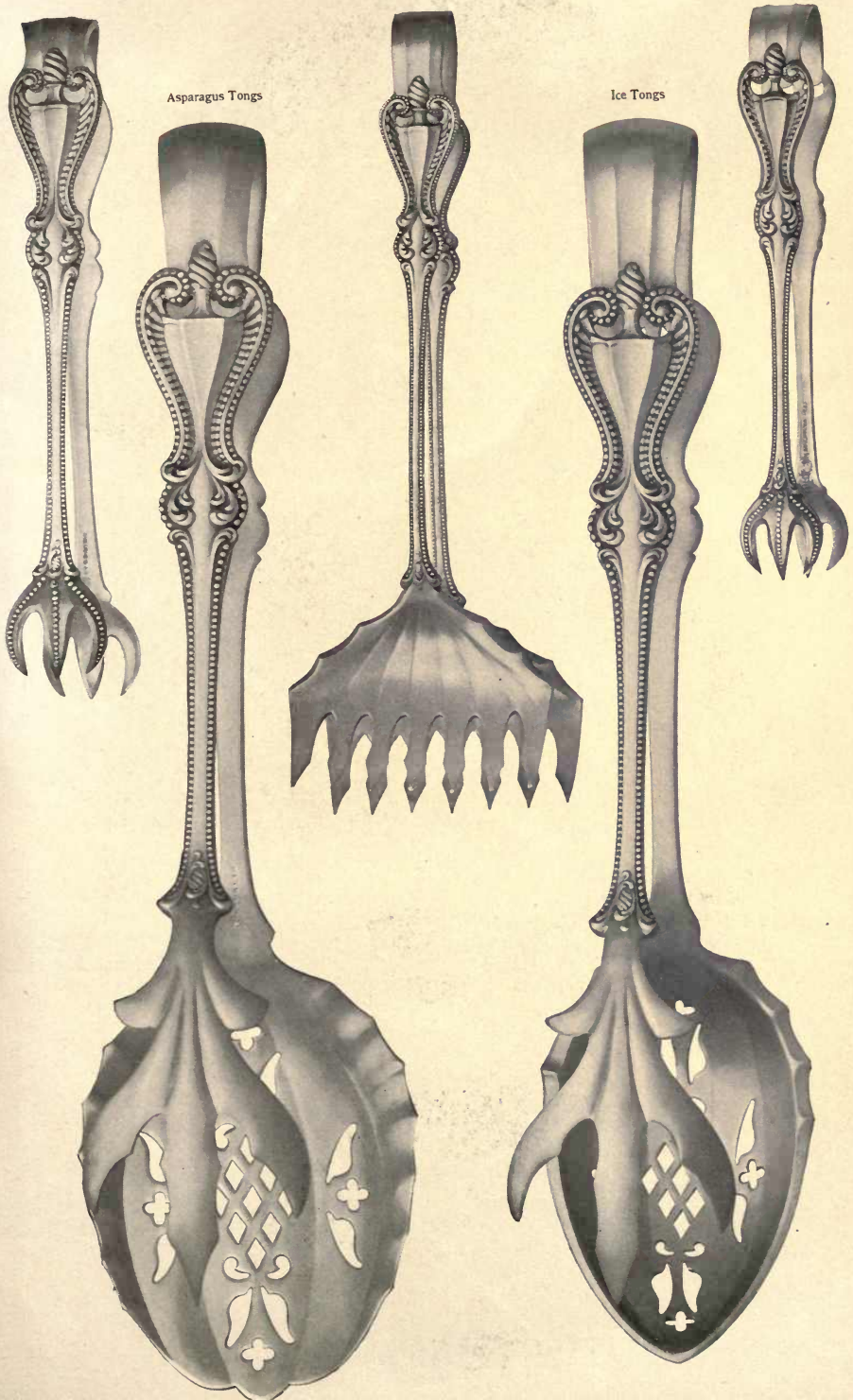
Sugar Tongs

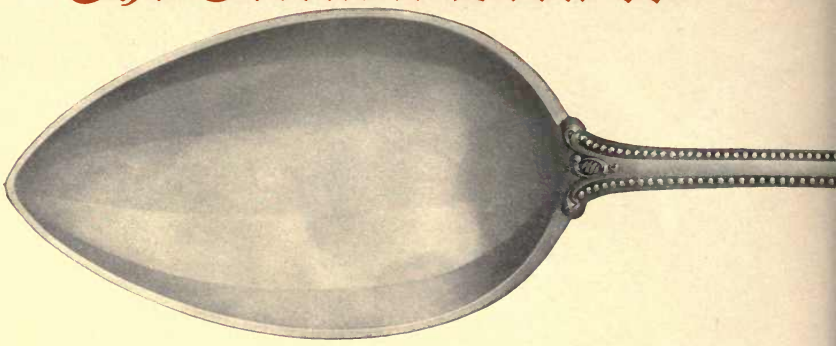
Asparagus Tongs

Sardine Tongs

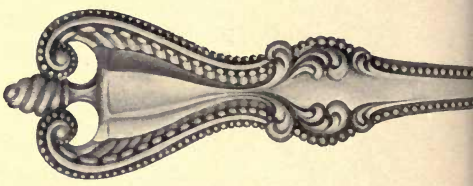
Ice Tongs

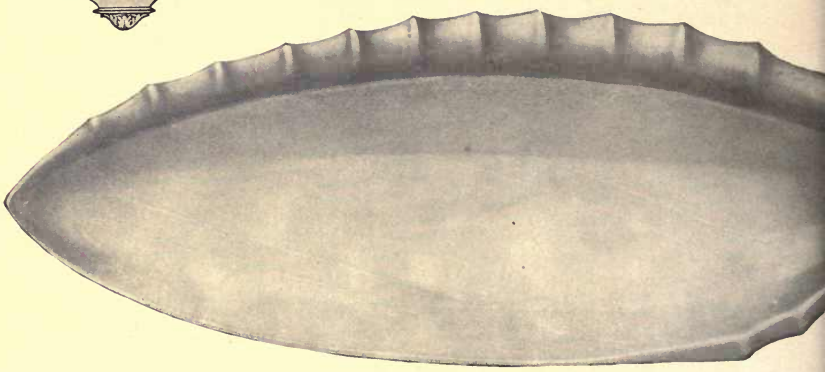
Tête-à-Tête Tongs

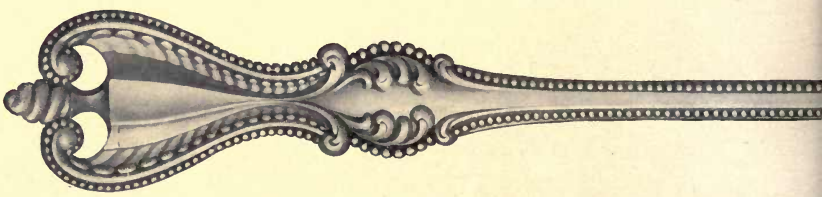


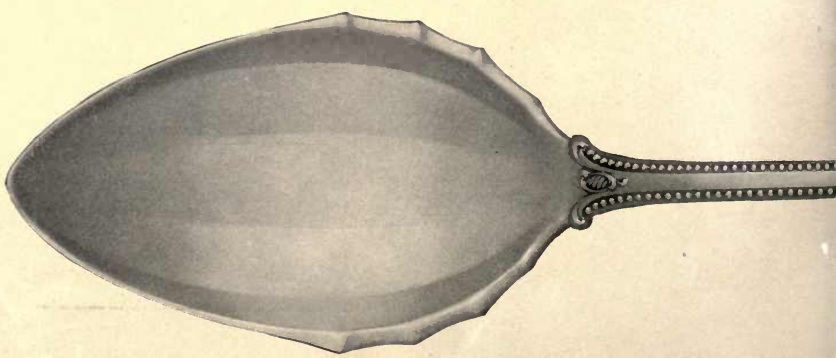


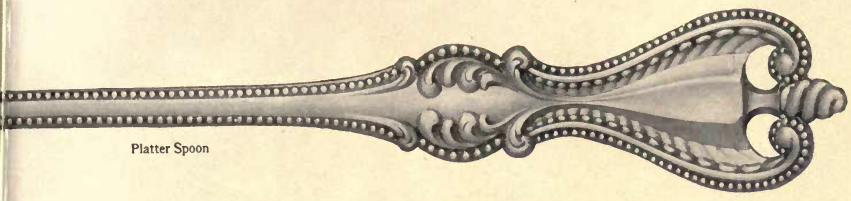

ACTUAL SIZE
TRADE MARK
STERLING SILVER
925/1000 FINE



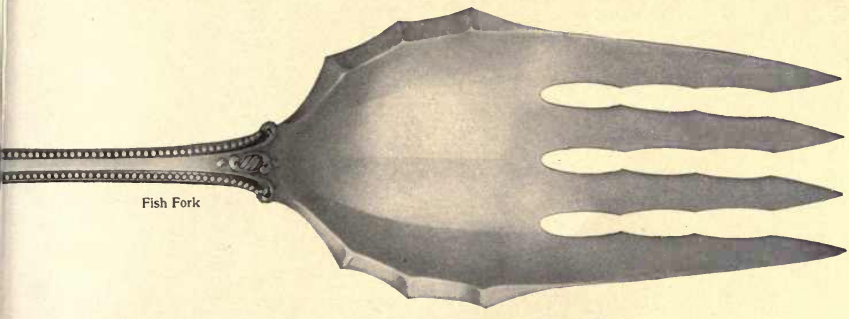




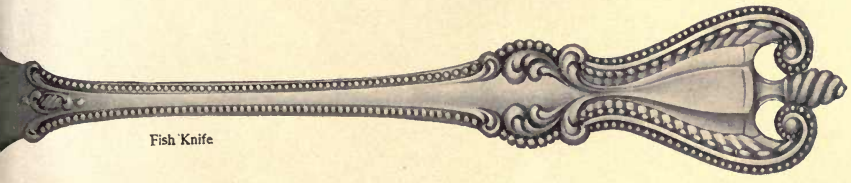




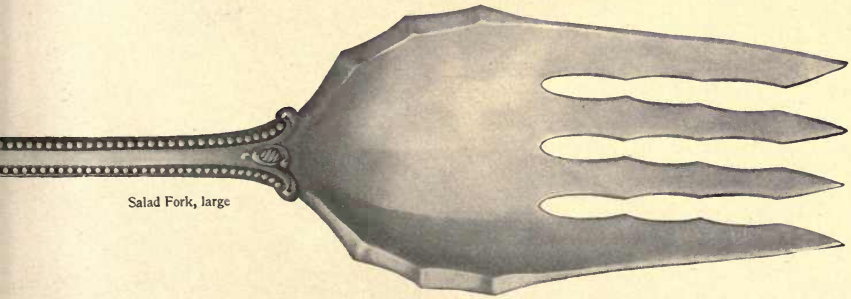
Platter Spoon



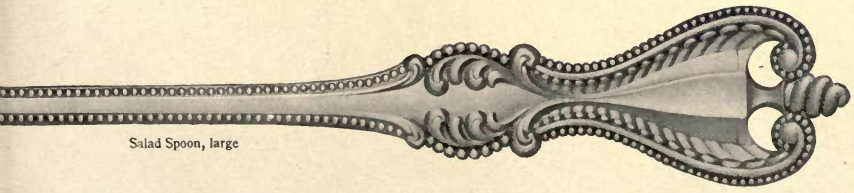
Fish Fork



Fish Knife



Salad Fork, large



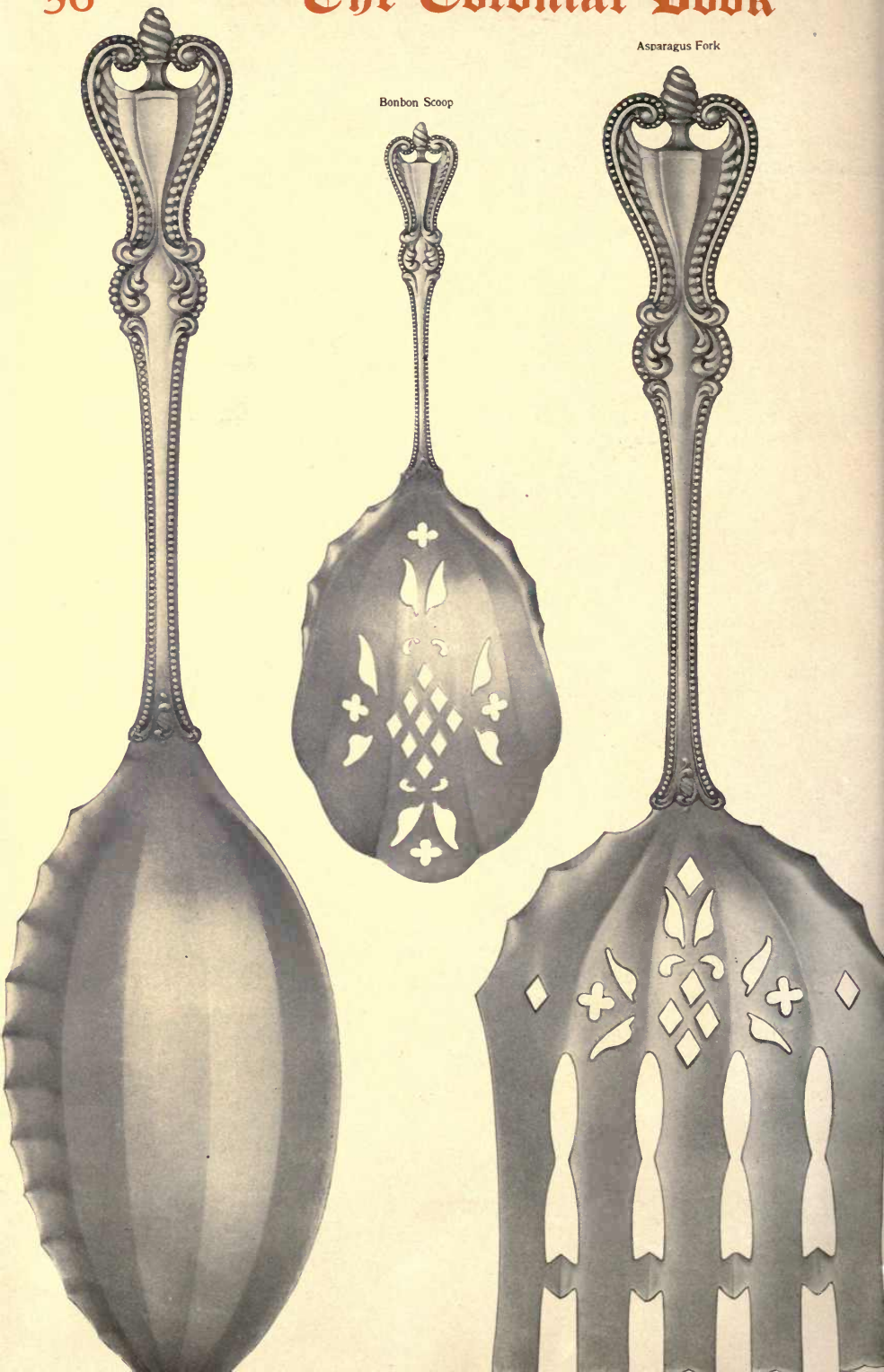
Salad Spoon, large

Vegetable Spoon

The Colonial Book

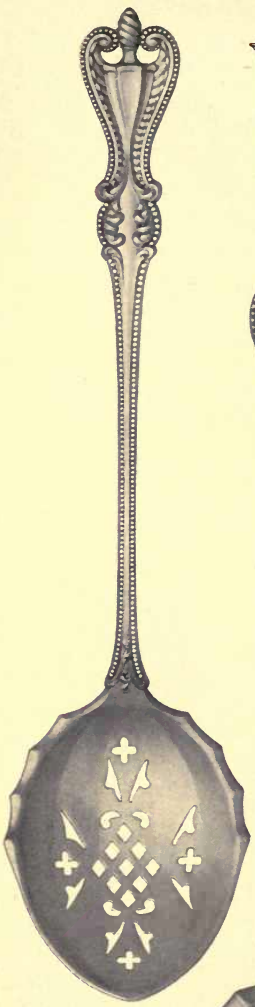
Asparagus Fork

Bonbon Scoop



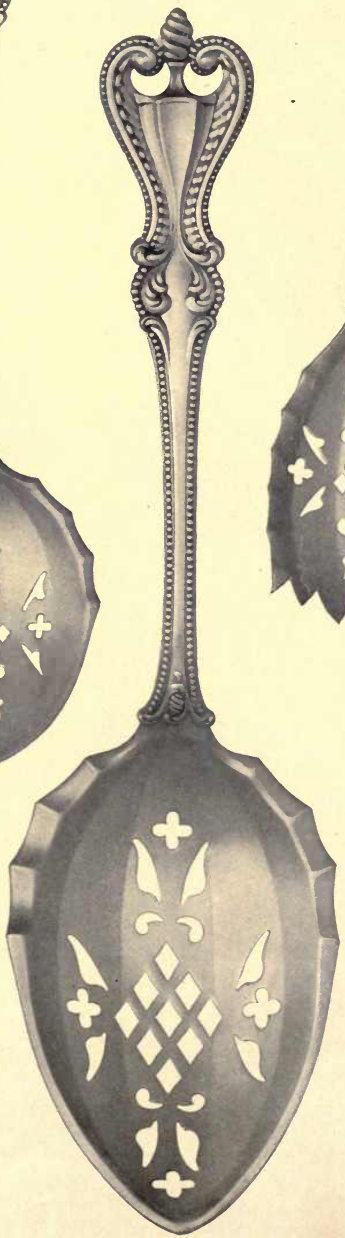

Ice Cream Server
Ice Spoon
Confection Spoon
ACTUAL SIZE
TRADE MARK
STERLING SILVER
925/1000 FINE

Sugar Sifter

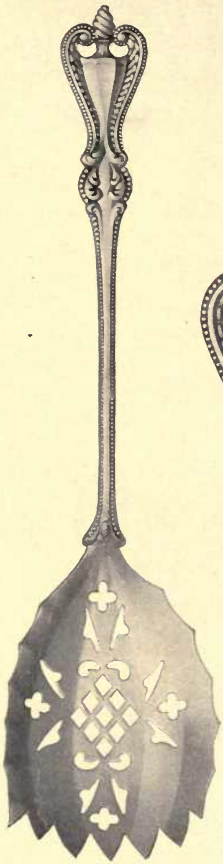




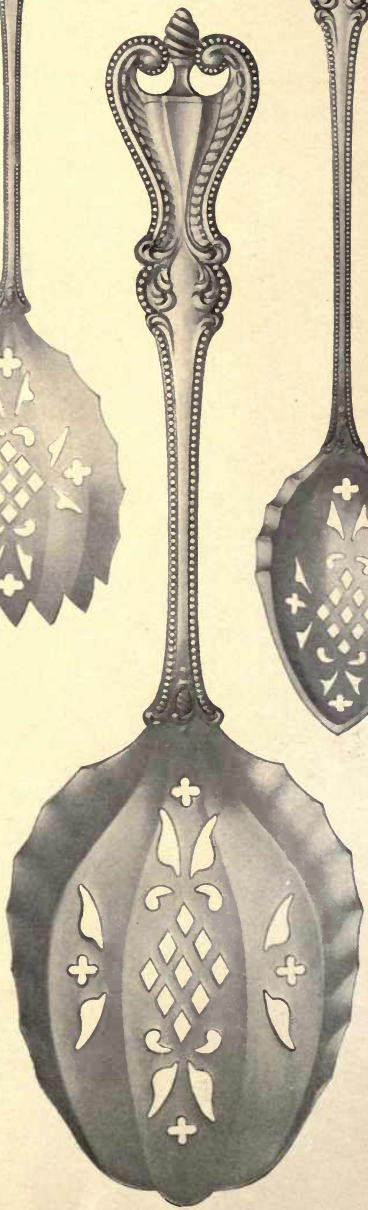
Nut Spoon



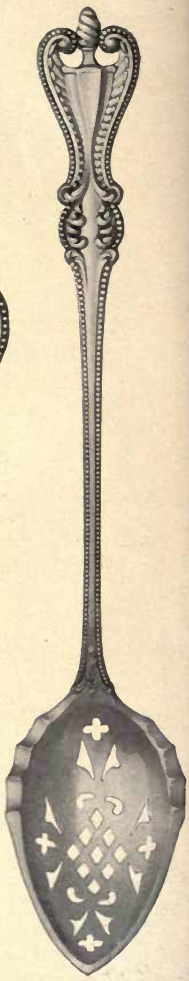
Lemon Server



Tomato Server



Olive Spoon, small

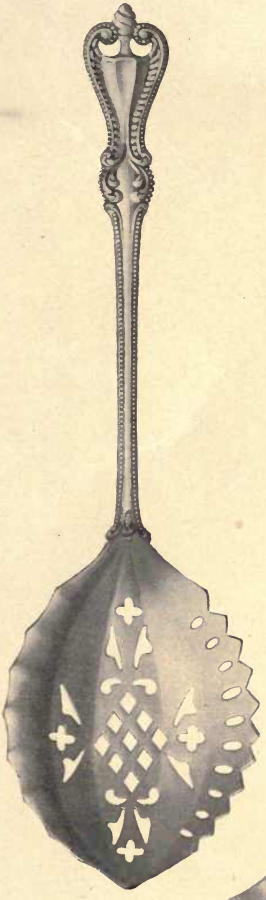


Marrow Scoop

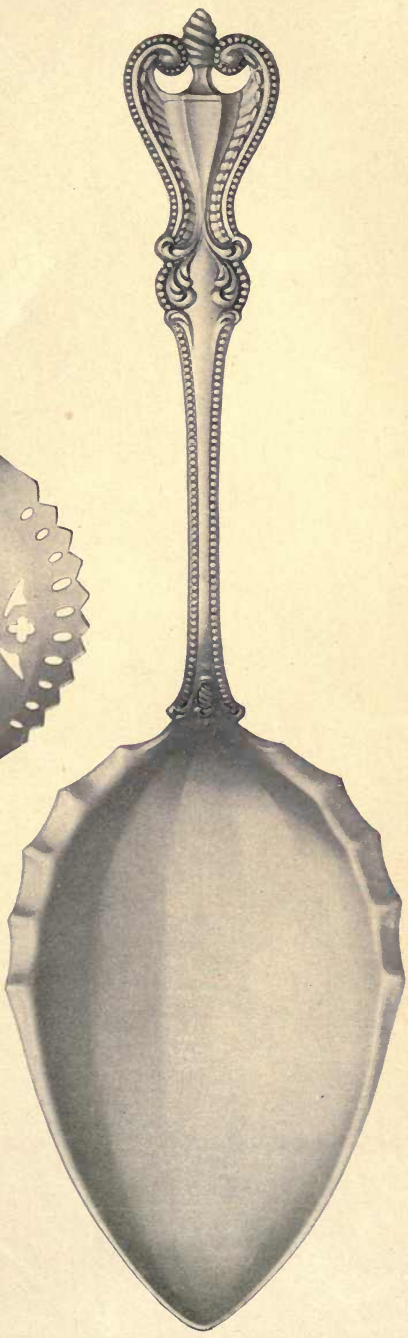


Serving Spoon

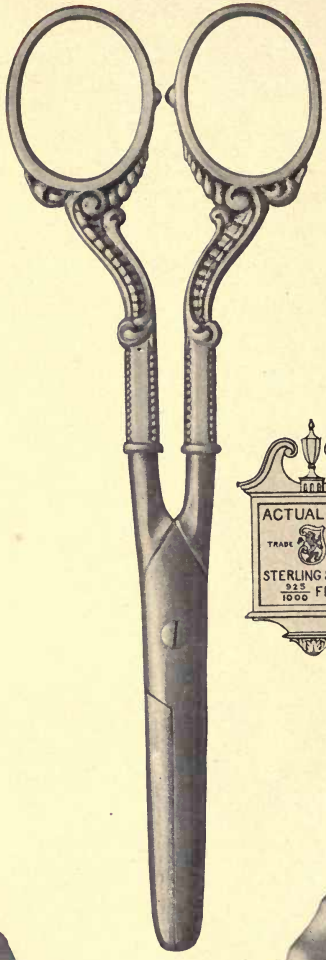
Cheese Server



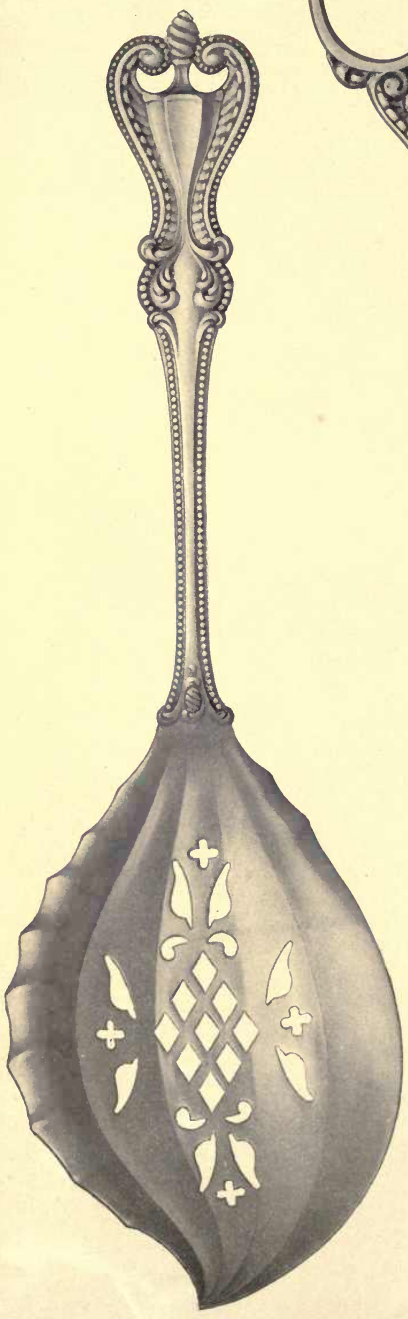
Pie Knife



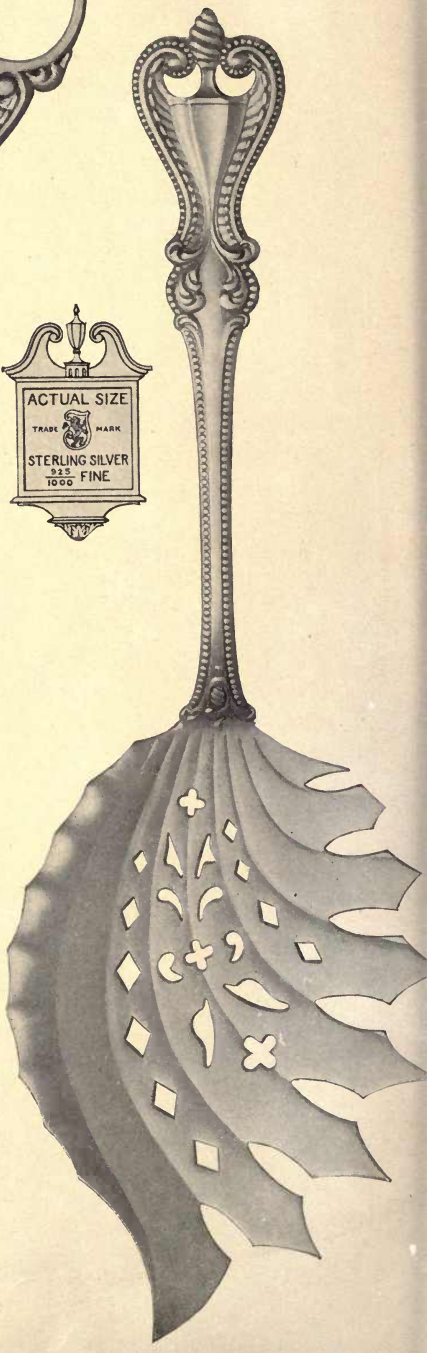
Grape Shears



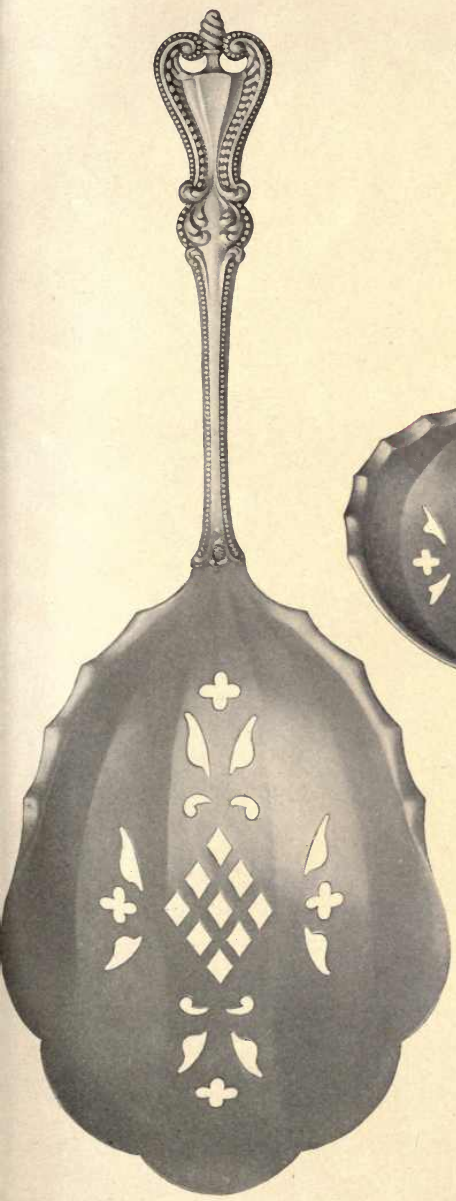
Oyster Server



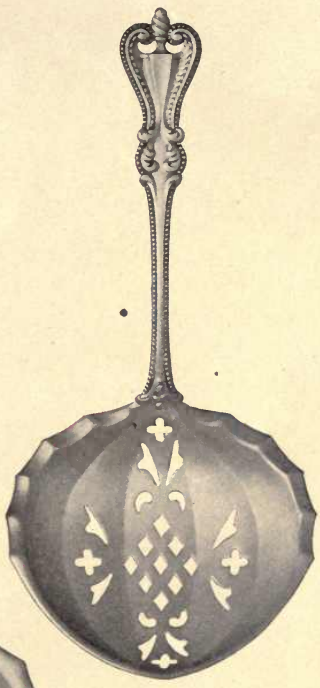
Macaroni Server



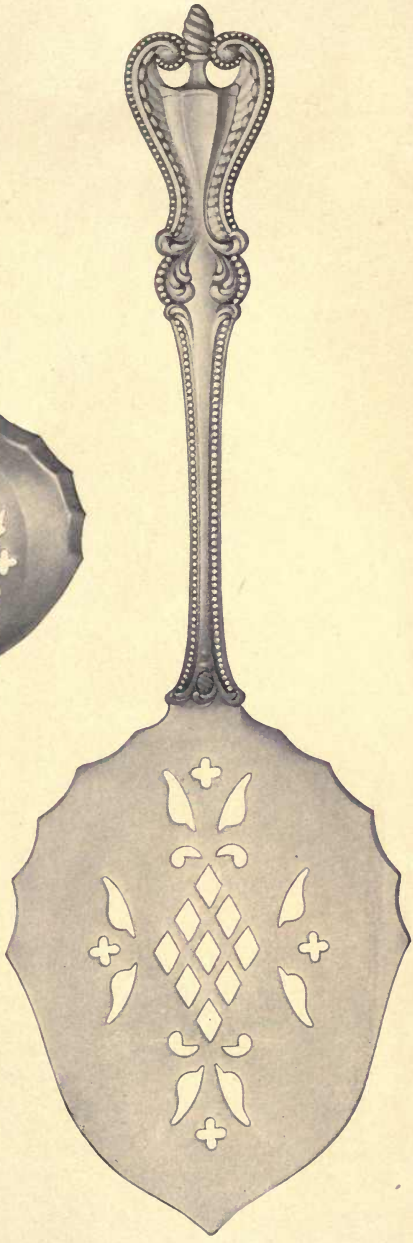
Cracker Scoop

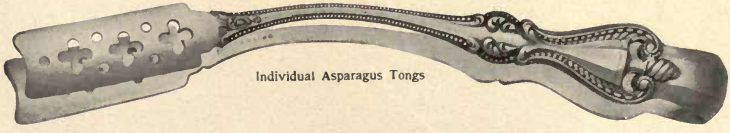


Almond Scoop

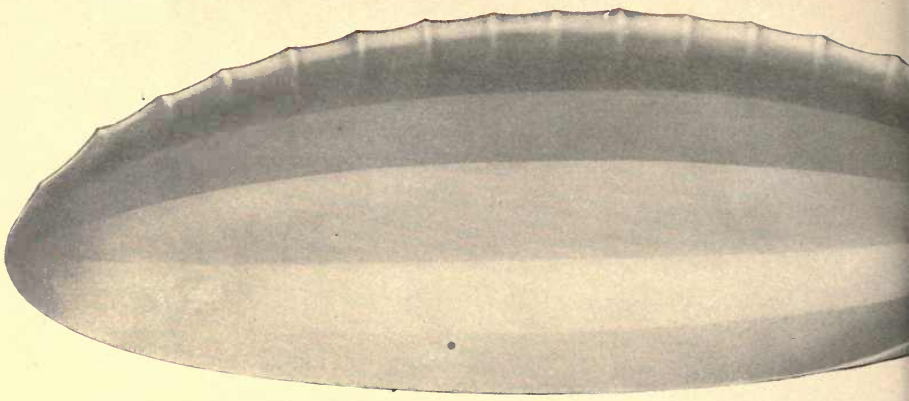


Waffle Server

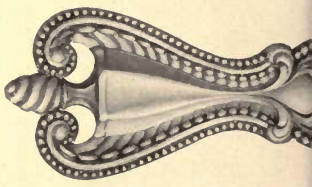


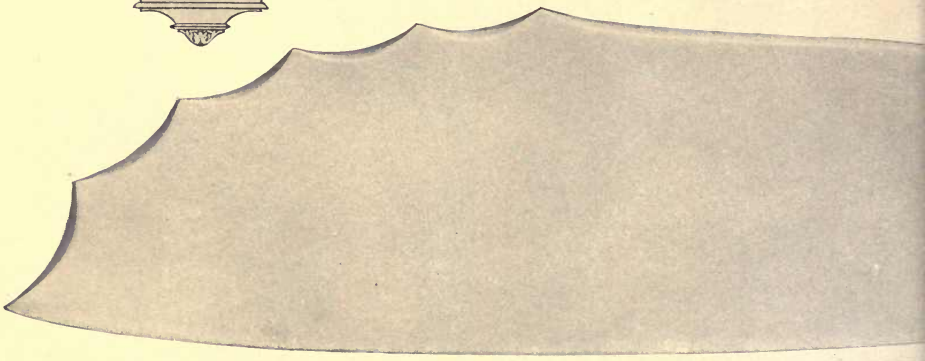


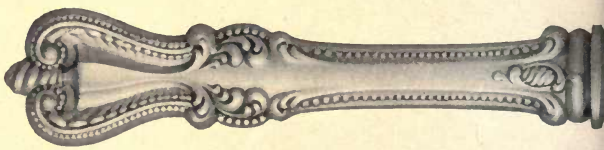
Individual Asparagus Tongs

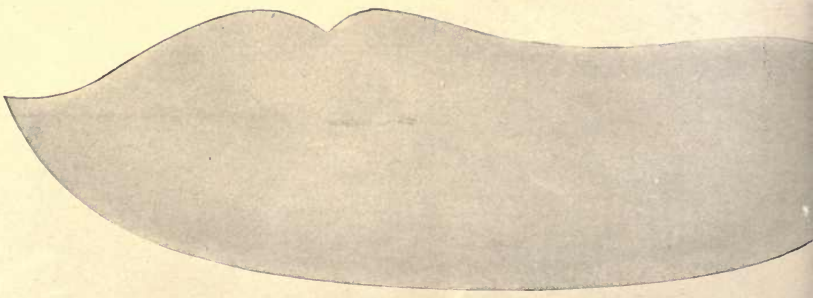


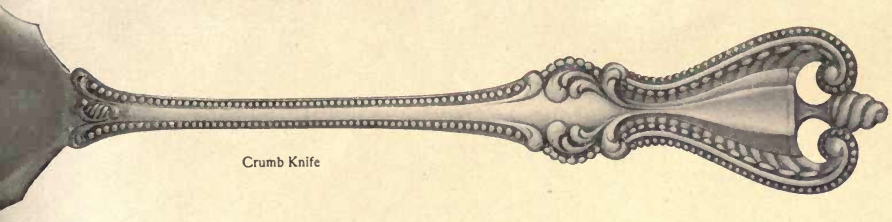

ACTUAL SIZE
TRADE MARK
STERLING SILVER
925/1000 FINE



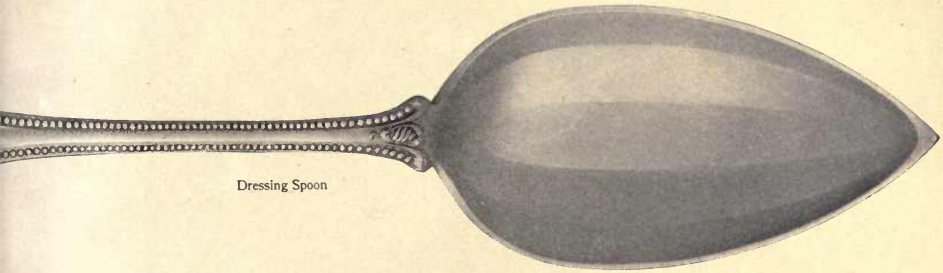




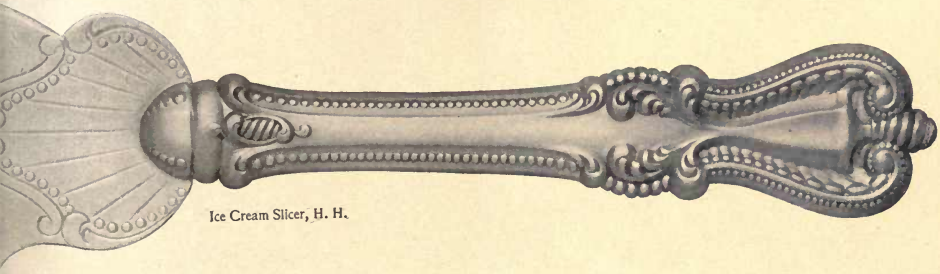




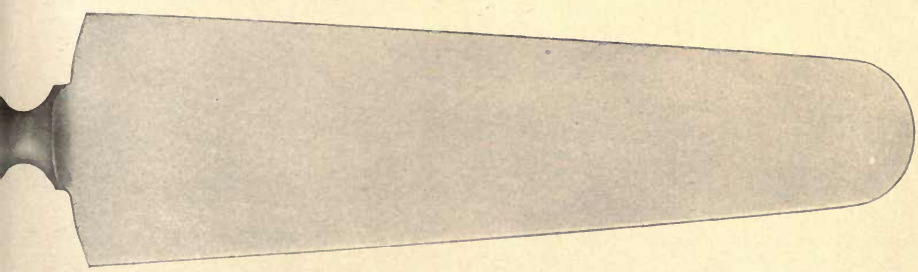
Crumb Knife



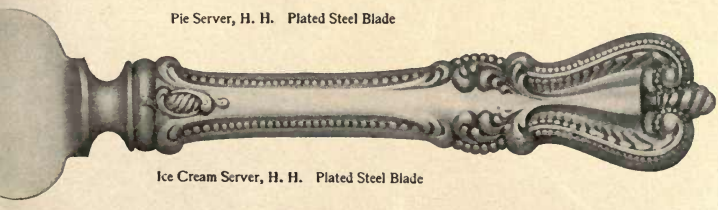
Dressing Spoon



Ice Cream Slicer, H. H.

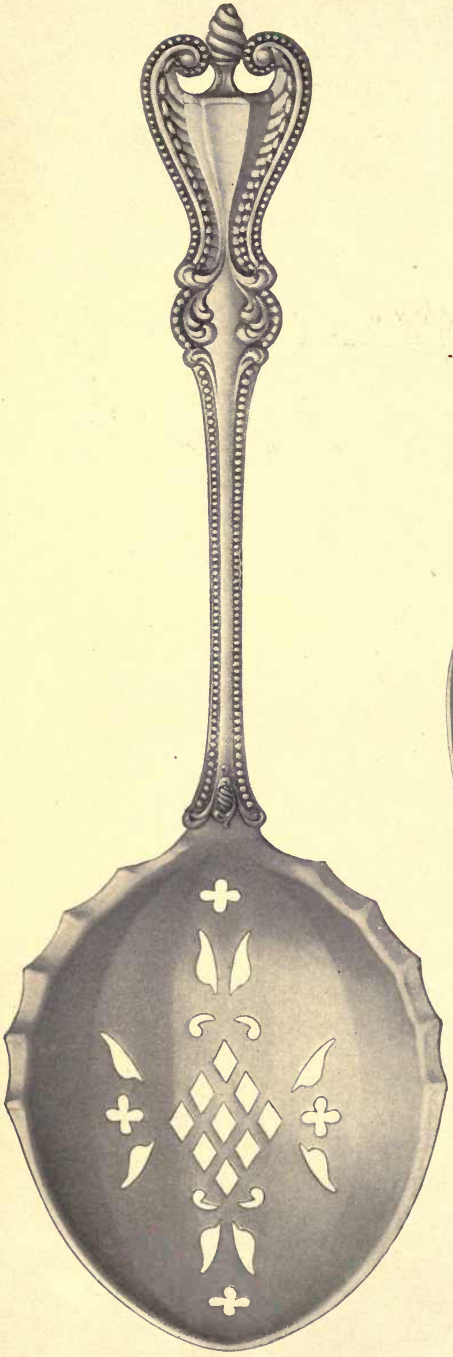


Pie Server, H. H. Plated Steel Blade

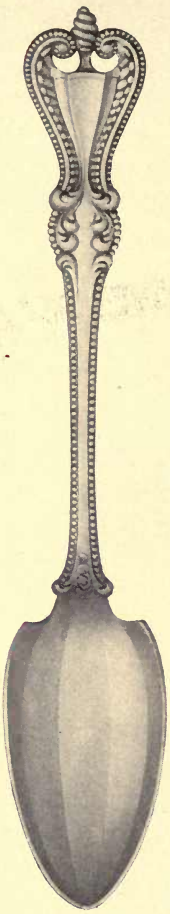


Ice Cream Server, H. H. Plated Steel Blade

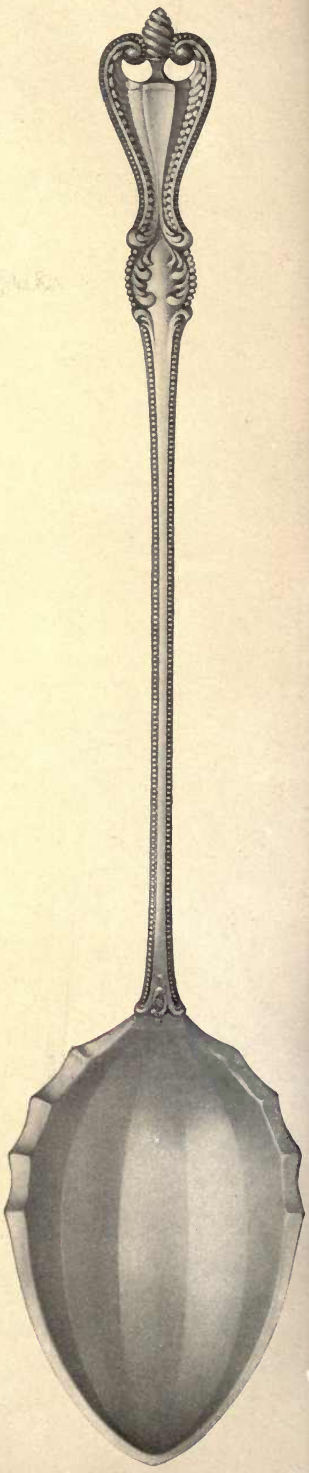
Pea Server



Cheese Scoop, small



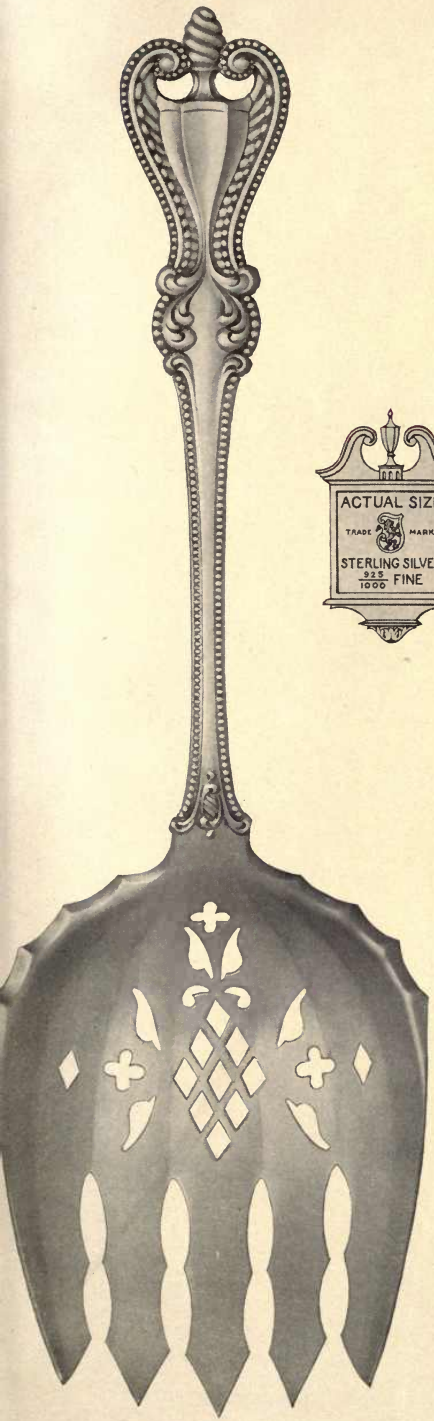
Lettuce Spoon

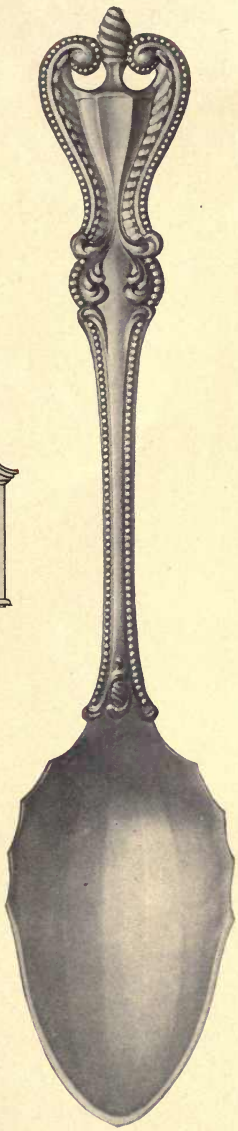


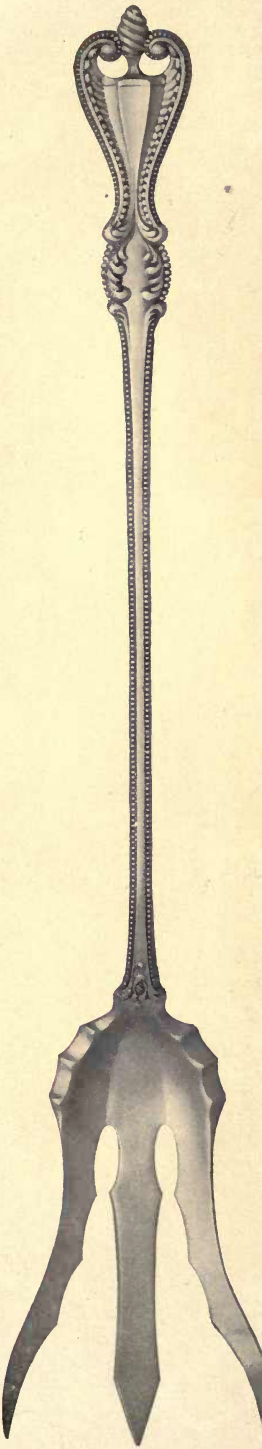
Vegetable Fork

Cheese Scoop

Lettuce Fork







Individual Fish Knife

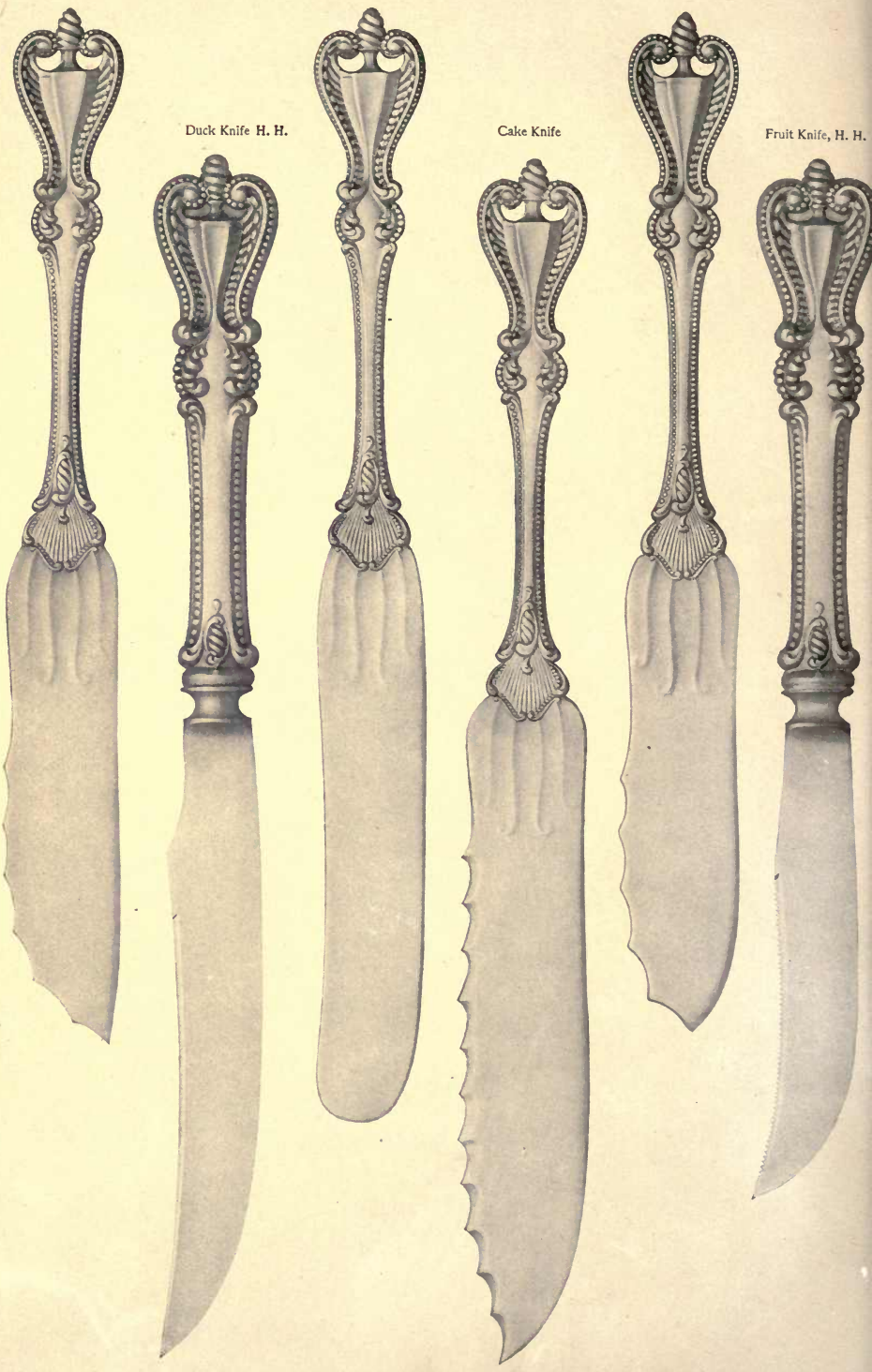
Duck Knife H. H.

Tea Knife, flat

Cake Knife

Butter Knife, flat

Fruit Knife, H. H.



Cheese Knife

Butter Knife

Butter Knife Pick

Orange Knife



Butter Spreader, large

Butter Spreader



Butter Spreader, H. H.



Dessert Knife



Medium Knife



Table Knife



Tea Knife, H. H



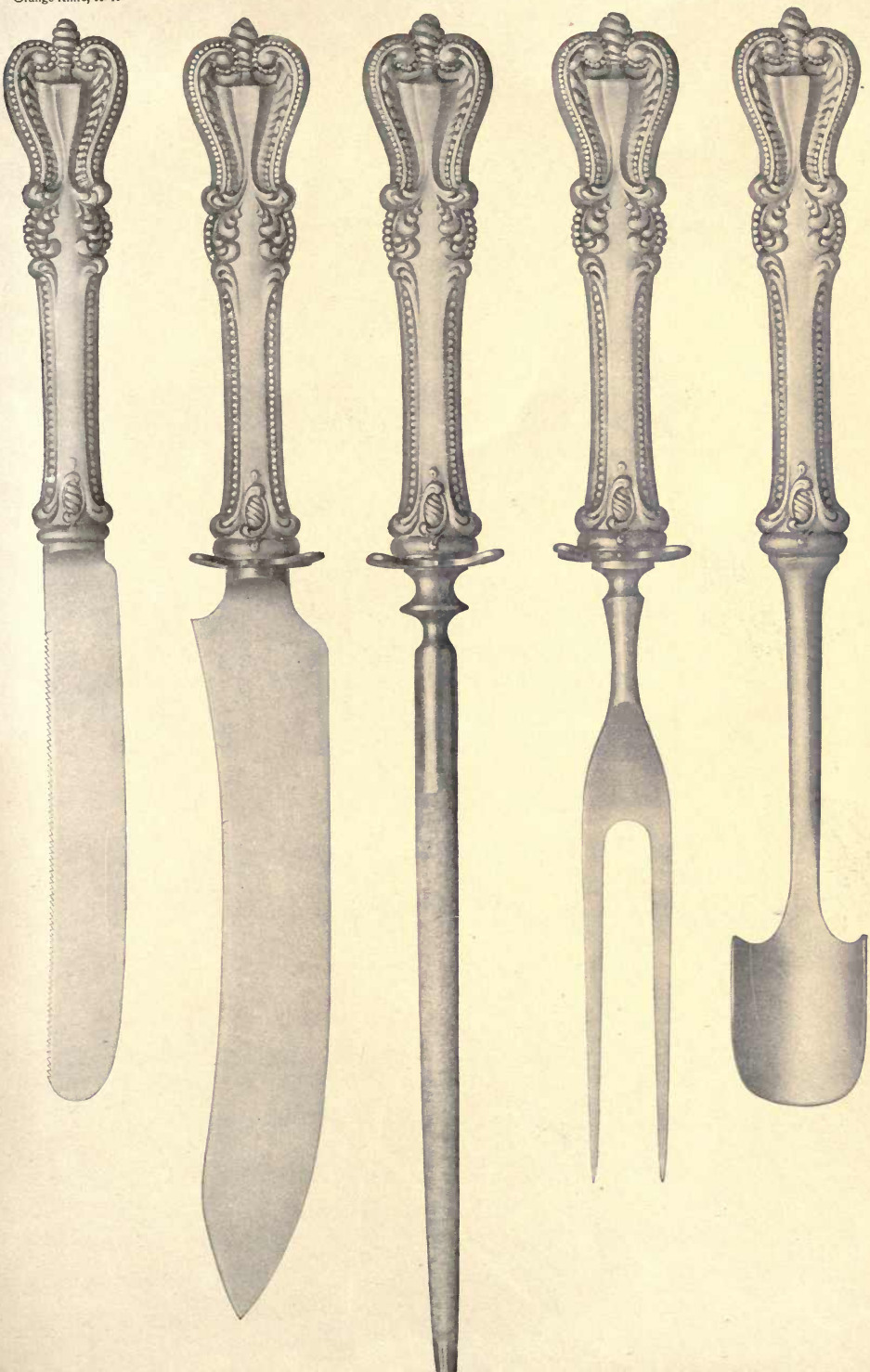
Orange Knife, H. H

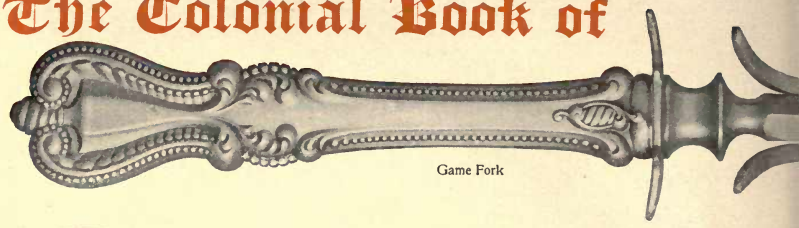
Steak Knife

Steak Steel

Steak Fork

Cheese Scoop, H. H.



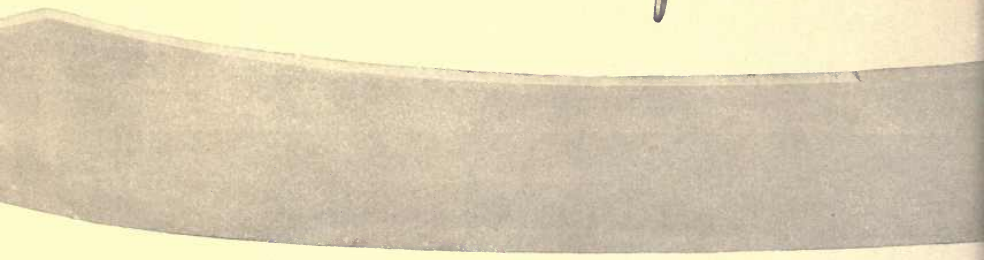


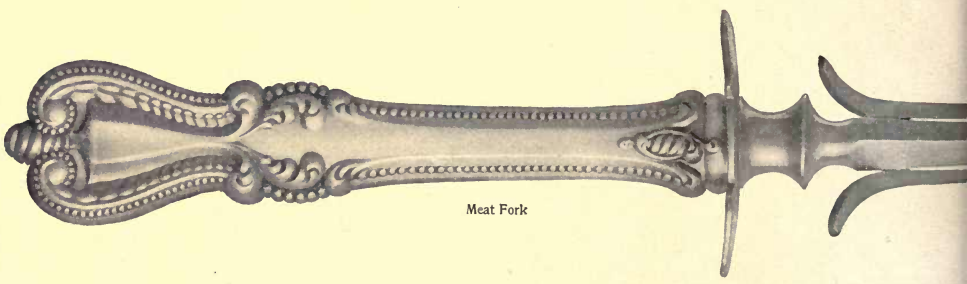
Game Fork





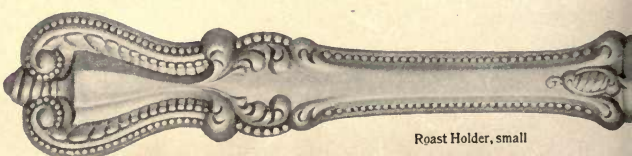
Carving Steel





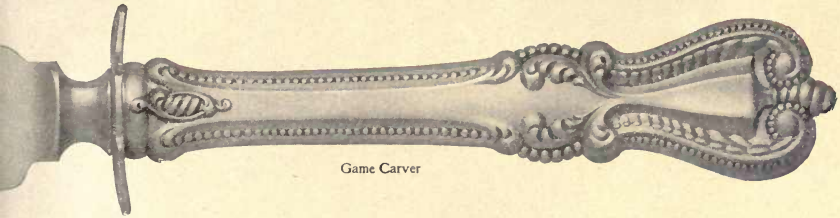
Meat Fork





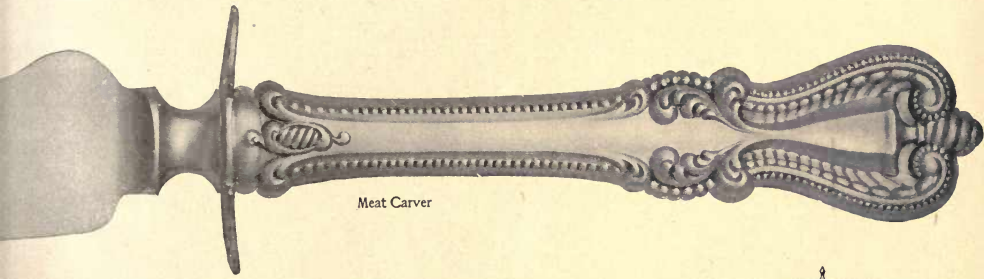
Roast Holder, small



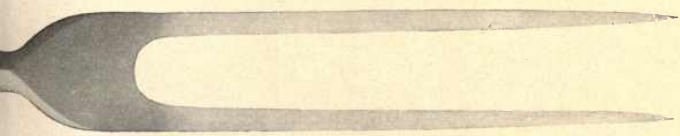


Game Carver

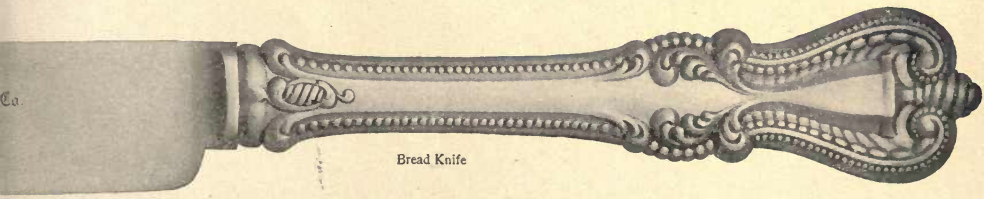




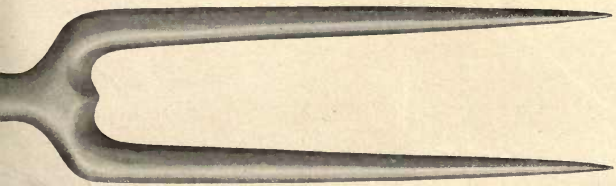
Meat Carver

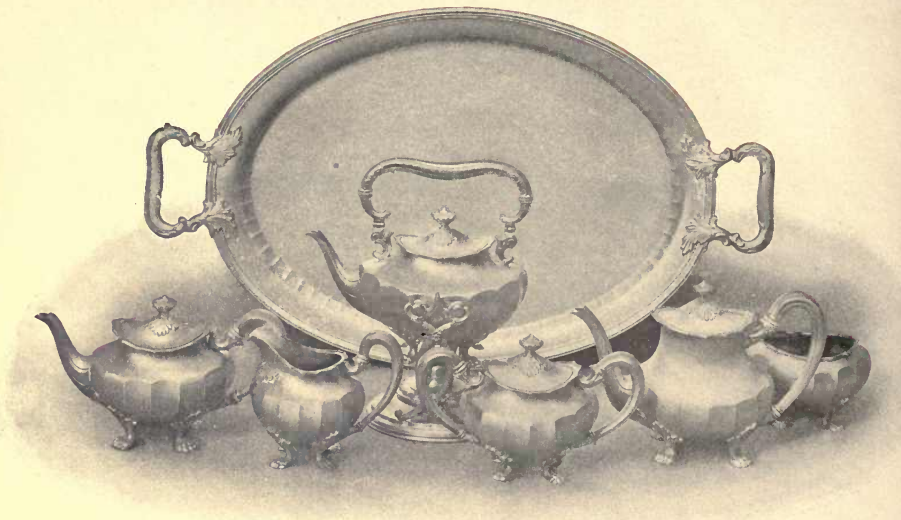






Bread Knife





Tea Set 7650 Waiter 6236

COLONIAL HOLLOW WARE

The articles shown on this and the following page exhibit the characteristic Colonial elements embodied in the preceding flat ware, and make possible complete and harmonious table furnishing in this style.

Fish Dish 4005 Water Pitcher 6755 Covered Butter Dish 4129 Bread and Butter Plate 5412



Soup Tureen 7380 Tureen Tray 7380 Dinner Plate 3920 Covered Vegetable Dish 4646



Coffee Pot 5531 Urn 7795 Coffee Pot 5530
Cream Pitcher 5530 Waste 5530 Sugar Bowl 5530



After-Dinner Coffee Set and Waiter 5515

Sterling Silver 925/1000 Fine



COLONIAL CHEST, No. 356, WITH TABLE

Made in Oak or Mahogany

NEWBURY



SALESROOMS OF THE

TOWLE MANUFACTURING COMPANY

SILVERSMITHS BUILDING

17 MAIDEN LANE, NEW YORK CITY

NEWBURY

A Pattern of Flatware
made in Sterling Silver by the
Towle Mfg. Company

WITH SOME HISTORY OF

NEWBURY : MASSACHUSETTS

AND ITS PROGENITOR

NEWBURY : ENGLAND



TOWLE MFG. COMPANY

Silversmiths

NEWBURYPORT : MASSACHUSETTS

CHICAGO, ILL.
42 MADISON ST.

NEW YORK CITY
41 UNION SQUARE

THE OLD ELM OF NEWBURY.

HANNAH F. GOULD.

Did ever it come in your way to pass,
The silvery pond, with its fringe of grass,
And threading the lane hard by, to see
The veteran elm of Newbury?

You saw how its roots had grasped the ground,
As if it had felt that the earth went round,
And fastened them down with determined will
To keep it steady and hold it still.
Its aged trunk, so stately and strong,
Has braved the blasts as they've rushed along.
Its head has towered and its arms have spread,
While more than a hundred years have fled!

Well, that old elm, that is now so grand,
Was once a twig in the rustic hand
Of a youthful peasant, who went one night
To visit his love, by the tender light
Of the modest moon and her twinkling host;
While the stars that lighted his bosom most,
And gave to his lonely feet their speed,
Abode in a cottage beyond the mead.
'Twas the peaceful close of a summer's day;
Its glorious orb had passed away;
The toil of the field till morn had ceased,
For a season of rest to man and beast.
The mother had silenced her humming wheel.
The father returned for the evening meal
The thanks of one who had chosen the part
Of the poor in spirit, the rich in heart,
Who, having the soul's grand panacea,
Feel all is added that's needful here,
And know this truth of the human breast,
That *wanting little is being blest.*
The good old man in his chair reclined,
At a humble door, with a peaceful mind;
While the drops from his sun-burnt brow were
[dried]
By the cool, sweet air of the eventide.

The son from the yoke had unlocked the bow,
Dismissing the faithful ox to go
And graze in the close. He had called the kine
For their oblation at day's decline.
He'd gathered and numbered the lambs and
[sheep,]
And fastened them up in their nightly keep.
He'd stood by the coop till the hen could bring
Her huddling brood safe under her wing,
And made them secure from the hooting owl,
Whose midnight prey was the shrieking fowl,
When all was finished, he sped to the well,
Where the old gray bucket hastily fell;
And the clear cold water came up to chase
The dust of the field from his neck and face,
And hands and feet, till the youth began
To look renewed in the outer man.
And soon arrayed in his Sunday's best,
The stiff new suit had done the rest.
And the hale young lover was on his way,
Where through the fen and the field, it lay;
And over the bramble, the brake, and the grass
As the shortest cut to the house of his lass.

It is not recorded how long he stayed
In the cheerful home of the smiling maid;
But, when he came out, it was late and dark
And silent,—not even a dog would bark
To take from his feeling of loneliness,
And make the length of his way seem less.
He thought it was strange that the treacherous
[moon]
Should have given the world the slip so soon;
And, whether the eyes of the girl had made
The stars of the sky in his own to fade
Or not, it certainly seemed to him
That each grew distant and small and dim.
And he shuddered to think he was now about
To take a long and lonely route;
For he did not know what fearful sight
Might come on him through the shadows of
[night!]

An elm grew close by the cottage's eaves.
So he plucked him a twig well clothed with
[leaves;]
And sallying forth with the supple arm,
To serve as a talisman parrying harm,
He felt that, though his heart was so big,
'Twas even the stouter for having the twig.
For this, he thought, would answer to switch
The horrors away, as he crossed the ditch,
The meadow and copse, wherin, perchance,
Will-o'-the-wisp might wickedly dance,
And, wielding it, keep him from having a chill
At the menacing sound of the "Whip-poor-will!"
And his flesh from creeping, beside the bog,
At the harsh, bass voice of the viewless frog.
In short, he felt that the switch would be
Guard, plaything, business, and company.

When he got safe home, and joyfully found
He still was himself! and living! and sound!
He planted the twig by his family cot,
To stand as a monument, marking the spot
It helped him to reach, and what was still more
Because it had grown by his fair one's door.

The twig took root, and, as time flew by,
Its boughs spread wide and its head grew high;
While the priest's good service had long been
[done,]
Which made the youth and the maiden one,
And their young scions arose and played
Around the tree, in its leafy shade.

But many and many a year has fled
Since they were gathered among the dead;
And now their names, with the moss o'ergrown
Are veiled from sight on the churchyard stone
That leans away, in a lingering fall,
And owns the power that shall level all
The works that the hand of man hath wrought,
Bring him to dust, and his name to nought;
While, near in view, and just beyond
The grassy skirts of the silver pond,
In its "green old age," stands the noble tree
The veteran elm of Newbury.

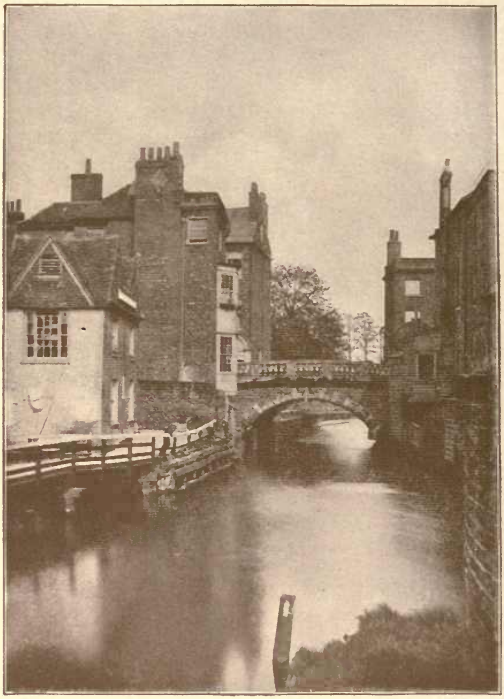


THE ship "Mary and John," sailing from the Thames nearly three centuries ago, severed the natal ties of an adventurous company of pioneers, who looked hopefully to the new world for the enlargment of their liberties and their fortunes. The sadness of parting, the perils and discomforts of the long vogage, in time passed, and early in the winter of sixteen hundred thirty-four the ship came to anchor in the harbor of Boston, from whence, with the advent of a favorable season, many were to make their way into the surrounding country. Of this number were the first settlers of Newbury, Massachusetts, and to their grants on the banks of the Quascacunquen (now Parker) river they made their way the following spring. The Reverend Thomas Parker, the spiritual leader of the party, had come from Newbury, England, and in his honor the new settlement was given the name of this medieval town of the mother country. The plantation, as it was then termed, contained men of learning, of ability, and of means, and important enterprises were at once begun which laid the foundation for the town, and its offspring the city of Newburyport, both of which have borne an important part in the history of our country.

Our imagination hardly serves to realize the remoteness of this period, but if, through our interest in the parent town, we follow the years backward to the eleventh century, when it first appeared in history under this name, we must utterly fail to comprehend the real significance of the interval.

The beginnings of this old world town are lost in a vague antiquity that hints of the early Celts, who occupied the country before the coming of the Romans in the second century. Relics of the latter are numerous; their roads may yet be seen; and they left the name "Spinae," variously rendered "Spinus," "Spone," and "Speen," to designate their station on the route traveled by Antoninus Pius. This, later called Speenhamland, was the nucleus from which may be said to have grown, by the coming of the Saxon, the settlement, precarious and nameless for centuries, finally to be known as "New Bourg" and Newbury.

The south bank of the river Kennet, soon to merge its waters with the Thames, favored the peaceful life of the new invaders more than did the former Roman military camp a mile to the northward; and the fruitful valley sustained them after the manner of those dark ages,—recordless but for relics turned up by the plow,—until the dawning light of the eleventh century reveals an ecclesiastical settlement firmly established under the Norman succession, from which all real history dates.

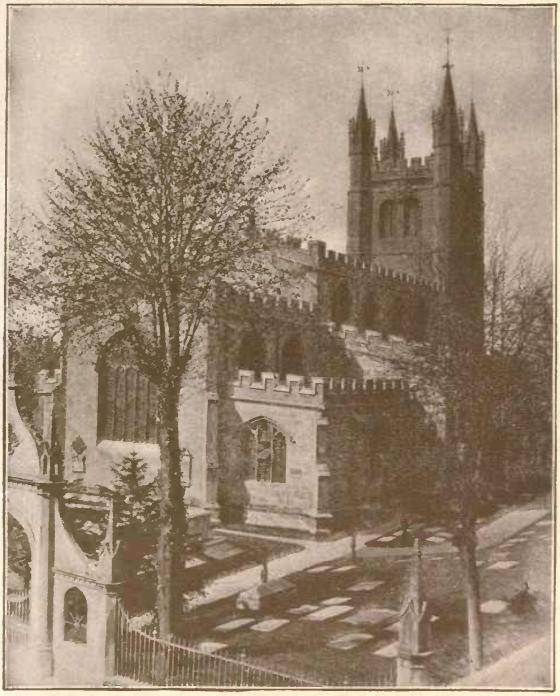


NEWBURY BRIDGE BUILT IN 1769

For the following century this is chiefly concerned with the affairs of Ernulf de Hesding and other possessors of the manor, their patronage of the church and monastery, and the neighboring priory of Sandelford. The natural activities of a flourishing community are evident, however, and we find mention in the record of the court of chancery, in the year 1205, of a Fulling Mill, and "another Mill," as well as a Town Market. One of the most stirring events of this period of the town's history is the siege of the castle of Newbury by King Stephen, in 1152. The account of this struggle is contained in a French poem of nearly twenty thousand lines, comprising the history of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, son of John Marshall, one of the most valiant supporters of the Empress Matilda against Stephen. It relates with much detail the king's demand for the surrender of the castle, the truce to enable the defenders to secure the aid of John Marshall, and the rendering of his son William, the hero, as a hostage; how John Marshall strengthened the garrison in the interval, and continued to hold it in spite of the risk to his son's life, which is menaced several times by decision of King Stephen as a penalty for the father's breach of the practices of truce, but each time is saved by his innocent fearlessness, which wins the affection of the king. With Stephen's reverses elsewhere the siege was raised, and the prisoners, including both Stephen and Matilda as well as William Marshall were exchanged, with the empress, for whom Newbury had held out, in power. No vestige nor adequate description of this castle now remains, but its place in the town's achievements is commemorated by its adoption as the municipal arms.

The gradual evolution of Newbury from a feudal village to the peaceful town of later days was marked by many interesting episodes, in which, from its proximity to London and Windsor and its situation on an important road, royalty was frequently an actor. One of these is chronicled as follows:

"On Ash Wednesday (4 March, 1248), a great tournament was begun at Newbury amongst the knights of England, that they might prove their knightly prowess and strength; As the King was favorable to it, it begun and ended well. At this tournament William, the King's half-brother, surnamed de Valentia, a young tiro, entered with courageous presumption, to acquire a distinguished title for knighthood; but, being tender in age and not of his full strength, he could not sustain the attack of hardy and martial knights, and falling, lost many (courses), being soundly beaten that he might learn the first steps of knighthood."



SAINT NICHOLAS' CHURCH BUILT BETWEEN 1509—1533 LARGELY AT THE CHARGE OF JOHN WINCHCOMBE "JACK OF NEWBURY"

During the Wars of the Roses, when the Duke of York was gathering his supporters at Calais for an invasion of England, King Henry became alarmed at the Pretender's strength, and undertook to thwart him by searching out and arresting his chief adherants. This movement was inaugurated at Newbury, and is recorded by a contemporary writer:

"1460. In the mene tyme the erlle of Wylshire tresuer of England, the lorde Scales, and the lorde Hungreford, having the Kynges commyssyone, went to the toune of Newbury, the whyche longed to the duk of York, and there made inquysycione of alle thayme that in any wyse had shewed any fauoure or benyuolence or frendshyppe to the sayde duk, or to any of hys: whereof some were found gylty, and were drawe, hanged, and quartered, and alle other inhabitantes of the forseyde toune were spoyled of alle theyre goodes."

Many prominent gentlemen of Newbury paid the penalty of the failure of the Duke of Buckingham's revolt against King Richard III in 1483. They took up arms with the former, and with others of Berkshire assembled at Newbury, October 18, 1483, proclaimed Richmond King of England. Their cause was worthy, but fate had marked other lines for history, and defeat and spoliation were their portion.

Another uprising to the credit of the town of Newbury is chronicled in connection with the history of "Jack of Newbury," a representative of the important industry of cloth making, in which Newbury had long been prominent. This Jack of Newbury, originally John Smallwood, and later John Wynchcombe, lived a useful, free, and generous life, which brought him great popularity and influence, and has preserved his memory as a local hero for more than three centuries. Toward the end of "*The most Pleasant and delectable Historie of John Winchcombe, otherwise called Jacke of Newberie*," a pamphlet detailing with much interesting incident the rise and character of this worthy, the author, Deloney, says: "Whereupon on the sodaine every man was appointed according to his abilitie to be readie with his men and furniture at an houres warning, on paine of death. Jack of Newberie was commanded by the Justice to set out sixe men, four armed with Pikes, and two Calivers, and to meet the Queene in Buckinghamshire, who was there raising a great power to goe against the faithlesse King of Scots. When



NEWTOWN WATERS, NEWBURY, ENGLAND

Jack had received this charge, he came home in all haste, and cut out a whole broadcloth for horsemen's coates, and so much more as would make up coates for the number of a hundred men. In a short time he had made readie fiftie tall men, well mounted in white coates, and red caps with yellow feathers, Demilances in their hands; and fiftie armed men on foot with Pikes, also in white coates; every man so expert in the handling of his weapon as few better were found in the field. Himself likewise in compleat armour on a goodly Barbed horse, and foremost in the company with a lance in his hand, and a faire plume of yellow feathers in his creste, and in this sort he came before the Justices: who at the first approach did not a little what he should be. At length when they had discovered who he was, the Justices and most of the Gentlemen gave him great commendations for this his good and forward minde shewed in this action."

His gallant and brilliant band of one hundred, where six were commanded, attracted the attention of Queen Catherine at the rendezvous at Stoney Strafford and she conferred the title of Gentleman upon Jack and the members of his company; and afterward at the dispersal of his troops, when they had received the news of the success of their cause at the battle of Flodden Field, she placed about his neck "a riche chaine of gold" as a token of her gratitude. That other sons of Newbury were in the field and fighting in this cause is shown by this historical rhyme, a type which, like the rune and the saga of more primitive times, preserves in a form suited for vocal transmission the story of —

"FLODDEN FIELD.

THE NEWBERRIE ARCHERS. AN OLD HISTORICAL SONG.

"Come Archers learne the News I telle
To Honoure of your Arte,
The Scottyshe Kinge at Flodden felle
Bye the poynte of an Englyshe Darte.
Thoughe Fyre and Pyke dyd Wond'rous thynges
More wonders stylle dyd wee,
And every Tongue with rapture syngs
Of the Laddes of Newberrie.



INTERIOR OF SAINT NICHOLAS' CHURCH RESTORED 1866–67.
LENGTH 140 FEET, MEAN BREADTH 74 FEET.

"The Bonnie Laddes of Westmorelande
And the Chesshyre Laddes were there,
With Glee theye took theyre Bows in Hande
And wythe shoutes disturb'd the Ayre.
Awaye they sent the Grey Goose Wynge,
Eche kyll'd his two or three,
Yet none soe loude wythe fame dyd rynge
As the Laddes of Newberrie.

"They swore to scayle the Mountayne bolde,
Where some in vayne had try'de;
That theyre Toes mighte take the better holde
Theyre Bootes theye caste asyde.
Barefooted soone theye reach'd the Hyghte,
Twas a gudelie syghte to see
Howe faste the Scottes were putte to flyghte
By the Laddes of Newberrie.

"Lord Stanlie sawe wythe muche delyghte,
And loude was heard to saye,
Eche oughte by Jove to be a Knighte,
For to theme wee owe the Daye.
The Chesshyre Laddes began the route,
And the Kendall Boys soe free,
But none of theme all have foughte more stoute
Than the Laddes of Newberrie.

"Now God preserve our Lord the Kynge,
Who travaill's farre in France,
And let us all of Bowmen singe
While rounde our Cuppes wee Daunce.
The Chesshyre Laddes were bryske and brave,
And the Kendall Laddes as free,
But none surpass'd, or I'm a Knave,
The Laddes of Newberrie."

The religious oppressions which later forced the Puritans to emigrate were manifested in Newbury by various persecutions, including the burning at the stake of Josceline Palmer and two companions, Gwyn and Askew, on July 16,



SHAW HOUSE OF THE MANOR OF SHAW, BUILT 1753—1756

1556, immediately after trial for heresy held in the Parish Church. The Grammar School, of which at the neighboring town of Reading, Palmer was master, was an institution in Newbury, and in the *History of Newbury by Walter Money, F. S. A.*, we find the following reference to the services of two of the early settlers of Newbury, Massachusetts: —

"The famous Puritan divine, the Rev. Thomas Parker, in whose honor the town of Newbury, in New England, was so called, taught for some time previous to the 1634 "the free school in Newbury"; and John Woodbridge, brother of Benjamin, appointed Rector of Newbury by the Parliament during the Great Rebellion, is mentioned by Dr. Calamy as being "cast out of the school at Newbury by the Bartholemew-Act of 1662."

From this time the thread of history from which has been woven our New England character takes its way across the Atlantic; but our fraternal interest in the older town should warrant the review of a few notable incidents in its history subsequent to the rising of the new world settlement.

Cloth making, before referred to in connection with Jack of Newbury, continues to be the chief industry of the town and of national importance. A strong Weavers' Company was founded in the reign of Henry VIII and incorporated by Royal Charter in 1601, the forty-fourth year of Queen Elizabeth. This institution is still in existence, although it has lost its character of a power in the community. It is pertinent to note that a few items of Corporate insignia are still possessed by the Company, namely, the beadle's silver mounted staff of office, with the inscription, "Robert Layle, Richard Canins, Wardens, 1706"; a belt with the Company's arms well executed on a silver shield, worn by the beadle on state occasions. It appears to have been customary for every new member to provide a silver spoon on his admittance; but the plate thus acquired by this ancient body has disappeared.

The strong and beautiful arch that now spans the Kennet was built in 1769, and promises to remain a safe viaduct for many centuries. The place it occupies was the scene of a notable calamity in 1623, when, without warning and to the consternation and distress of the inhabitants of the town, the ancient wooden bridge fell into the river. The following annunciatory letter, quaint as to its spelling, but perennially modern in its earnest plea for assistance, is preserved in the Bodleian Library: —



STREET IN NEWBURY, ENGLAND

"To Thos. Bond, Esq., at his lodging in Durham house, in the Strand, neare London. (Of Ogbourne in Wilts.)

Sir, — Wee have thought good to lett you vnderstand, how that vpon Sundaye, beinge the Vth day of ffebruarie last, a greate parte of our Towne bridge beinge about 30 foote in length & 20 foote in bredth fell downe into the river so that no carts can passe over yt, to the greate hinderau'ce of our Towne, specially vpon ye market dayes, it beinge a bridge in ye middle of the Towne, as you knowe, whereby only, and by no other waye, one parte of the Towne can come to thother, & the country cominge in at the West and North endes of the Towne with carts can come no other waye to the markett vnlesse they goe a myle about; And it was the greate blessinge of God that it fell not either as people were goinge to or cominge from churche, which yf it had, it had cost many a man's life, and yet fell shortly after dinner. ffor the repayringe of this bridge wee haue vsed tyme out of minde of man to take trees as occasion hath bin out of the Wash now his highnes wast parcell of the manor of Newbery, which was heretofore well stored, but now there is not, neither hath bin of late, scarce one Tree seruiceable for that vse, so that wee shalbe putt to 40 or 50*l* chardge in repayringe of yt, to our great hinderau'ce, wee havinge many poore people amongst vs to relieve, in these harde tymes, when as clothinge, the chiefe keye of tradinge in our towne for reliefe of the poore, is so much decayed. Whereof wee heartely intreate your considerac'on, & yf you shall thinke it fitt to acquaynt some of his highnes Counsell with this accident that is befallen vs, humqly intreatinge theyr honors to take Considerac'on of it, as they in theyr wisedomes shall thinke fitt. And so wee take our leaves, cravinge pardon for beinge so troublesome to you & rest

Your very lovinge freinds,

John Barksdale, ivnior,
John Hunte,
John Hooghton,
Edward Longman,
Richard Avery,
Wylliam Hunte,
William Wilson.

Richard Waller, Mayor,
Jo. Barksdale,
William Howes,
Gabriell Cox, the younger,
Roger Lynche,
Thomas Gyles,

Newbery,
March 1, 1623.

In 1643 Newbury was the scene of a hard fought battle between the armies of King Charles I and of Parliament, the former having 10,000 infantry and cavalry, and the latter 8,000, under the Earl of Essex. The advantage of position was greatly with the Royalists, while the Puritans were exposed and weakened by the

utter lack of provisions, yet by the skill of their commander, their gallantry, and a fortunate miscarriage of the King's plans, they triumphed after a battle lasting from dawn to midnight, — although their victory was not apparent until the following day, — and returned gloriously to London, the achievement which it was King Charles' purpose to prevent.

Again, in October of the next year, large forces under King Charles occupied Newbury and gave battle to the troops of Essex, Waller, and Cromwell, under the Earl of Manchester, and again the Parliamentary troops were victorious after a hard fight.



MUNICIPAL BUILDING AND TOWN HALL
ERECTED 1742

After being fined 2s. 6d. for its contempt of the Court's order of the previous year to set up a ducking stool, the town of Newbury established this remedy for scolds, and apparently found frequent use for it, as there are many entries of charges for its repair. The method is described by M. Misson, who traveled in England about the year 1700:

"This method of punishing scolding women is funny enough. They fasten an armchair to the end of two strong beams, twelve or fifteen feet long and parallel to each other. The chair hangs upon a sort of axle, on which it plays freely so as always to remain in the horizontal position. The scold being well fastened in her chair, the two beams are then placed, as near the center as possible, across a post on the water-side, and being lifted up behind, the chair of course drops into the cold element. The ducking is repeated according to the degree of shrewishness possessed by the patient, and generally has the effect of cooling her immoderate heat, at least for a time."

Regular communication with other parts, which culminated in the completion of the Newbury and Didcot railway in 1879, was begun in 1752 with the establishment of the "Flying Coach," announced as follows:

"Newbury Four wheel'd Stage Chaise,
Made with Steel Springs, to carry Four Passengers at
Ten Shillings each to or from London.
Sets out from the White Hart Inn, in Newbury, on Mondays, Wednesdays,
and Fridays, at Six o'clock in the morning, to the Saracen's Head,
Snow Hill; and returns from thence on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays;
and will be at their Quarters each Evening by Six:
Changes horses at Thomas Talmadge's, at the Pelican at Twyford, and
at Colnbrook.

Places taken at the White Hart and Saracen's Head, at Five Shillings entrance: each passenger to be allowed Eight Pounds Weight. Small parcels taken in at above Houses, and carefully deliver'd.

N. B. No Money, Plate, Jewels, or Writings lost to be made good, unless enter'd and paid for as such.

The said Chaise will set out from Newbury on Monday, the second of October. perform'd by

John Clark & Co.

Note also. There are Road Waggons set out from Newbury to the Saracen's Head, Snow Hill, on Mondays and Wednesdays, and returns Thursdays and Saturdays; where Gentlemen may depend on having their baggage taken great care of. If any Incivilities are offered by the Drivers, the Proprietors would take it kind to be acquainted therewith at Newbury."

As a result of trade depression during the wars of the last half of the eighteenth century, there was much deprivation among the poor, which in Newbury resulted in rioting and pillage of bread and provision stalls, in August, 1766. The millers and bakers, in spite of the prevalent distress, maintained unwarrantably high prices for bread, and for this they suffered by the destruction of their wares, with those of other purveyors, by the incensed mob. Realizing the seriousness of the situation, they quickly changed their policy, and the price was immediately reduced; while further "A public subscription was raised in Newbury to supply the poor with bread at 9d. the gallon, and the millers agreed to grind their wheat free of cost. Many of the officials and farmers in country parishes, and private persons, also undertook to supply the poor with wheat at a lower price than that charged to the general public, and much practical commiseration appears to have been shown for their unfortunate position. The Corporation of Newbury, in order that farmers and dealers might not be intimidated from coming to the markets, made good the damage they had sustained; and the military being withdrawn the town soon resumed its normal quietude. Some of the rioters were tried at the following Assizes, and two of them received sentences of transportation."

The numerous and worthy public institutions established at Newbury during the latter part of the nineteenth century show it to be unencumbered by the conservatism which might be expected in a town of such ancient establishment, and quite the contrary in its enterprising philanthropy. These works of peace supplant the deeds of valor recorded of earlier times, and more beneficently disburse the funds which formerly sustained strife.



MARKET PLACE, NEWBURY, ENGLAND

"PROCLAMATION UPON THE TERMINATION OF THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND CONCLUSION OF PEACE WITH FRANCE AND SPAIN, 1783.

February 27, 1783. "Upon this day the Corporation met at the New Town House, from whence they proceeded in form to the Market Cross, attended by the Constables and other Officers of the said Borough, the Mayor holding the Proclamation of the Cessation of Arms by Sea and Land in hand, and at that place he delivered the same to the Town Clerk, who, after Proclamation was called for silence, read the same Proclamation for Cessation of Arms, and returned the same to the Mayor, who, together with the Procession above mentioned, returned to the New Town House aforesaid. The Companies of Weavers and Cordwainers also attended, together with the military then in quarters."

"John Townsend, Mayor," and others.



FARM BUILDINGS, NEWBURY, ENGLAND

As a curious contrast to modern encouragement of new enterprises and municipal growth, it is interesting to note the attitude on these matters which obtained in 1687, when the fear that a newcomer might eventually become a charge to the town led the corporation to forbid and prevent such accessions, as shown by the following extracts from the July Sessions of that year:

"Whereas William Parker, a settled Inhabitant of Speene, hath lately intruded into this Borrough ag[t] Law, and sett upp his Trade of making Chaires, &c. It is therefore ordered that he return to Speene, and the Officers are to remove him hither, onely he is allowed tyme to sell and dispose of his goods till Michas' day next coming."

Again, same year, the Court orders:—

"That Matthew White, Bellows-maker, be sent to Sarum, being an intruder.

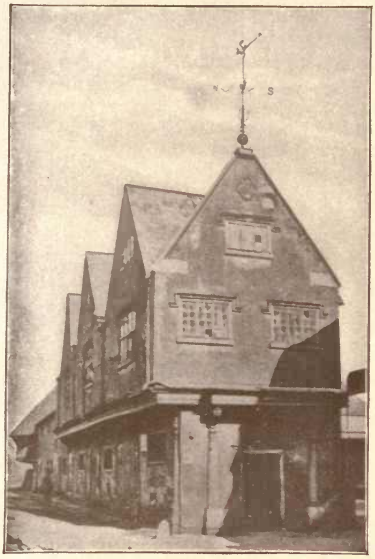
"That John Clement, Scribbler, and his wife and childe, be sent to ffreshford, being Intruders."

Another instance of Newbury's preeminence in the Cloth trade is found in the following remarkable history of

"THE NEWBURY COAT, 1811.

The story has often been told of the achievement of Mr. John Coxeter, of Greenham Mills, Newbury, a well known cloth manufacturer, who performed the astonishing feat of converting wool from off the sheep's back into cloth, and finally into a well finished coat, between sunrise and sunset on a summer's day.

Mr. John Coxeter was established as a cloth manufacturer at Greenham Mills, Newbury, during the early years of the present century, and appears to have been both enterprising and successful in his business. He employed at his mill upwards of one hundred hands, and he took a pride in the introduction of the best and most improved machinery in the cloth manufacture. His mill was driven by water power, and stood partly on the site of the present tanyard and flour mill at Green-



RESIDENCE OF JACK OF NEWBERRIE

ham. His business relations brought him into contact with many gentlemen of position, at the various markets and agricultural gatherings which he attended. Amongst these was Sir John Throckmorton, of Buckland House. In the course of conversation, Mr. Coxeter one day remarked to the worthy baronet that so great were the improvements introduced into the cloth-making machinery in his mill that, quoth he, "I believe that in twenty-four hours I could take the coat off your back, reduce it to wool, and turn it back into a coat again." The vaunt thus spoken in jest appears to have made such an impression on Sir John Throckmorton that shortly afterwards, at a dinner party, he offered to lay a wager of a thousand guineas that between sunrise and sunset a coat could be made, the wool for which should have been that morning growing upon the sheep's back. He thereupon sent for Mr. Coxeter, to ascertain if the feat were really possible. After a careful noting of the time occupied in the various processes, Mr. Coxeter replied in the affirmative, and the bet was accordingly concluded.

At five o'clock in the morning of June 25, 1811, Sir John Throckmorton came to Greenham with his shepherd, bringing with him two fat Southdown sheep. The sheep were promptly shorn; the wool was washed, stubbed, roved, spun, and woven; the cloth was scoured, fulled, tented, raised, sheared, dyed, and dressed. The weaving was performed by Mr. John Coxeter, jun., who had been found by previous competition to be the most expert workman. The cloth was finished, as thus described, by four o'clock in the afternoon, eleven hours after the commencement of the sheep-shearing. The coat had now to be made. Mr. James White, tailor, of Newbury, superintended the tailoring and cut out the coat. Nine of his men, with needles ready threaded, took the garment in hand at four o'clock, and completed the coat at twenty minutes past six. In the meantime the news of this extraordinary match against time had spread abroad, and an immense concourse of people was assembled, awaiting with intense excitement the achievement of the task. Taking his stand upon a platform erected on the lawn in front of Mr. Coxeter's drawing-room window, Sir John Throckmorton appeared, wearing the coat, in the presence of an assemblage numbering, as was estimated, about five thousand people. The two sheep which had been despoiled of the wool were roasted whole, and cut up and distributed among the people, together with one hundred twenty gallons of strong beer, dispensed through Mr. Coxeter's liberality, amidst much festive rejoicing. Sir John Throckmorton dined at Mr. Coxeter's, with forty other gentlemen, and slept that night at the "Pelican" hotel, Speenhamland. The coat was a hunting kersey "of a dark Wellington colour." The wager was thus won with nearly an hour and three-quarters to spare.

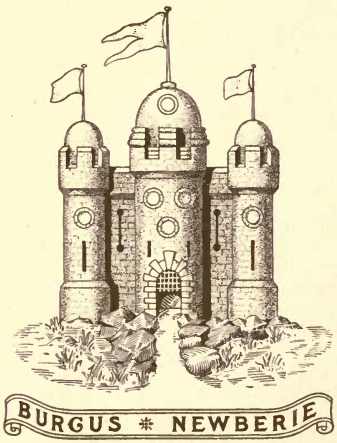
To commemorate the event a large historical oil painting was executed by Mr. Luke Clint, of Newbury, and engraved by Mr. George Clint, an engraver in London, containing portraits of the various gentlemen and others engaged in the transaction. This painting remained in the possession of Mrs. Coxeter until her death in 1876, at the remarkable age of over 101 years, after which it passed into

the hands of her son, Mr. Coxeter, of Abington. A silver medal was presented to Mr. Coxeter by the Royal Agricultural Society of England.

The persons who took part in this interesting feat are thus pointed out in the illustration of this remarkable instance of manufacturing celerity. In the center of the picture the shepherd, Francis Druett, is represented shearing one of the sheep; behind him the master manufacturer, Mr. John Coxeter; on his left Mr. Isaac White, the tailor, measuring Sir John Throckmorton for the coat; on his left, in black, stands F. R. O. Villebois, Esq.; and before him, seated at the table, is Anthony Bacon, Esq.; to the right of Mr. Coxeter stands Mr. John Locket, a linen manufacturer, of Donnington; facing him, and with his back towards the spectators, is Mr. Richard Dibley, of Newbury, butcher; the youth beside him is John Coxeter, the son of Mr. Coxeter; and the one with the basket of wool spools is his son William. John is again represented at work at the loom; the lady before him is his mother, accompanied by another son Samuel, a child; the gentleman standing at the back of Mrs. Coxeter and by the side of the loom is Mr. Jones, a cotton manufacturer of Greenham.

The following gentlemen acted as stewards on the occasion: Col. Stead, of Donnington Castle House; Anthony Bacon, Esq., of Benham; and William Budd, Esq., of Newbury. Mr. R. W. Hiscock, of Stroud Green, Newbury, performed the duties of inspector and secretary.

In 1851, when the commissioners met at Newbury to select some article worthy of being forwarded to the great exhibition of that year, their attention was directed to this famous coat, which was then in the possession of Sir Robert Throckmorton, of Buckland House. On application being made to him, the loan of the remarkable garment was courteously accorded, and for its better security the baronet provided for its reception a handsome mahogany case with plate glass front, in which it was carefully locked and sent to the exhibition. The oil painting already referred to was, by Mrs. Coxeter's permission, forwarded with it, and numerous copies of an engraving of the picture were sold during the exhibition. The coat now hangs, in its case, in the hall of Buckland House, near Faringdon."



ARMS OF NEWBURY, ENGLAND



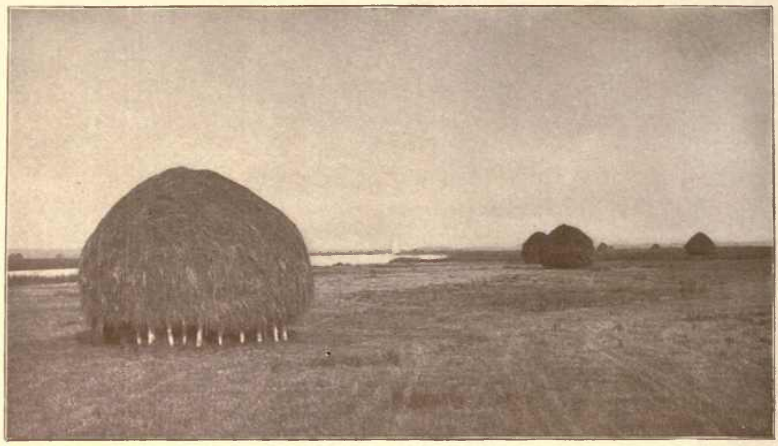
LANDING PLACE OF FIRST SETTLERS OF NEWBURY

THE venturesome company that embarked in the "Mary and John" and planted the colony on the bank of the Quascacunquen entered upon a domain which, however virgin and primeval in its physical character, was already chartered in most comprehensive form, being contained within a tract granted in 1627 to Sir Henry Rowell, John Endicott, and others, extending "from a line three miles north of the Merrimack river to one three miles south of the Charles river, and from the Atlantic ocean to the Pacific ocean," which they held as the "Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." The lateral range of this territory does not appear to have been greatly appreciated, as the land actually availed of may almost be said to be that in sight of the Atlantic.

As to the wisdom of the choice made by those whose fortunes we would follow we have the testimony of William Wood, author of "New England's Prospect," published in London in 1634, that: "*Agowamme* is nine miles to the North from *Salem*, which is one of the most spatious places for a plantation being neare the sea, it aboundeth with fish, and flesh of fowles and beasts, great Meads and Marshes and plaine plowing grounds, many good rivers and harbours and no rattle snakes. In a word, it is the best place but one, which is *Merrimacke*, lying 8 miles beyond it, where is a river 20 leagues navigable; all along the river side is fresh Marshes, in some places 3 miles broad. In this river is Sturgeon, Sammon, and Basse, and divers other kinds of fish. To conclude, the Countrie hath not that which this place cannot yeeld. So that these two places may containe twice as many people as are yet in *New England;* there being as yet scarce any inhabitants in these two spacious places. Three miles beyond the river *Merrimacke* is the outside of our Patent for the *Massachusetts Bay*. These be all the Townes that were begun, when I came for *England*, which was the 15 of August 1633."

While the town may have been considered to be "begun" by the occasional fisherman attracted by the bountiful waters of the Merrimack, no real settlement existed when the party under the leadership of Rev. Thomas Parker removed from its abiding place at Ipswich and ended its momentous journey under the hills of the new land.

Important accessions to the settlement soon arrived, and the town of Newbury was incorporated by "the Great and General Court of Massachusetts."



MARSHES OF NEWBURY AND PLUM ISLAND RIVER

The independence, later wrested from the mother country, was foreshadowed even at this time by a manoeuver which surprised and troubled King Charles and his councilors. In 1629 the members of the corporation of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay had, after mature deliberation, transferred to New England the charter with full and complete control of all its affairs.

The promise of civil and religious liberty thus held out proved very attractive to discontented subjects at home, and the magnitude of the migratory movement attracted the attention of the king, who gave immediate orders to detain the ten ships about ready to leave the Thames until the oath of allegiance had been administered to all passengers bound for America. He also ordered Matthew Cradock, the first Governor of the Massachusetts Company, to appear before him and the Privy Council with the charter. When he learned that this document was across the ocean, he at once took steps for reclaiming the dangerous situation, and a few months later the "Council for New England" decided to relinquish all its rights under the "Great Charter" in consideration of allotments of land in the colony to individual members, but the "Great and General Court," already organized to administer the affairs in the original grant, has continued ever since in spite of attempted repression.

While there was undoubted attachment for the sovereign land which would rightfully account for a measure of consideration, the colonists were fully alive to the danger of open disregard of the king's emblems, of which the cross was held to be an idolatrous and offensive element, and this appears to have been their chief motive in bringing to account Thomas Millerd, mate of the ship Hector, lying in Boston Harbor in 1636, who had denounced the colonists as rebels and traitors because they did not display the king's colors on the fort at Castle Island. He was seized and imprisoned, but on signing the following retraction he was released, and subsequently settled in Newbury:

"Whereas, I, Thom: Millerd, have given out most false & repchfull speaches against his maties loyall & faithfull subjects dwelling in the Massachusetts Bay, in America, saying that they were all traytors & Rebells & that I would affirme so much before the Governor himselfe, w^{ch} expressions I do confes (& so desire may bee conceived) did pceed from the rashnes & distemper of my owne braine, wthout any just ground or cause so to thinke or speake, for w^{ch}, my vnworthy & sinfull carriage being called in question, I do justly stand committed; my humble & () request y^{r}fore is y^{t} vpon y^{s} my free & ingenious recantation of y^{s} my grosse failing it would please y^{e} Governor & y^{e} rest of y^{e} assistants to accept of this my humble submission, to passe by my fault & to dismiss me fro further trouble; & y^{s}, my free & volentary confession I subscribe wth my hand y^{s} 9th June 1636. Thomas Millerd."



PARKER RIVER BRIDGE—NEAR LANDING PLACE

Many other incidents of this nature took place, and the colonists seem to have been torn on both horns of the dilemma, which included their aspirations for liberty and local self-government, and the necessity for apparent subservience. One deference was made at this time, after consultation with the captains of other ships in the harbor of Boston. They opined: "That, in regard that they should be examined upon their return, what colors they saw here, they did desire that the king's colors be spread at our fort. It was answered that we had not the king's colors. Thereupon two of them did offer them freely to us. We replied that for our part we were fully persuaded, that the cross in the ensign was idolatrous, and therefore might not set in our ensign; but because the fort was the king's and maintained in his name, we thought that his own colors might be spread there. So the Governor accepted the colors of Capt. Palmer, and promised they should be set up at Castle Island."

In the present days of easy citizenship and the common superiority of self-interest to public welfare, it is worth while carefully to recall the many strong qualities of those first settlers, to realize that without their permanence would have been impossible, and to speculate on the results of a general and equally active and intelligent responsibility with our present population.

They were first of all religious,—some will say bigoted, but in an age when bigotry was evident in all sects; strong convictions brought them here, and strong constitutions sustained them through hardships and hard labor. They did not neglect their personal interests, but they weighed everything as to its bearing on the community, and they met once in three months to supplement the work of a committee of the whole, to which early, orderly, respectful, and continued attendance was compulsory, to regulate affairs and elect the "seven men"—later known as "selectmen"—who administered them in the interval and rendered a report at the end of the term.

The Town of Newbury Records show that: "February 24, 1637–8. It was voted that Thomas Cromwell, Samuel Scullard, John Pike, Robert Pike, and Nicholas Holt, are fined two shillings and sixpence apiece for being absent from towne meeting at eight o'clock in the morning, having due and fitt warning."

"April 21, 1638. Henry Short, John Cheney, Francis Plumer, Nicholas Noyes and Nicholas Holt are fined two shillings and sixpence apiece for being absent from the towne meeting, having lawful warning."



RESIDENCE OF REV. JAMES NOYES, ONE OF THE FIRST SETTLERS

"May 5, 1638. It is ordered that John Pike shall pay two shillings and sixpence for departing from the meeting without leave and contemptuously." While the following from Samuel Sewall's Letter Book shows the personal effort willingly rendered for the cause of government:

"In the year 1635, the Election was held at Cambridge: so twas again May 17, 1637, upon the Plain in the open Aer. Gov^{r} Vane was there, and had the Mortification to see the excellent John Winthrop preferd before him, and chosen Governour (who had been Governour 1630–1–2–3–.) Indeed Mr. Vane seemed to stand so hard for being chosen again, as to endeavor to confound and frustrat the whole business of the election, rather than that he himself should fail of being chosen. There was a great struggle, he being the principal Magistrate, for managing the Election. My father has told me many a time that he and others went on foot from Newbury to Cambridge, fourty miles, on purpose to be made free, and help to strengthen Gov^{r} Winthrop's Party. And I find his name in the Record accordingly."

The basis of all representation was the "Freeman," whose qualification was membership in the church. Strangers coming to the town were admitted as inhabitants only by vote of the town, and once admitted permission must also be obtained for removal. The General Court also provided, March 3, 1635–6, that any person building a house, without permission, in any town in the colony, "the inhabitants of the said towne shall have power to demolishe the said howses & remove the p'sons."

Fines were the common means of imposing punishment for the infraction of the many and explicit rules of conduct, and the sworn officers were alert and impartial in "presenting" offenders at court.

The acts of governing bodies were by them announced or reported in language which reflects the personal interest and human impulses of the members, in quaint contrast to the impersonal character of similar documents at the present day, while it is not evident that they were therefore less effective.

The following examples illustrate this while they also instance the strict regard for rank and station which was embodied in the sumptuary laws providing that:—"Men of meane condition" should not take upon themselves "the garbe of gentlemen by wearing gold or silver lace or buttons"; and women in the same



DUMMER MANSION—NOW PART OF DUMMER ACADEMY

rank were forbidden "to wear silk or tiffany hoodes or scarfes" unless they or their husbands possessed an estate of at least two hundred pounds, under a penalty of ten shillings for each offence.

December 10, 1646. The towne being informed that Mr Thomas Parker was unwilling to act any longer in matters concerning the new Towne & Mr Cutting was going to sea, they were apprehensive of the weighty occasions of the towne that are likely to bee retarded, did make choyse of Nicholas Noyes & William Titcomb in their roome to be added to the rest of the new towne men for sixe weeks that so things may with more speed be dispatched.

"Ipswich Court March 30, 1647, Aquilla Chase & his wife & David Wheeler being presented at the last court for gathering pease on the Lord's day. Summons sent to Hampton. The constables return states they were not at Hampton but were gone to Newberry. September 27, 1653, the wife of Nicholas Noyes being presented for wearing a silke coat and scarfe, upon proof that her husband is worth above two hundred pounds is cleared of her presentment."

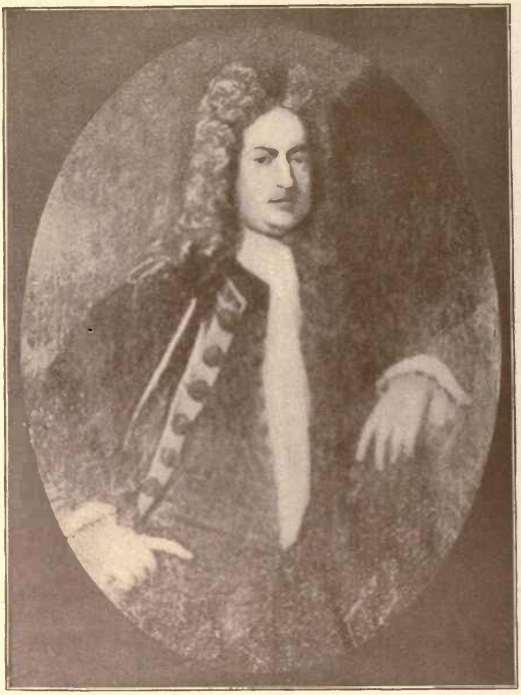
The wife of Hugh March and the wife of Richard Knight were charged with the same offence, but were discharged on proof that their husbands were worth two hundred pounds each.

The wife of John Hutchins was discharged "upon testimony of her having been brought up above the ordinary ranke."

At the same court the wife of Joseph Sweat and the wife of William Chandler were convicted and fined ten shillings "for wearing a silk hoode and scarfe."

It is hard to reconcile this fundamental aristocracy with the aggressive democracy of public affairs, marked at this period and later emphatically expressed in the army drawn up at the siege of Boston in 1775, as General Washington regretfully learned when he took command and commenced the work of systematizing and disciplining it.

However inherent this democracy it by no means signified tolerance and in a community where active participation in public affairs was dependent on membership in the accepted church irregular doctrine was met with a war of extermination. The sect most bitterly and for many years unrelentingly persecuted was that of the Quakers, and the records are replete with instances that show the vindictive and official animosity of the many, pitted against the kindliness and mercy of the few who succored such wandering exemplars of this faith as in their travels sought food and shelter.



LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR WILLIAM DUMMER

The law styled them "a cursed set of heretics wch are commonly called Quakers" and provided that "Quakers banished from the colony, returning without the concent of the General Court, were liable to be severely whipped, to have their ears cut off, or their tongues bored through with hot irons" and further "that Quakers not having a legal settlement in the colony" were liable to be seized by the constables, stripped naked from their middle upwards, & tyed to a cartes tayle&whipped throh the towne".

Pursuant to this law is the following order:—

To the constables of Dover, Hampton, Salisbury, Newbury, Rowley, Ipswich, Windham, Linn, Boston, Roxbury, Dedham, and until these vagabond Quakers are out of this jurisdiction.

You and every of you are required in the Kings Majestys name to take these vagabond Quakers, Anna Colman, Mary Tompkins and Alice Ambrose, and make them fast to the carts tail, and drawing the cart through your several towns, to whip them upon their naked backs not exceeding ten stripes apiece on each of them in each town, and so convey them from constable to constable till they are out of this jurisdiction, as you will answer it at your peril, and this shall be your warrant.

Per me RICHARD WALDRON

At Dover, dated Dec. 22, 1662.

To the unjust imposition of a fine and reprimand by the Governor on William Macy, one of the early settlers of Newbury but then living in Salisbury, for entertaining Quakers, is due the settlement of the Island of Nantucket to which he and others of Newbury removed, as a company, that they might be beyond the jurisdiction of the old colony.

The territory in the immediate vicinity of Parker River was found to be inadequate to the needs of the growing community and in a few years steps were taken to relocate the inhabitants in the more suitable tract to the northward, now the site of the city of Newburyport. This was finally inaugurated in 1645 after much dissension by a few who were placated by specially advantageous grants.

"Whereas the towne of Newbury, well weighing the streights they were in for want of plough ground, remoteness of the common, scarcity of fencing stuffe, and



KATHERINE (DUDLEY) DUMMER, WIFE OF LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR WILLIAM DUMMER

the like, did in the year 1642 grant a commission to Mr. Thomas Parker, Mr. James Noyes, Mr. John Woodbridge, Mr. Edward Rawson, Mr. John Cutting, Mr. John Lowle, Mr. Edward Woodman, and Mr. John Clark, for removing, settleing, and disposing of the inhabitants to such place as might in their judgments best tend to theyr enlargements, exchanging theyr lands, and making such orders as might bee in theyr judgements for the well ordering of the town's occasions and, as in their commission more largely appeareth, the said deputed men did order in their first meeting and appoint John Merrill, Richard Knight, Anthony Short and John Emery to go to all the inhabitants of the towne, taking a true list of all the stock of each inhabitant, and make a true valuation of all their houses, improved land, and fences, that thereby a just rule might be made to proportion each inhabitant his portion of land about the new towne, and removing of the inhabitants there.

It was ordered at a meeting of the eight deputed men above mentioned that each freeholder should have a house lott of foure akers. It was further ordered, in respect of the time for the inhabitants removing from the place they now inhabit to that which is layd out and appointed for their new habitations, each inhabitant shall enjoy their house loots foure years from the day of the date of this commission."

One of the greatest points of dispute was the new location for the Meeting-house but this was ultimately settled and it was built where the "Oldtown" burial ground now is, opposite the present church on High street.

From this time the center of affairs was near the mouth of the Merrimac river, the territory of the city of Newburyport,—set off as a separate town in 1764,—and as their history is outlined in the Colonial Book of this series, this account may well terminate with the passing of the settlement which was the connecting link with the mother country.

A sidelight on the condition of the town soon after its expansion is furnished by Samuel Maverick one of the first settlers of Boston, who wrote in 1660:

"At the mouth, on the southside of Meromeck and upwards, is seated the Towne of Newbury. The Houses stand at a good distance from each other, a feild and Garden between each house, and so on both sides of the street for 4 miles or thereabouts; betweene Salisbury and this Towne the river is broader than the Thames at Deptford, and in the sumer abounds with sturgeon, salmon and other ffresh water fish. Had we the art of takeing and saveing the sturgeon it would prove a very great advantage, the country affording vinegar and other materials to do it withall. In this Towne and old Newbury adjoining are 2 meeting-houses."

The spirit of emigration seems to have been strong in these colonists for the town of Newbury is hardly established before its residents are to a considerable



REAR OF SPENCER-PIERCE HOUSE (1651) NEWBURY, MASSACHUSETTS

number seeking grants for the location of new settlements. Among the places which owe their establishment wholly or in part to men of Newbury are Nantucket (previously mentioned) Pentucket (Haverhill, Massachusetts) Pennacooke (Concord, New Hampshire), Salisbury, Hampton, New Hampshire, Cochicawicke (Andover, Massachusetts), and Woodbridge, New Jersey, named in honor of Rev. John Woodbridge, assistant minister of the first church of Newbury.

More than ten years before Salem's lamentable witchcraft delusion Caleb Powell was "complained of for suspicion of working with the devill to the molesting of William Morse and his family." He was given a lengthy trial before the county court and was discharged though not wholly acquitted as the verdict shows:

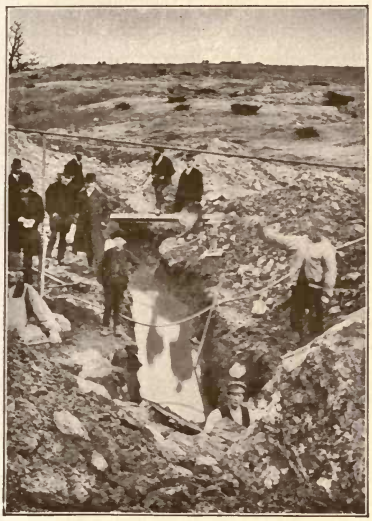
"Upon hearing the complaint brought to this court against Caleb Powell for suspicion of working by the devill to the molesting of the family of William Morse of Newbury, though this court cannot find any evident ground for proceeding farther against the sayd Powell, yett we determine that he hath given such ground for suspicion of his so dealing that we cannot so aquit him but that he justly deserves to beare his owne shame and the costs of prosecution of the complaint. It is referred to Mr. Woodbridge to hear and determine the charges."

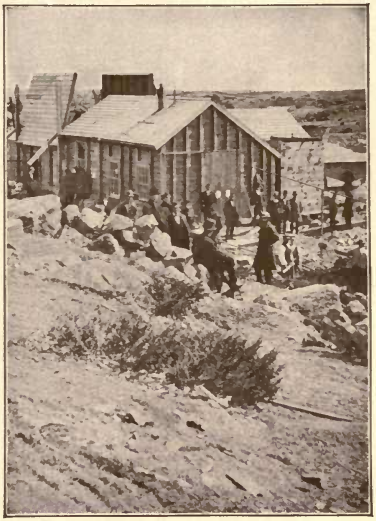
The disturbances at the home of William Morse continued during the incarceration of Caleb Powell and after his return and popular judgment, irresponsible but powerful, fastened the suspicion of witchery upon Elizabeth Morse the wife of William, and she was tried, pronounced guilty, and sentenced as follows:

"at A Court of Adjourment held at Boston, 20th May, 1680:

The Grand Jury presenting Elizabeth morse, ye wife of Wm morse, Sr (she) was indicted by the name of Elizabeth morse for that she not hauing the feare of God before hir eyes being Instigated by the divil and having had familiarity with the divil contrary to the peace of our Souaigne Lord the King his crowne & dignity ye lawes of God of this Jurisdiction: After the prisoner was at ye barre and pleaded not Guilty & put hirself on God & ye country for triall ye evidences produced were read & committed to ye Jury.

The Jury brought in Their virdict & they found Elizabeth Morse, the prisoner at the barre, Guilty according to Indictmt. The Governr on 27th May after ye lecture pronounced ye sentence: Elizabeth Morse you are to goe from hence to the place from whence you came & thence to the place of execution, there





SILVER MINE (NOW ABANDONED) NEWBURY, MASSACHUSETTS

to be hanged by the neck till you be dead, And the Lord have mercy on your Soul.
This Court was adjourn^{d} diem per diem & on 1st June 1680:
The Govern^{r} & magist^{ts} voted Reprieving of Elizabeth Morse, condemn^{d}, till the next session of the Court in October.
as Attest Ew^{d} Rawson, Secretary."

She was, however, not executed nor pardoned, but from time to time reprieved, and finally died at her home, on what is now known as Market Square, Newburyport.

One of the judges of the court which condemned the Salem witches in 1692 was Samuel Sewell of Newbury, afterward Chief Justice, a kindly, accomplished and devout man, who lived to see these manifestations in another light, and to deeply repent the decisions which had condemned the accused to death. One day of each year he spent in fasting and prayer as an atonement for this error. His prophecy concerning Newbury, beautified and immortalized by Whittier, is a message of faith from the past and an inspiration for the future:—

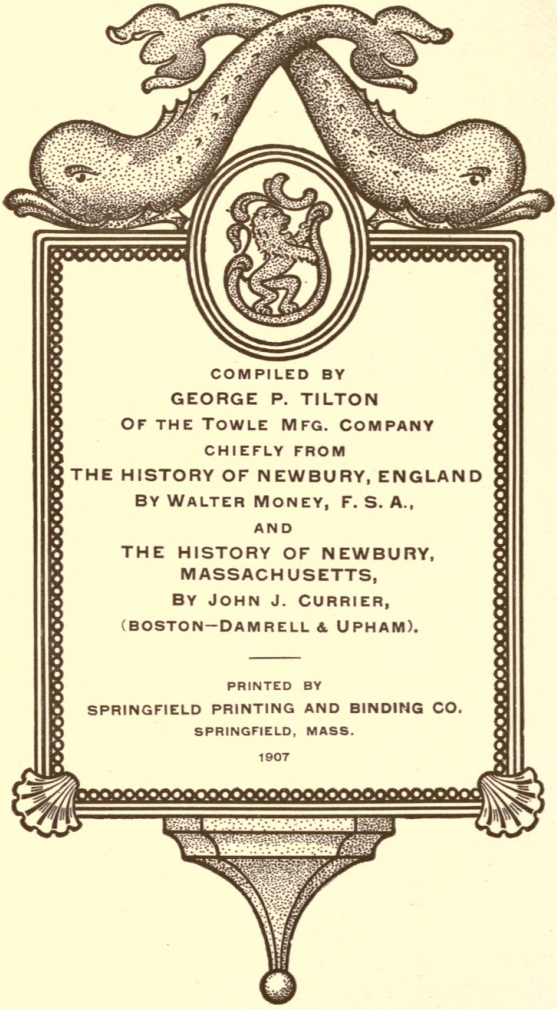
"As long as Plum Island, to guard the coast
As God appointed, shall keep its post;
As long as the salmon shall haunt the deep
Of Merrimac River, or sturgeon leap;
As long as pickerel swift and slim,
Or red-backed perch, in Crane Pond swim;
As long as the annual sea-fowl know
Their time to come and their time to go;
As long as cattle shall roam at will
The green, grass meadows of Turkey Hill;
As long as sheep shall look from the side
Of Oldtown Hill on marishes wide,
And Parker River and salt-sea tide;
As long as a wandering pigeon shall search
The fields below from his white-oak perch,
When the barley harvest is ripe and shorn,
And the dry husks fall from the standing corn;
As long as nature shall not grow old,
Nor drop her work from her doting hold,
And her care for the Indian corn forget,
And the yellow rows in pairs to set;—
So long shall Christians here be born,
Grow up and ripen as God's sweet corn!—
By the beak of bird, by the breath of frost,
Shall never a holy ear be lost,
But, husked by death in the Planter's sight,
Be sown again in the fields of light!"
The Island still is purple with plums,
Up the river the salmon comes,
The sturgeon leaps, and the wild-fowl feeds
On hillside berries and marish seeds,—
All the beautiful signs remain,
From spring-time sowing to autumn rain
The good man's vision returns again!
And let us hope, as well we can,
That the Silent Angel who garners man
May find some grain as of old he found
In the human cornfield ripe and sound,
And the Lord of the Harvest deign to own
The precious seeds by the fathers sown!

A LIST OF THE FREEMEN OF NEWBURY, 1684

Frauncis Plumer	May 14, 1634	Steven Dumer	May 22, 1639
Thomas Hale	May 14, 1634	John Osgood	May 22, 1639
John Eales	May 14, 1634	John Goffe	May 22, 1639
Christopher Hussey	May 14, 1634	John Mussellwhit	May 22, 1639
Mr John Spencer	Sept. 3, 1634	Steven Kent	May 22, 1639
Henry Shorte	Sept. 3, 1634	John Rimington	May 22, 1639
Phillip Fowler	Sept. 3, 1634	Thomas Browne	May 22, 1639
Mr Tho. Parker	Sept. 3, 1634	John Moulton	May 22, 1639
Mr Nicholas Easton	Sept. 3, 1634	John Clark	May 22, 1639
Mr James Noyes	Sept. 3, 1634	John Roffe	Sept. 6, 1639
John Webster	Mar. 4, 1634–5	Anthony Sadler	Sept. 6, 1639
Rich: Kent	Mar. 4, 1634–5	Thomas Masie	Sept. 6, 1639
John Clerke	May 6, 1635	John Oliver	May 13, 1640
Rich Browne	May 6, 1635	John Saunders	May 13, 1640
Willm Moody	May 6, 1635	John Lowell	June 2, 1641
Mr Steven Batchelr	May 6, 1635	Thos: Davies	June 2, 1641
Willm Mosse	Mar. 3, 1635–6	John Emery	June 2, 1641
Richrd Knight	May 25, 1636	Samu: Plumer	June 2, 1641
Anthony Mosse	May 25, 1636	John March	May 18, 1642
John Saunders	May 25, 1636	Richrd Knight	May 18, 1642
James Browne	May 25, 1636	John Cooper	May 18, 1642
Edmond Marshall	May 17, 1637	John Stevens	May 18, 1642
Henry Sewall, Junior	May 17, 1637	Willi: Stevens	May 18, 1642
Thomas Smythe	May 17, 1637	Antho: Sommersbey	May 18, 1642
Nicholas Holt	May 17, 1637	Henry Sommersbey	May 18, 1642
Nicholas Noise	May 17, 1637	William Berry	May 18, 1642
Archelaus Woodman	May 17, 1637	Samu: Guil	May 18, 1642
James Browne	May 17, 1637	Abell Hews	May 18, 1642
John Bartlet	May 17, 1637	William Gerrish	July 9, 1645
Robert Pike	May 17, 1637	Christopher Bartlet	Sept. 29, 1646
Thomas Coleman	May 17, 1637	John Pore	Mar. 28, 1648
John Cheney	May 17, 1637	John Saunders	May 22, 1650
Edward Rawson	Mar. 1637–8	Tho: Milward	Sept. 7, 1650
Daniel Peirce	May 2, 1638	John Knight	Sept. 7, 1650
Abraham Tappin	May 2, 1638	Ben: Swet	Sept. 7, 1650
Henry Lunt	May 2, 1638	John Chattor (Cheater?)	Mar. 25, 1651
Thomas Hale	Sept. 7, 1638	William Hilton	May 18, 1653
Richrd Singletery	Sept. 7, 1638	John Kent	May 3, 1654
Christopher Batte	Mar. 13, 1638–9	Nath: Weare, Senior	Mar. 28, 1654
Edmond Greenliffe	Mar. 13, 1638–9	Rich: Dole	Mar. 28, 1654
Thomas Moulton	Mar. 13, 1638–9	John Emery, Jr.	Mar. 28, 1654

LIST OF FREEMEN—Continued.

Rich: Bartlett	Mar. 28, 1654	John Knight, Jun.	May 31, 1671
Will: Bartlett	Mar. 28, 1654	Mr. Joseph Gerrish	May 7, 1673
Will: Cottell	Mar. 28, 1654	Elisha Elsie (Ilsley?)	May 7, 1673
Tho: Bloomfield	Mar. 28, 1654	James Bayley	May 7, 1673
Tho Seers	Mar. 28, 1654	Dani: Cheny	May 7, 1673
Will: Chandlour	Mar. 28, 1654	Joseph Browne	May 7, 1673
John Davis	Mar. 28, 1657	Sam: Poore	May 7, 1673
Joseph Noyes	Mar. 31, 1657	Moses Pilsbury	May 7, 1673
Joseph Muzzey	Mar. 31, 1657	Benja: Morse	May 7, 1673
John Webster	Sept. 29, 1657	Sam: Bartlet	May 7, 1673
Tho: Hale	Sept. 28, 1658	John Noyes	Jan. 9, 1673-4
John Allen	Mar. 29, 1659	Cutting Noyes	Jan. 9, 1673-4
Soloman Keyes	Mar. 29, 1659	John Lunt	Jan. 9, 1673-4
Robert Addams	Mar. 27, 1660	Abra: Adams	Jan. 9, 1673-4
Abraham Merrill	Sept. 30, 1662	John Badger	Jan. 9, 1673-4
Dani: Pearse	May 27, 1663	Joseph Gerrish	Jan. 9, 1673-4
Shubal Dumer	May 3, 1665	John Sewall	May 12, 1675
Samuel Moody	May 23, 1666	John Richardson	May 12, 1675
Caleb Moody	May 23, 1666	Sam: Sayer	May 12, 1675
Wm Peelsbury	Apr. 29, 1668	Benja Morse	May 12, 1675
James Ordway	Apr. 29, 1668	Tho: Wells	Sept. 28, 1675
Nath: Clarke	Apr. 29, 1668	Joseph Morse	Sept. 28, 1675
Tristram Coffin	Apr. 29, 1668	Rich. Dumer Jun.	May 23, 1677
James Kent	May 19, 1669	Hen: Short	May 23, 1677
Jno Kent	May 19, 1669	Steph: Greenleaf	May 23, 1677
Jno Bartlet, Jun.	May 19, 1669	Jacob Topan	May 23, 1677
Jno Wells	May 19, 1669	Rich: Bartlet, Jun.	May 23, 1677
Abiel Somersby	May 19, 1669	Jno: Dole	Oct. 15, 1679
Henry Jacquish	May 19, 1669	John Sewall	April 15, 1679
Benja: Lowell	May 19, 1669	Charles Annis	April 15, 1679
John Bayley	May 19, 1669	John Pengitta (Pettingell?)	April 15, 1679
Joseph Plumer	May 11, 1670	Caleb Boynton	Mar. 29, 1681
Benj: Rolfe	May 11, 1670	Daniel Lunt	Feb. 7, 1682-3
John Poore Jun.	May 11, 1670	Daniel Merrill	Feb. 7, 1682-3
Franc: Thurlo	May 11, 1670	Wm. Moody	Feb. 7, 1682-3
Nicho: Batt	May 11, 1670	George March	May 16, 1683
Job Pilsbury	May 11, 1670	Joseph Knight	Feb. 13, 1683-4
Paul White	May 31, 1671	Tymothy Noys	Feb. 13, 1683-4
Tho: Noyes	May 31, 1671	James Jackman	Feb. 13, 1683-4
Jonathan Morse	May 31, 1671	Wm Elsly	Feb. 13, 1683-4
James Smith	May 31, 1671	Danel Merrill	May 7, 1684
John Smith	May 31, 1671	Jno Bartlet	May 7, 1684



COMPILED BY
GEORGE P. TILTON
OF THE TOWLE MFG. COMPANY
CHIEFLY FROM
THE HISTORY OF NEWBURY, ENGLAND
BY WALTER MONEY, F. S. A.,
AND
THE HISTORY OF NEWBURY,
MASSACHUSETTS,
BY JOHN J. CURRIER,
(BOSTON—DAMRELL & UPHAM).

PRINTED BY
SPRINGFIELD PRINTING AND BINDING CO.
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
1907

NEWBURY



THE production of the Newbury pattern, the significance of the name of which is apparent from the foregoing pages, was the fulfilment of a definite purpose which recognized the availability of a design having the purity and simplicity of the early Colonial work with such enrichment as was possible with the preservation of this character.

Besides the wide and rapidly extending interest based on the sentiment of ancestral associations, there are fundamental principles of good taste in support of the universal appreciation of Colonial architecture and furniture. True beauty of design always reflects the nature of the materials and a straightforward method of subjecting them. In early days when appliances were few and simple this being the path of least resistance was naturally followed. The refined and delicate mouldings on a Colonial door or mantel were made by hand by a joiner whose physical strength would have been insufficient to propel a plane large enough to produce the exaggerations so easily turned out by the powerful machines of today. In like manner the Colonial silversmith fashioned his wares with hammer and anvil into the shapes that such tools would naturally form, and adorned them with the tracery of the graver or chasing tool. Refinement within these limitations was his highest aim, and with all the possibilities of varied and resistless machinery we can today produce nothing more beautiful or worthy.

The Newbury pattern, while from commercial necessity made by modern methods, might easily have been hammered out and similarly ornamented by the Colonial workman. The bowls of the dozen-work are studied with especial care and follow the most symmetrical models.

An especial convenience possessed by this line of Flatware is the multiplicity of sizes of these standard pieces by which is obtained a range of prices to meet all requirements while preserving an equally advantageous distribution of silver with consequent uniformity of strength and proportion. This has also another advantage where the individual equipment is extensive in that a size of spoon or fork can be selected that will be best adapted for any particular use.

It is available in chest combinatioms from the simplest to that of several hundred pieces embracing a complete outfit suitable for a bridal gift. These can be obtained only of Jewelers and dealers in silverware.

THE TOWLE MFG. COMPANY DOES NO RETAIL BUSINESS ANYWHERE



TOWLE MFG. COMPANY

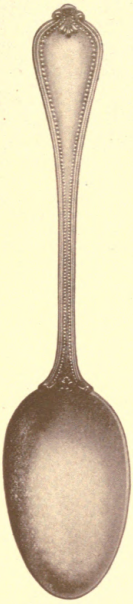
Silversmiths

NEWBURYPORT : MASSACHUSETTS

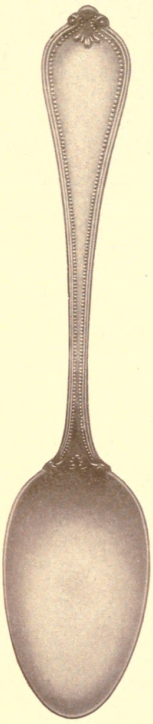
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
149 & 151 State St.

NEW YORK CITY
41 Union Square

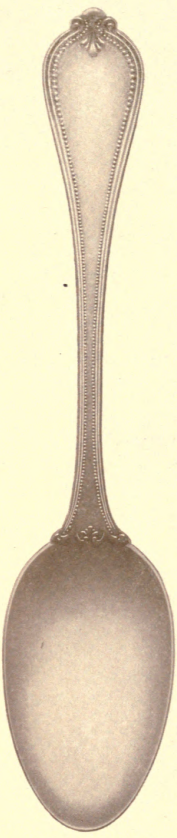
Coffee Spoon.



Tea Spoon, P. M.

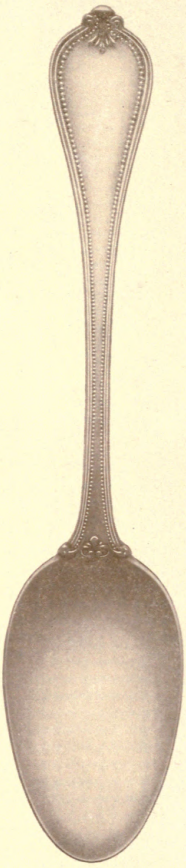


Tea Spoon, No. 9.



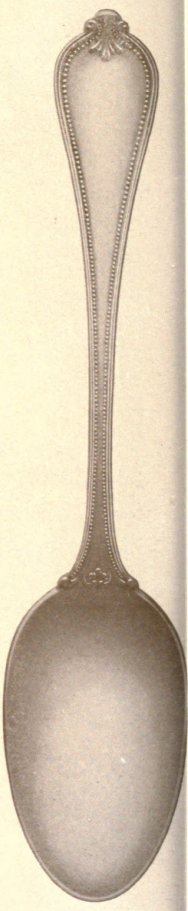
Length, 5⅞ inches.

Tea Spoon, No. 10.



Length, 5⅞ inches.

Tea Spoon, Nos. 12 and 14



Length, 5⅜ inches.

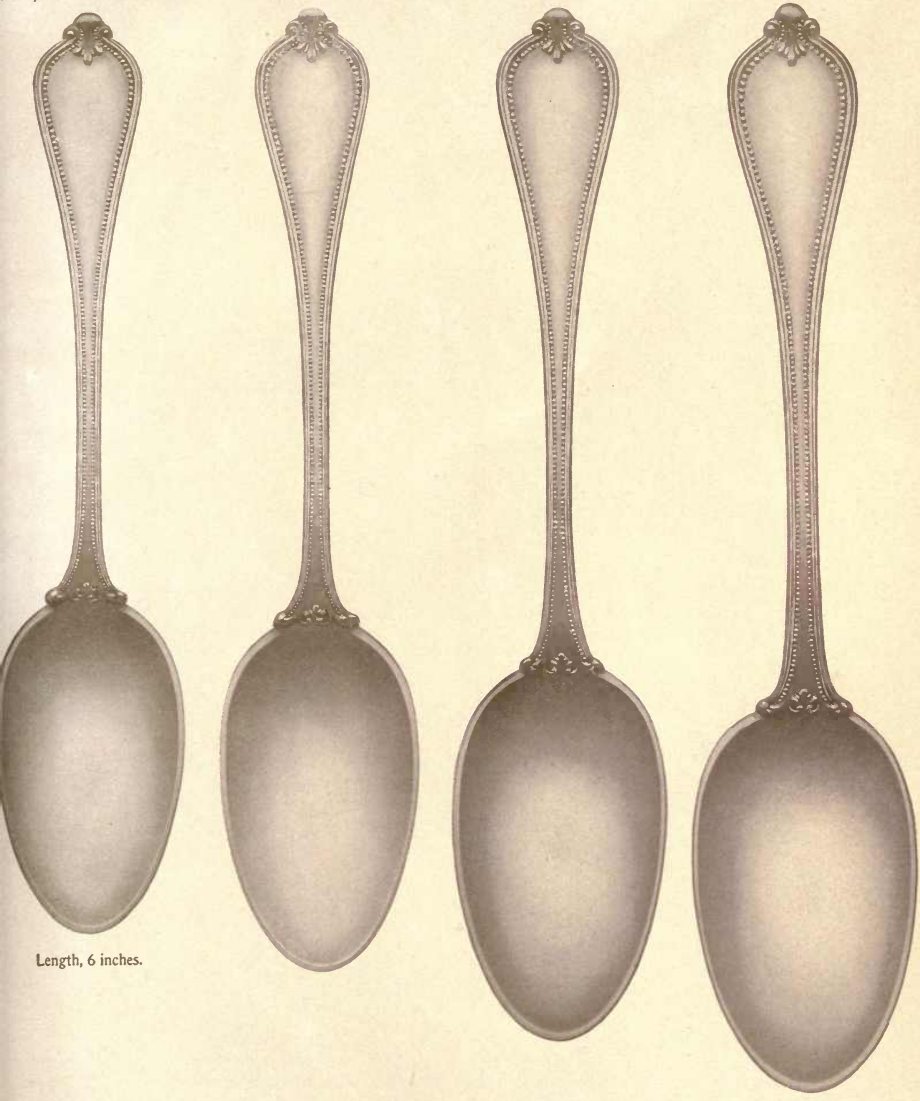
u r y

Tea Spoon, Nos. 16 and 18.

Pap Spoon.

Breakfast Spoon.

Dessert Spoon,
Nos. 26, 30, and 34.



Length, 6 inches.

ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Newbury

Table Spoon, No. 29.

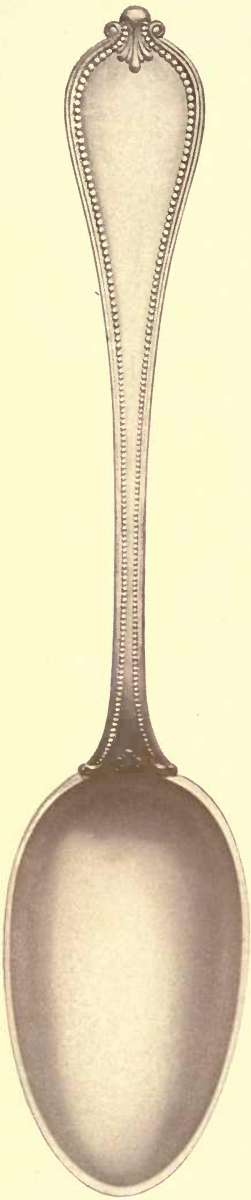


Table Spoon, No. 33.

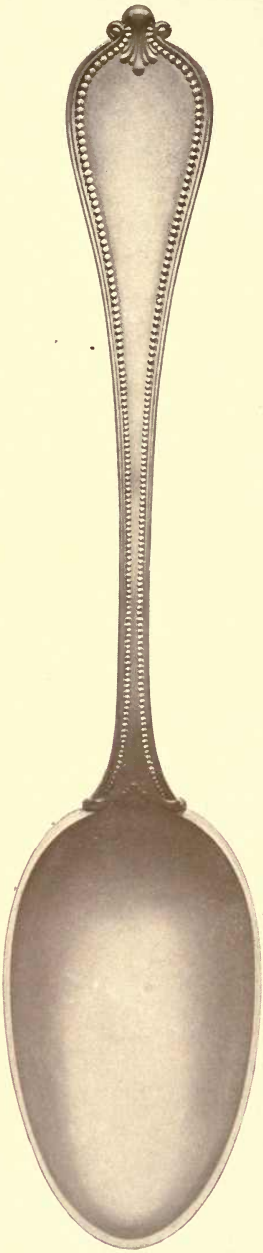
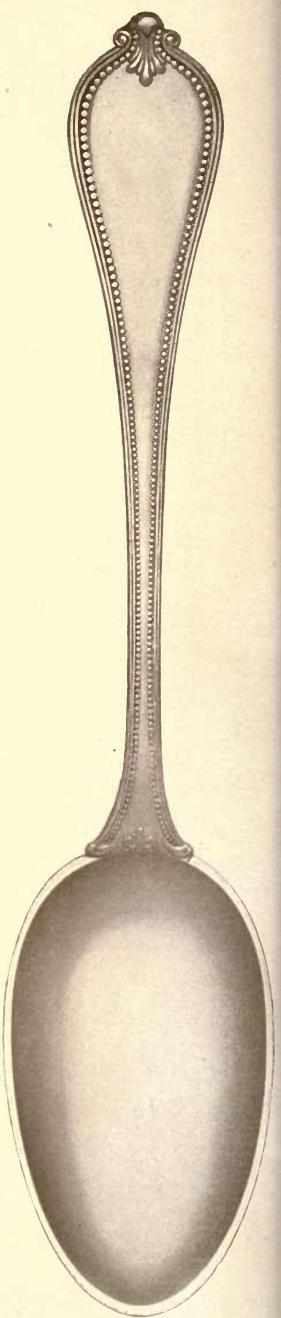


Table Spoon, Nos. 39, 45 and 49.



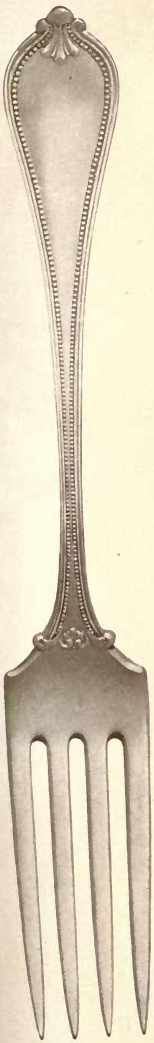
ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Newbury

Tea Fork



Dessert Fork.

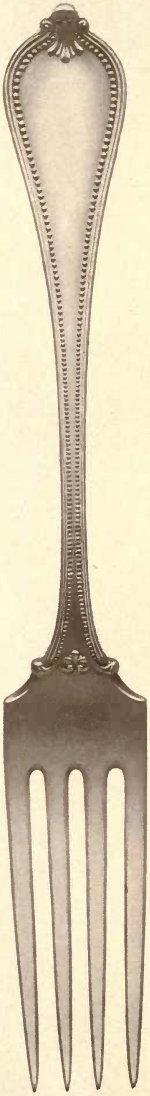


Table Fork, No. 33.

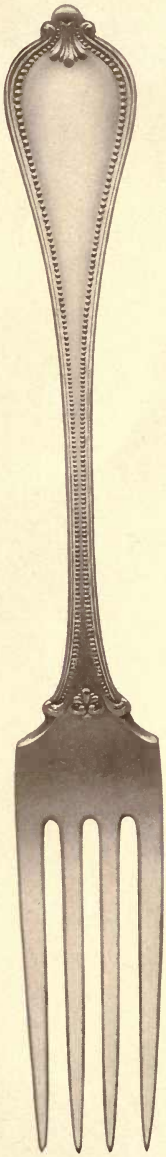
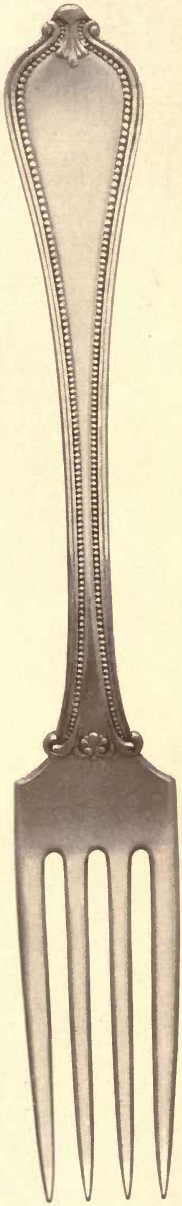


Table Fork, Nos. 39 and 45.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Newbury

Ice Cream Spoon.

Sugar Spoon, small.

Sugar Spoon, large.

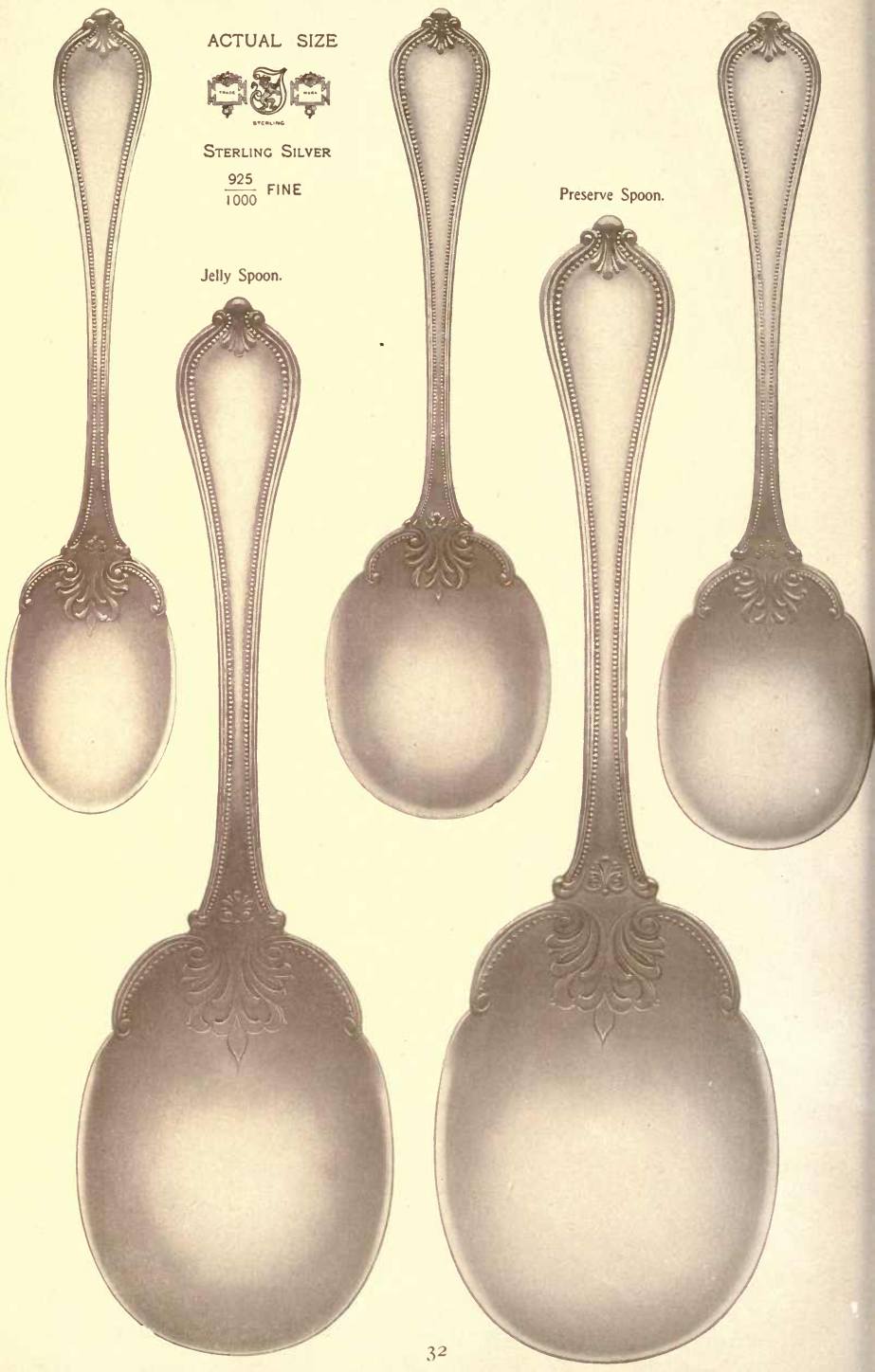
ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

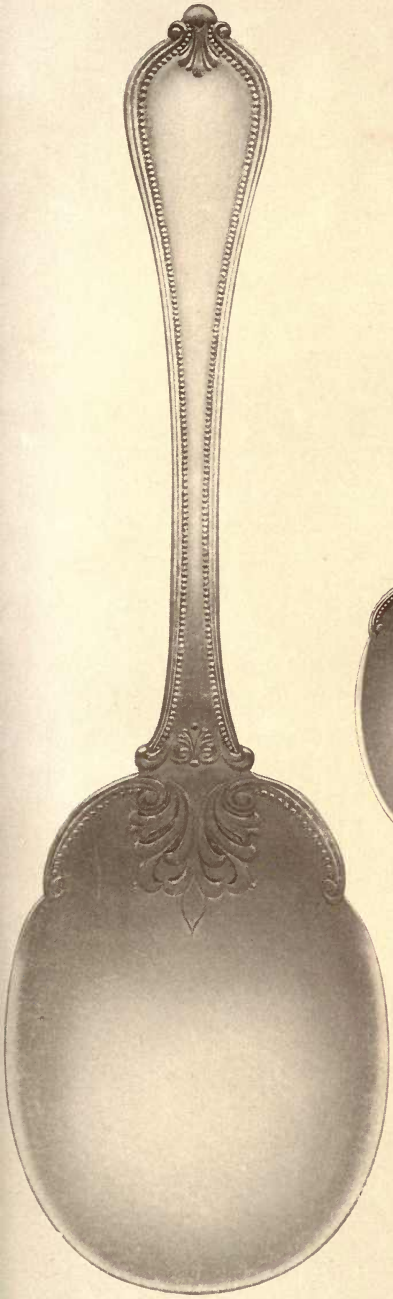
Jelly Spoon.

Preserve Spoon.

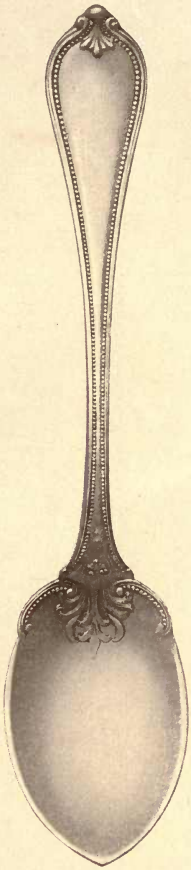


Newbury

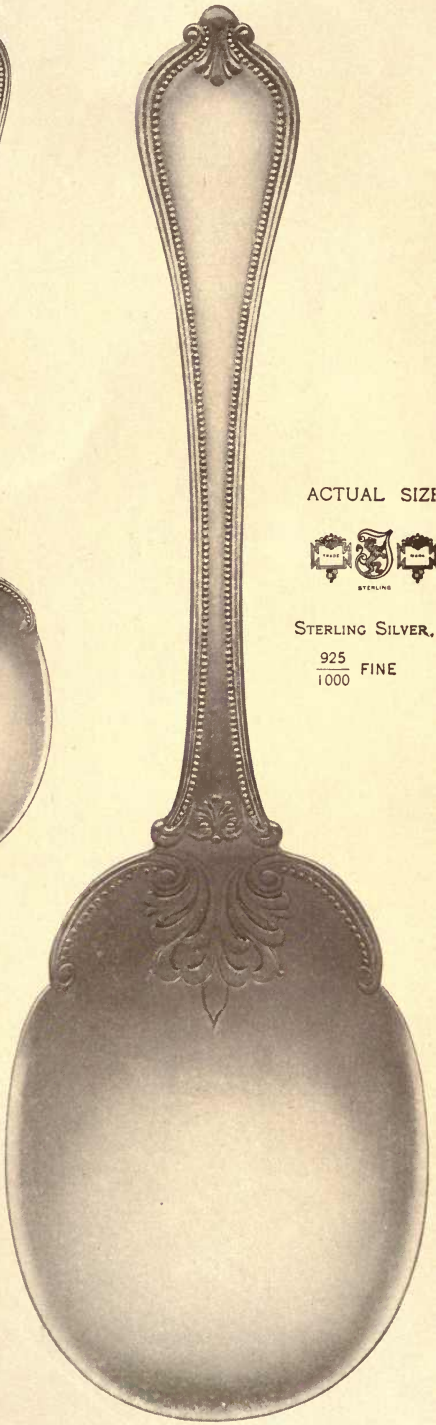
Berry Spoon, small.



Orange Spoon.



Berry Spoon, large.



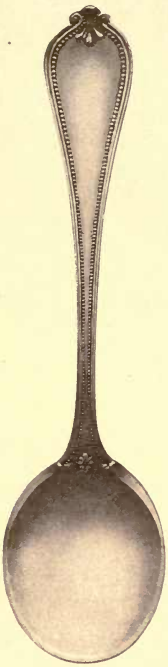
ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER.

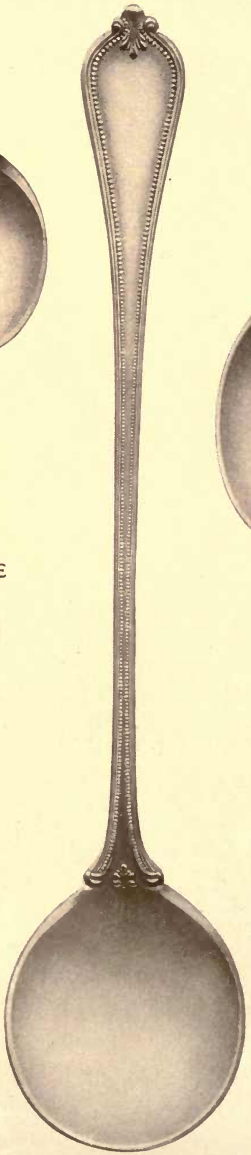
925/1000 FINE

Newbury

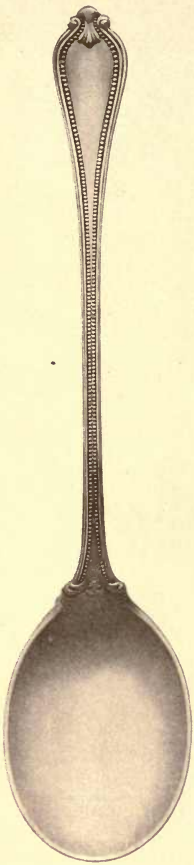
Chocolate Spoon.



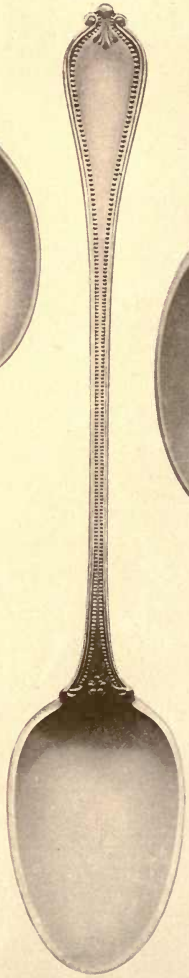
Chocolate Muddler.



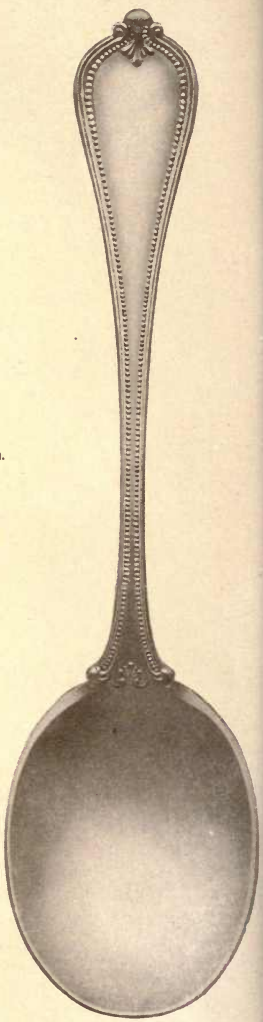
Bouillon Spoon.



Lemonade Spoon.



Soup Spoon, small.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Newbury

Soup Spoon, large.

Egg Spoon.

Olive Spoon.

ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Sugar Sifter.

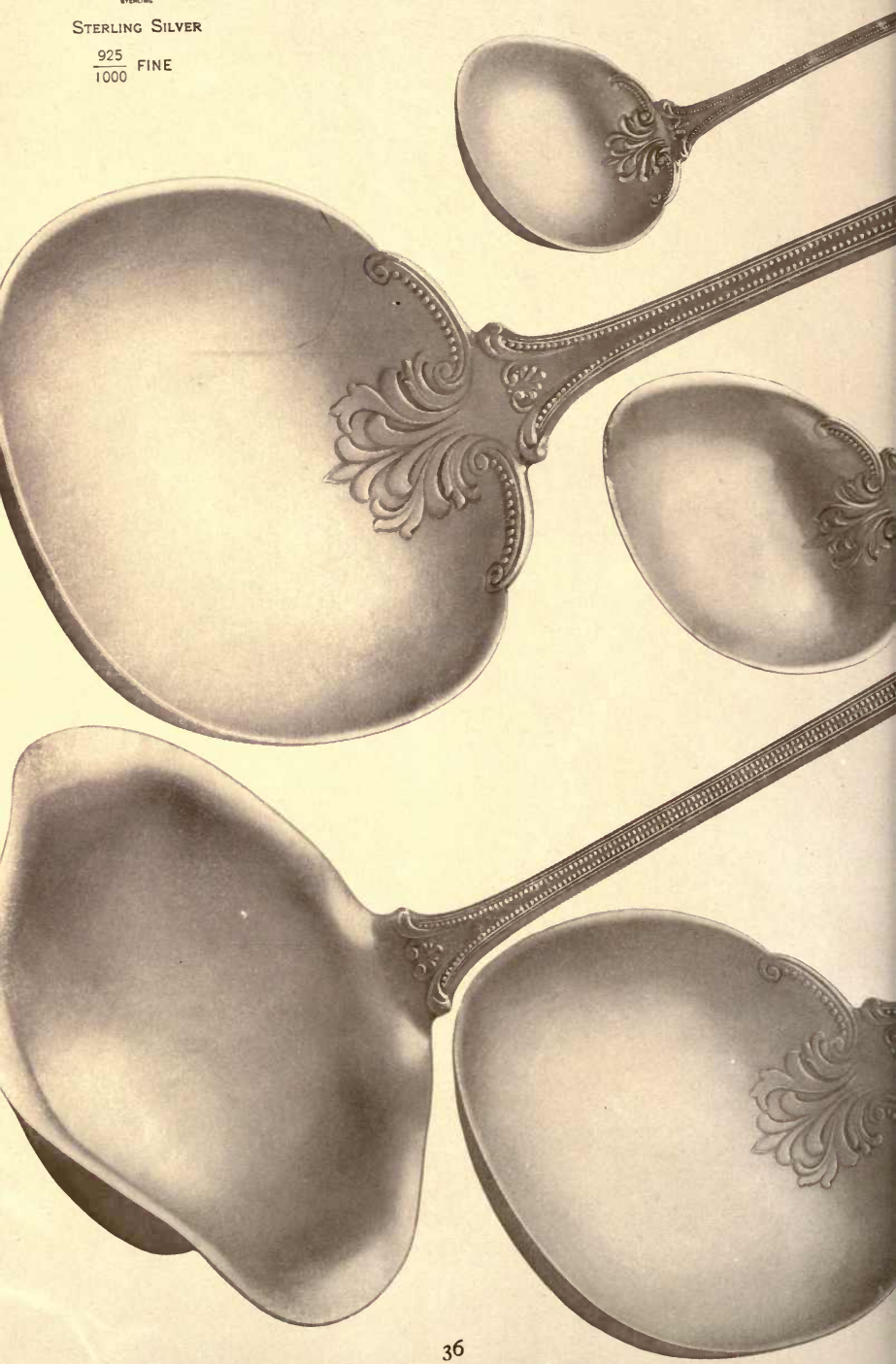
Almond Scoop.

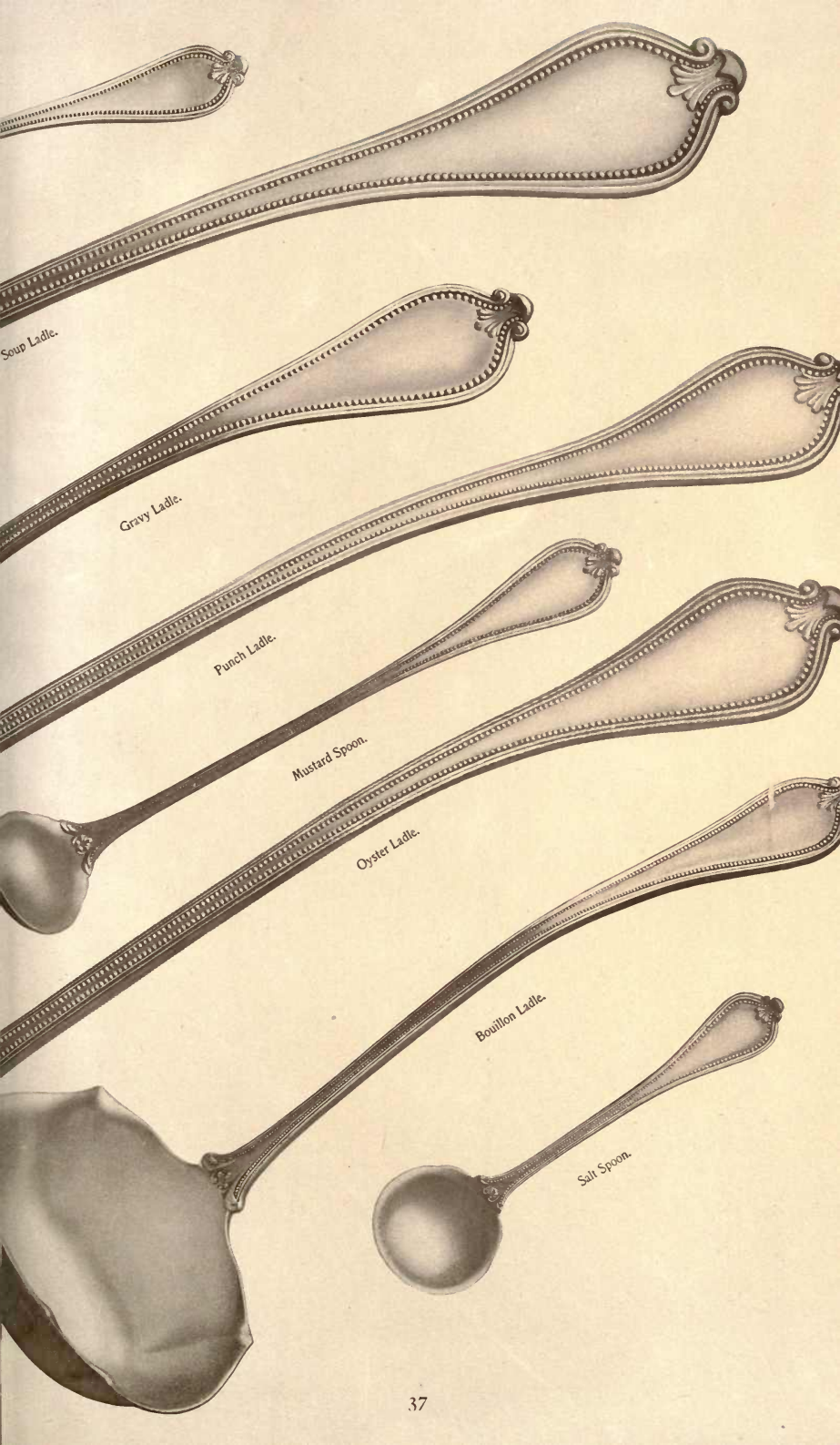
Newbury

ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE



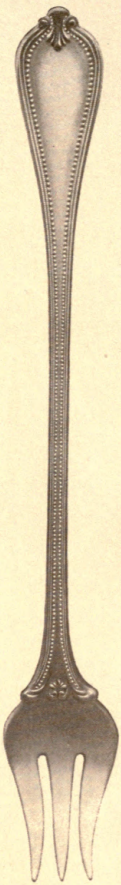

Soup Ladle.
Gravy Ladle.
Punch Ladle.
Mustard Spoon.
Oyster Ladle.
Bouillon Ladle.
Salt Spoon.

Newbury

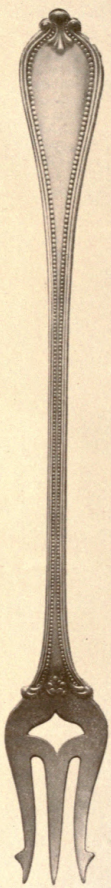
Butter Knife Pick.



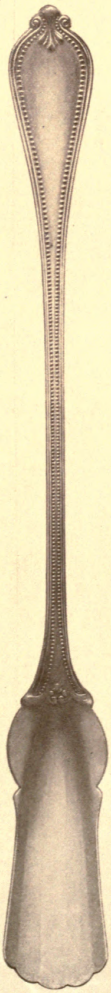
Oyster Fork.



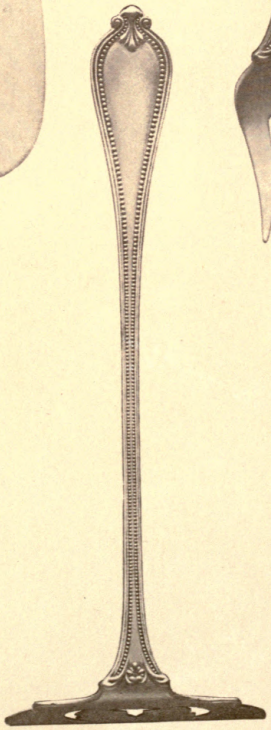
Olive Fork, small.



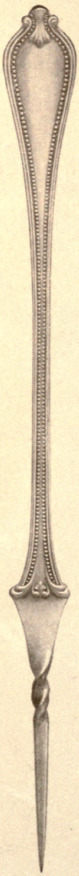
Horse Radish Spoon.



Food Pusher.



Butter Pick.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Newbury

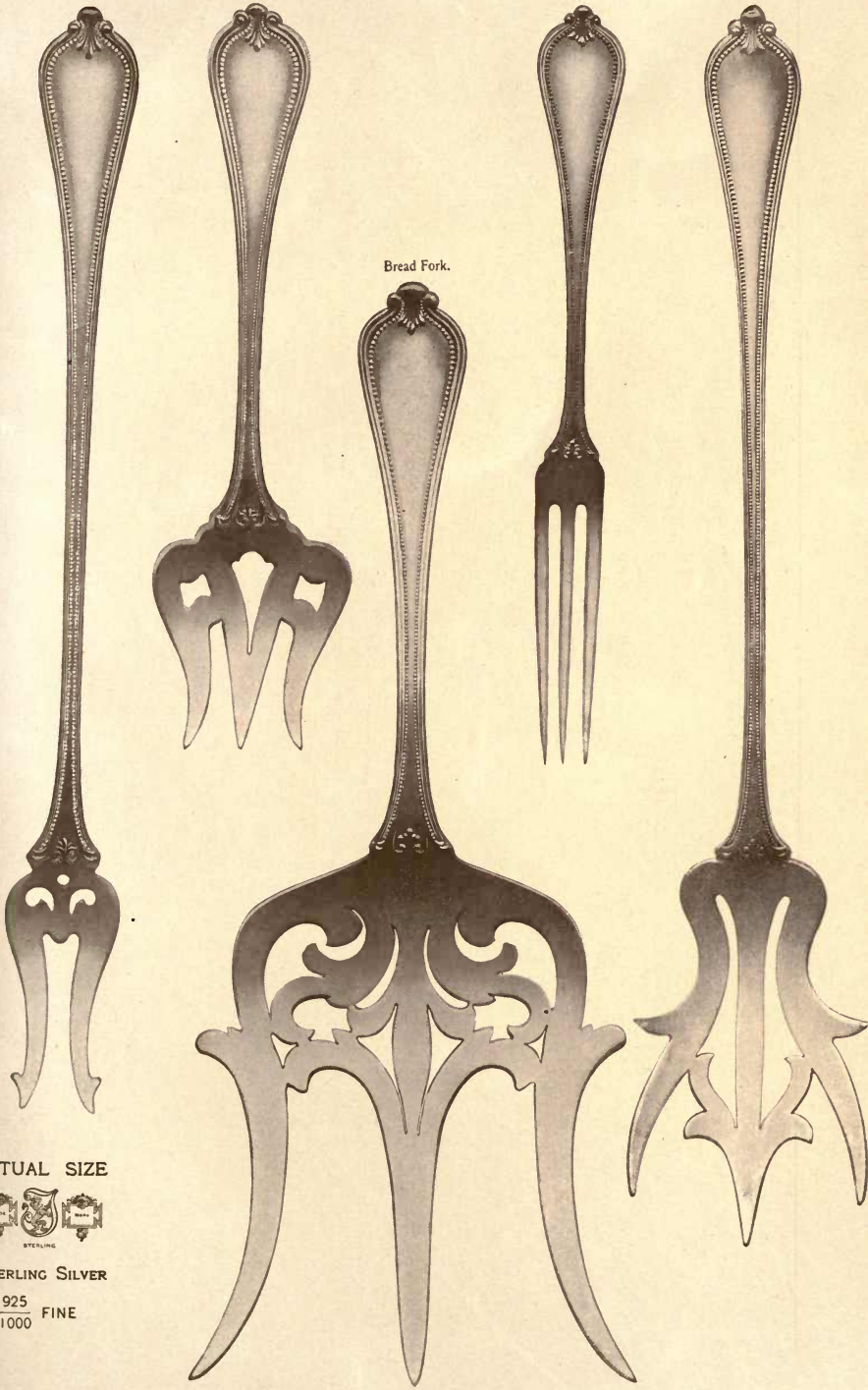
Olive Fork.

Terrapin Fork.

Berry Fork.

Lettuce Fork.

Bread Fork.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Newbury

Individual Fish Fork.

Lobster Fork.

ACTUAL SI



STERLING SILV

925/1000 FINE

Cold Meat Fork.

Beef Fork, large.

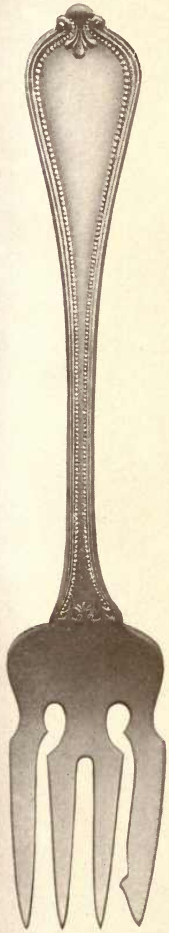
Beef Fork, small.

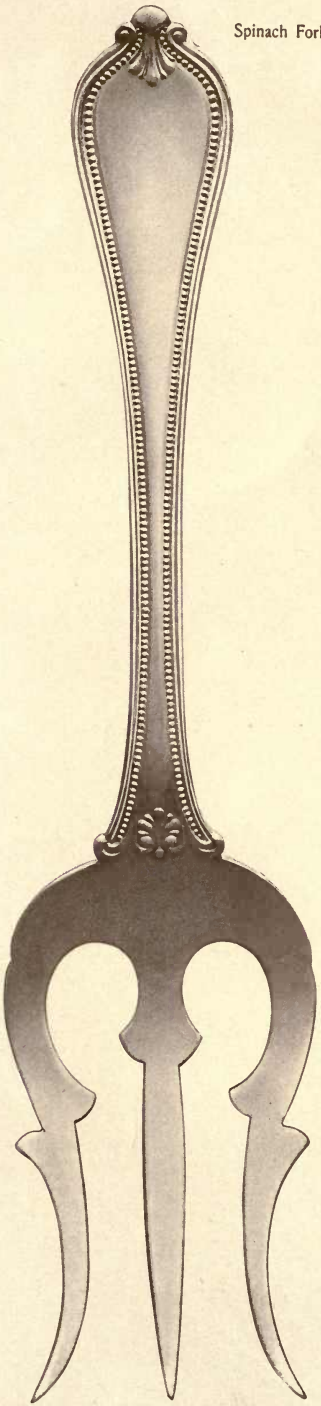
Newbury

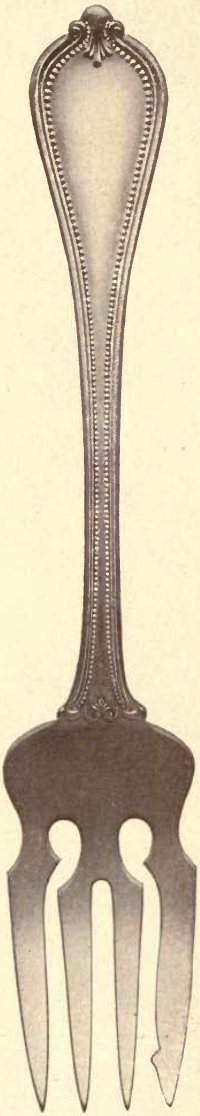
Spinach Fork.

Individual
Salad Fork, small.

Individual
Salad Fork, large.







ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING

STERLING SILVER

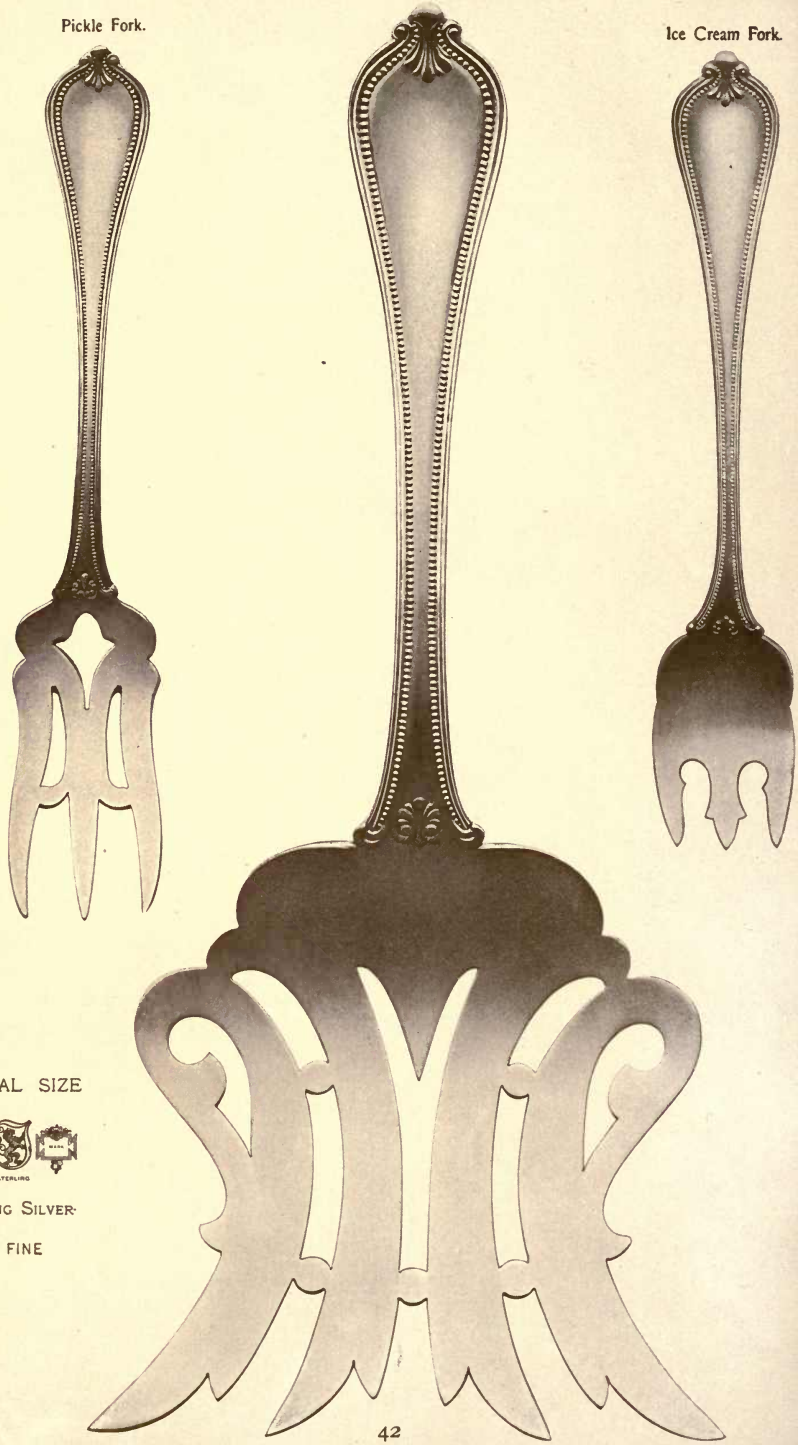
925/1000 FINE

Newbury

Asparagus Fork.

Pickle Fork.

Ice Cream Fork.



ACTUAL SIZE

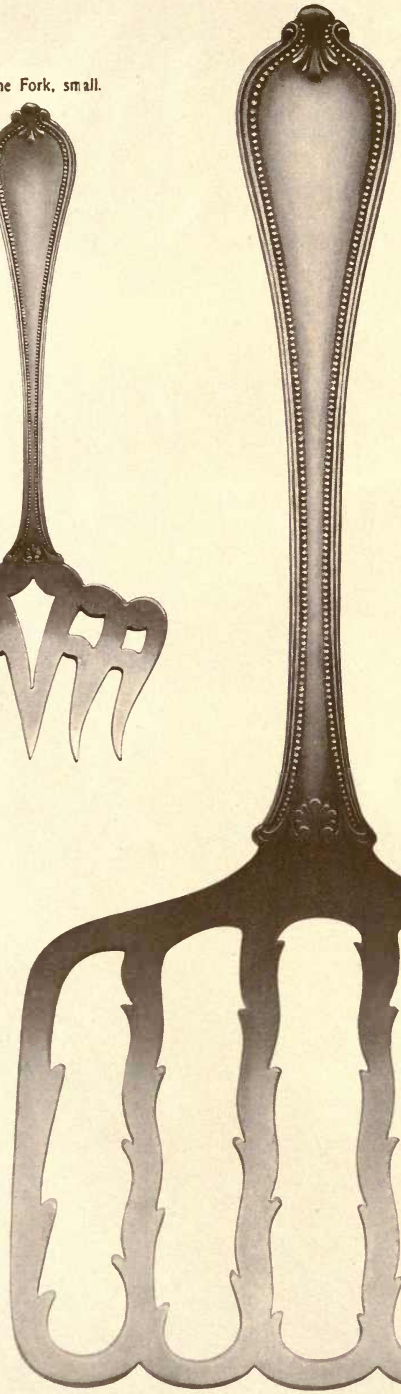
STERLING

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

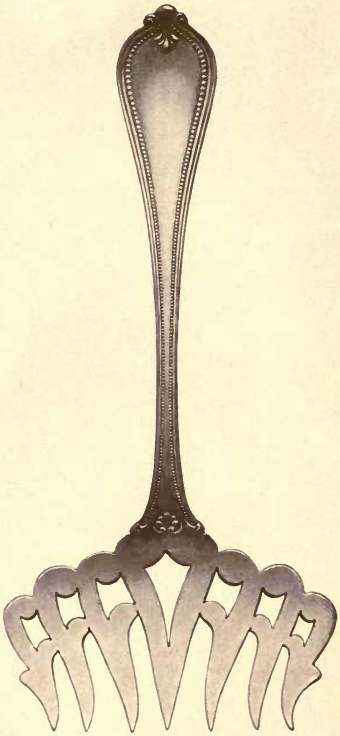
Newbury

Toast Server.



Sardine Fork, small.

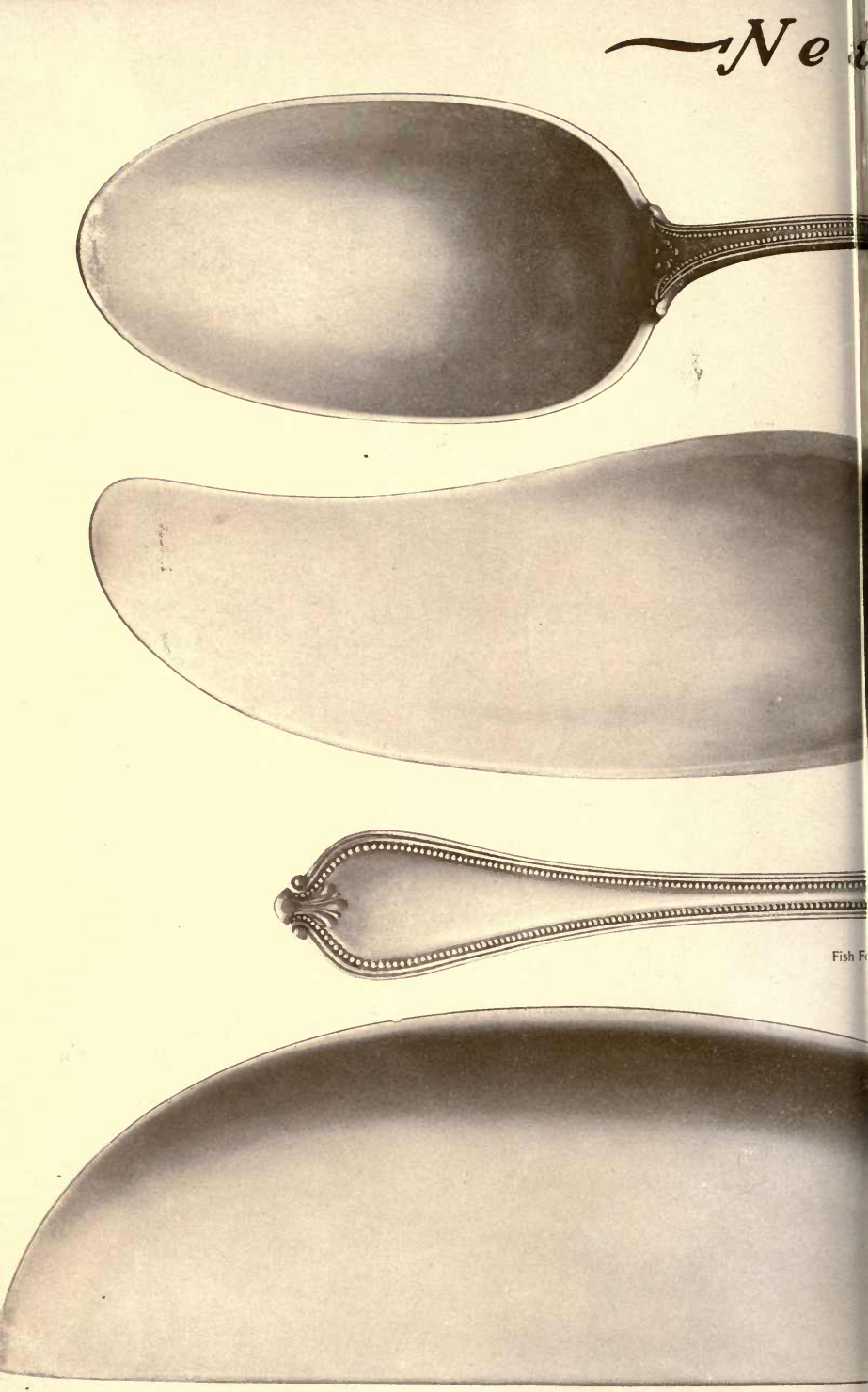
Sardine Fork, large.

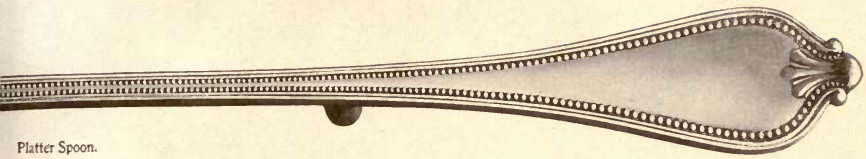


CTUAL SIZE

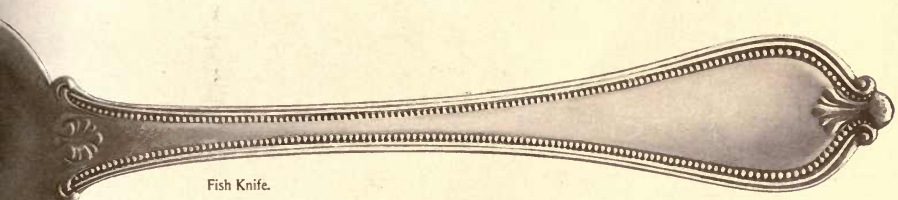
ERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

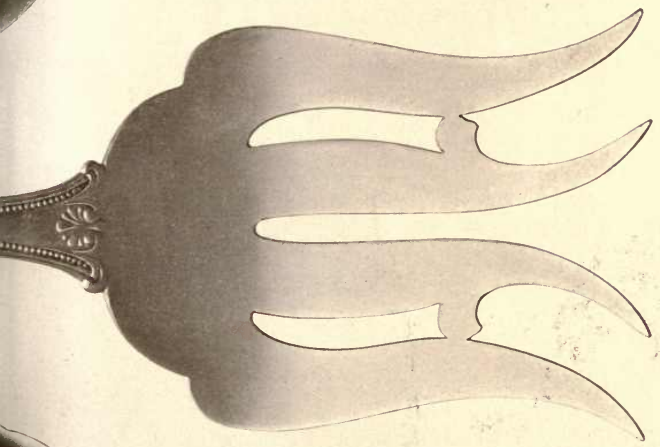

Ne
Fish F



Platter Spoon.



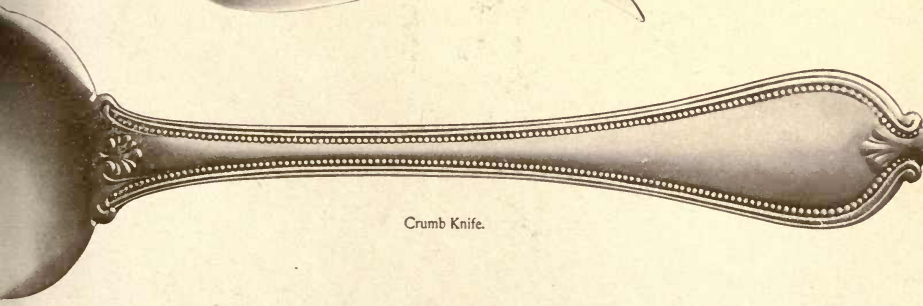
Fish Knife.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

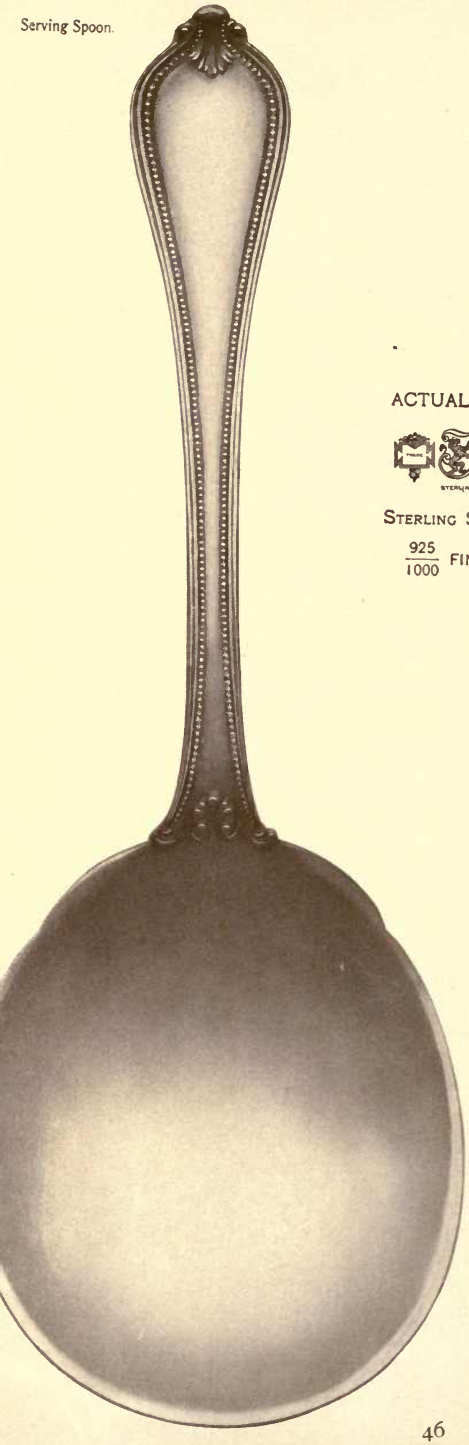
925/1000 FINE



Crumb Knife.

Newbury

Serving Spoon.



Pie Knife.



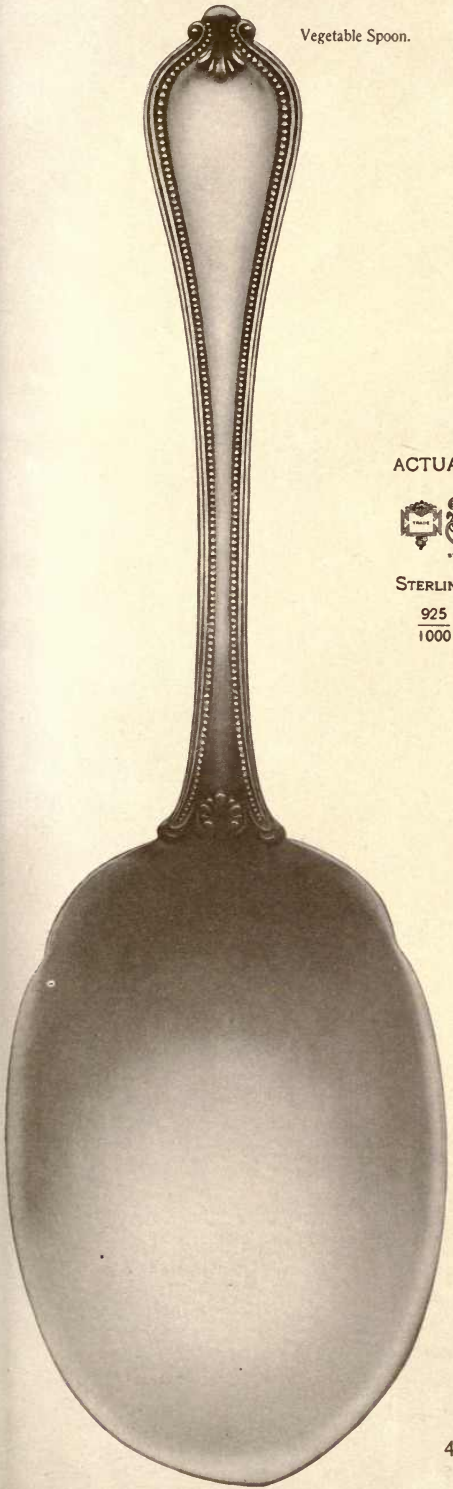
ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

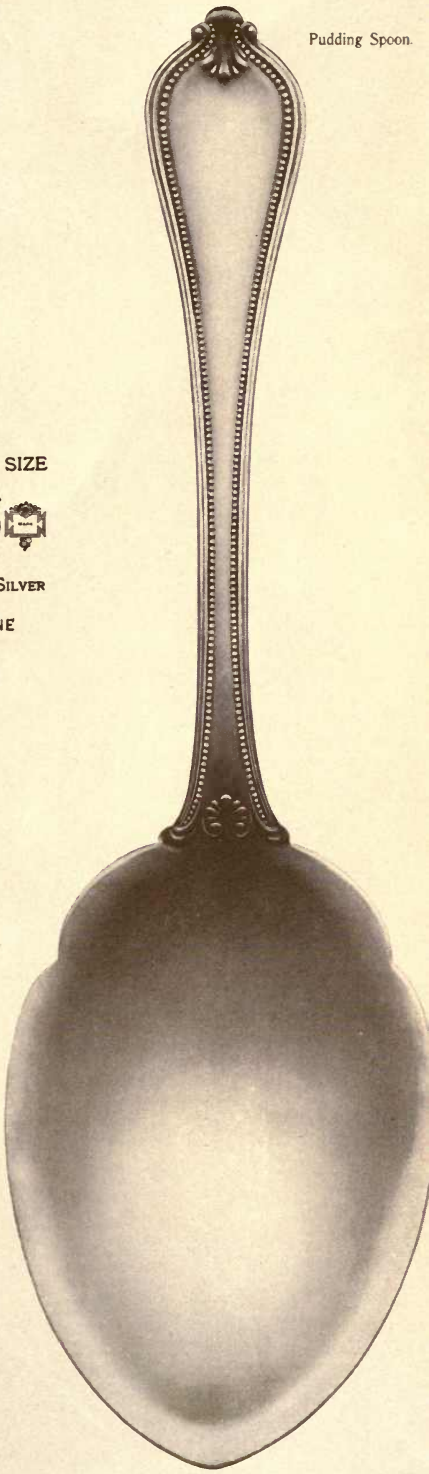
925/1000 FINE

Newbury

Vegetable Spoon.



Pudding Spoon.



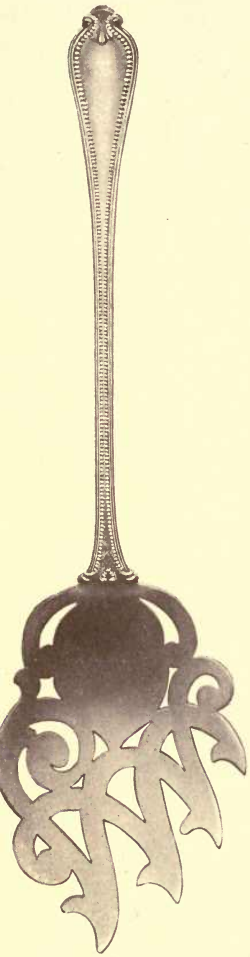
ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

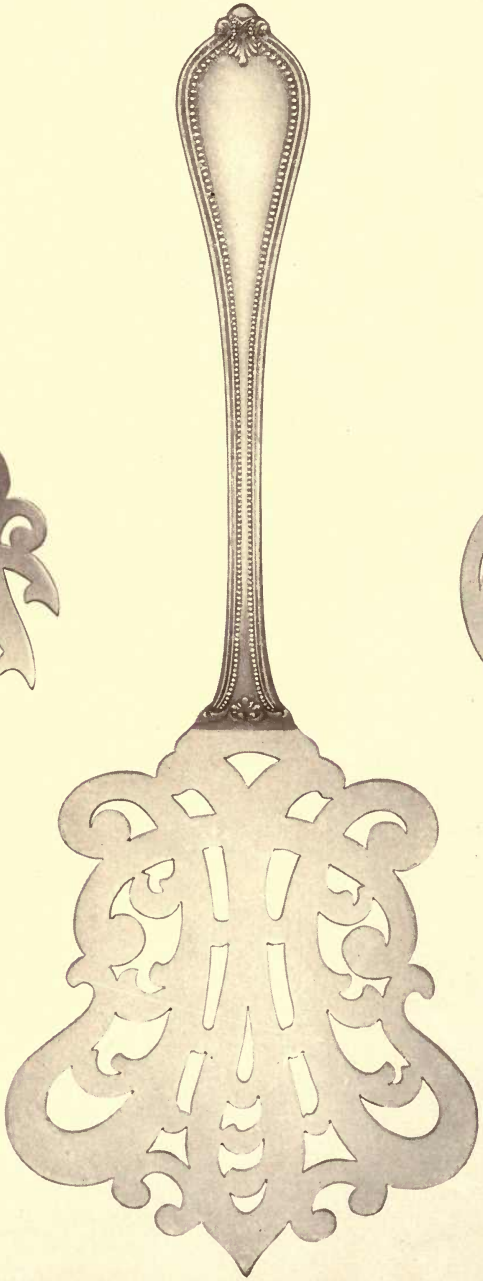
925/1000 FINE

Newbury

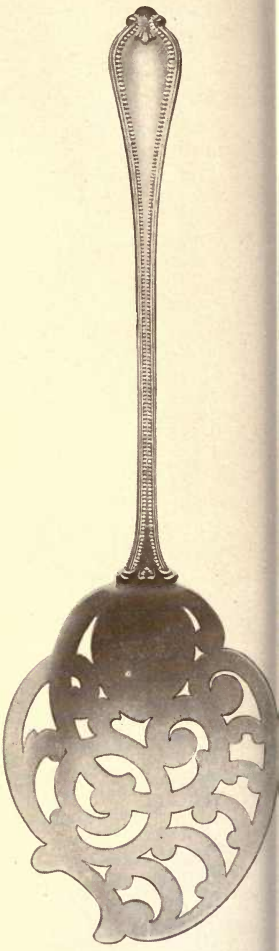
Cheese Server.



Waffle Server



Lemon Server



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

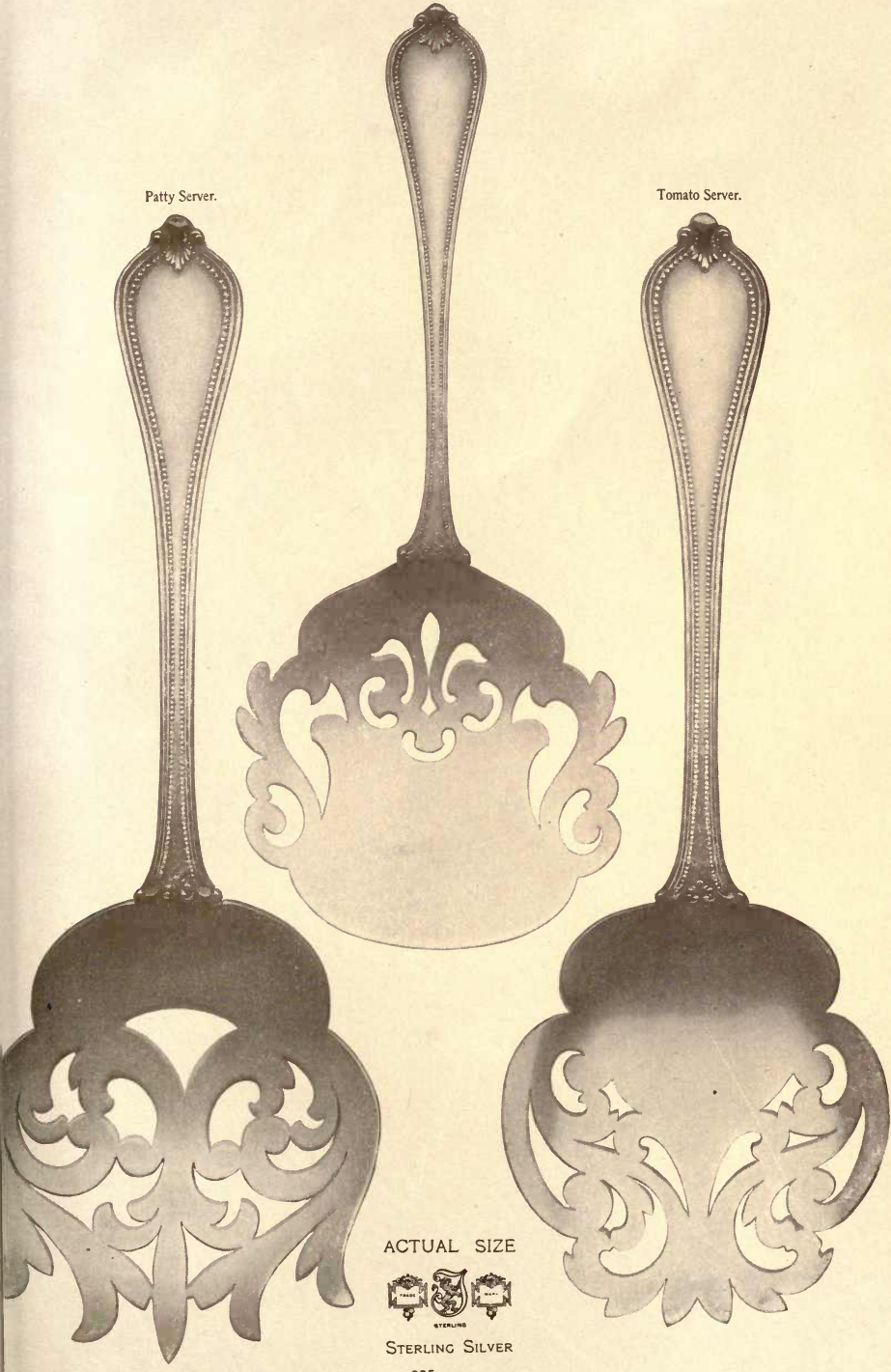
925/1000 FINE

Newbury

Confection Spoon

Patty Server.

Tomato Server.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

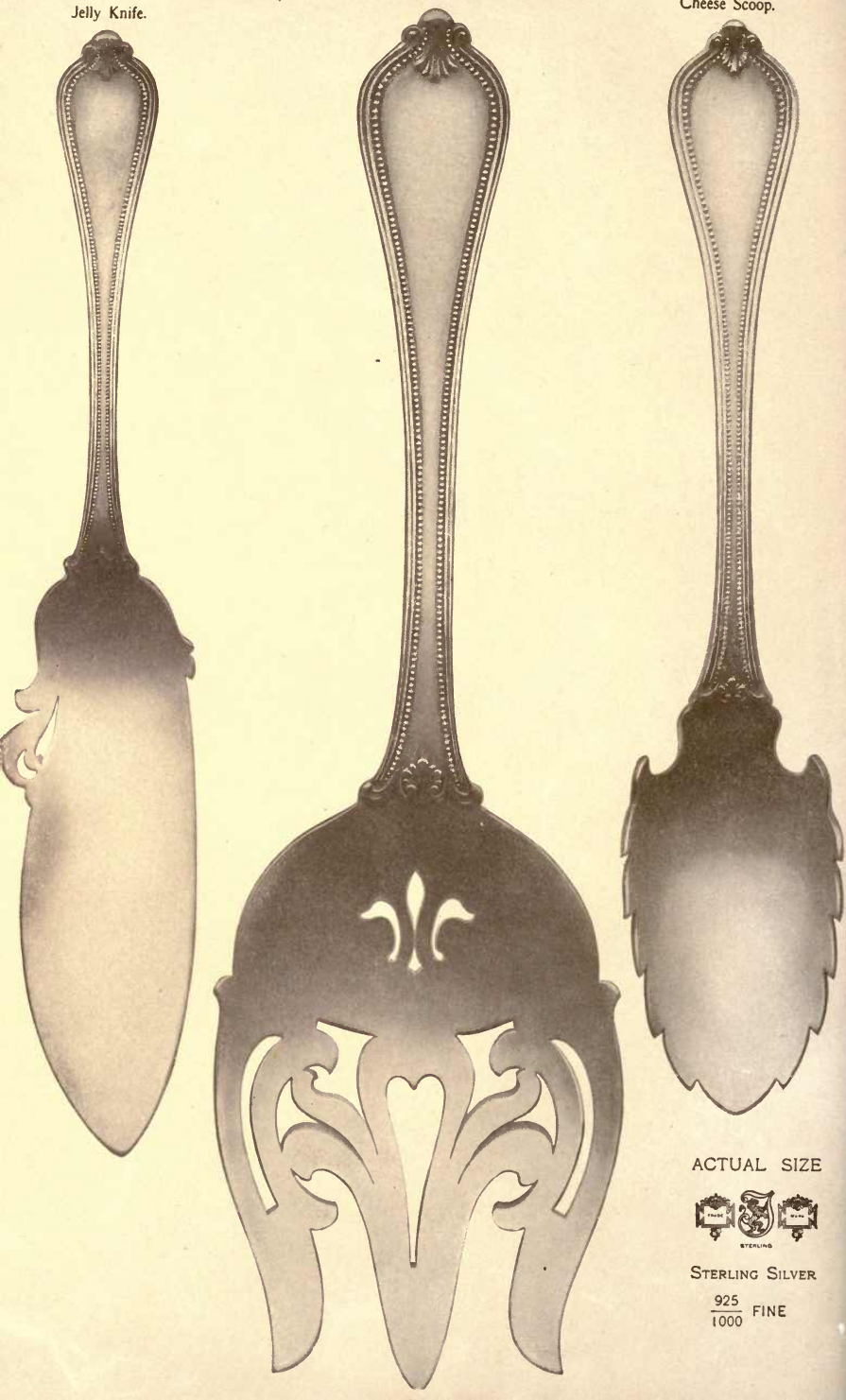
925/1000 FINE

Newbury

Jelly Knife.

Vegetable Fork.

Cheese Scoop.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Newbury

Cucumber Server.

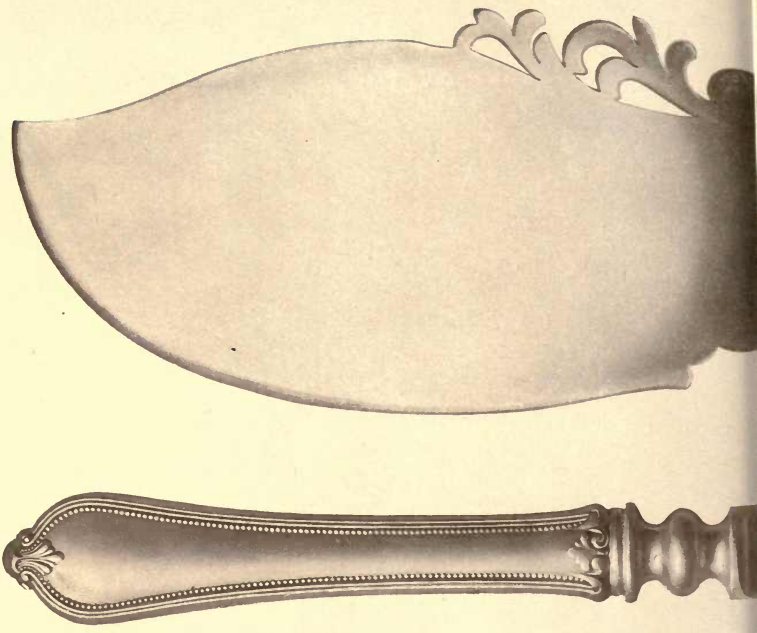
Macaroni Server.

Oyster Server.

ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

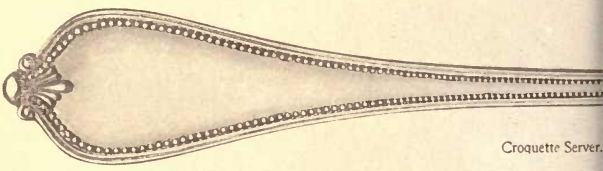


Pie Server.

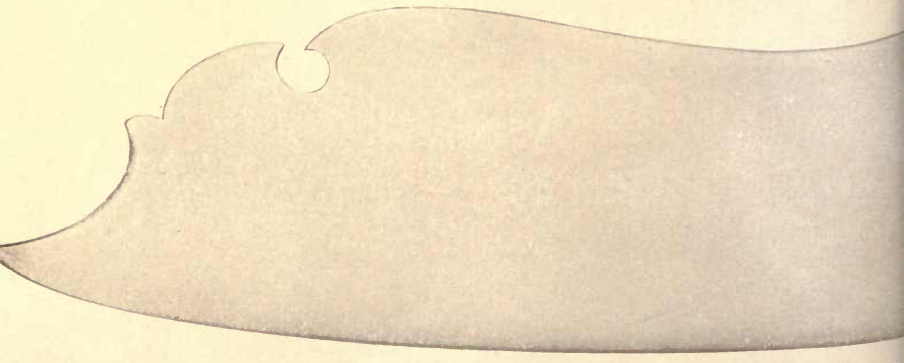
ACTUAL SIZE

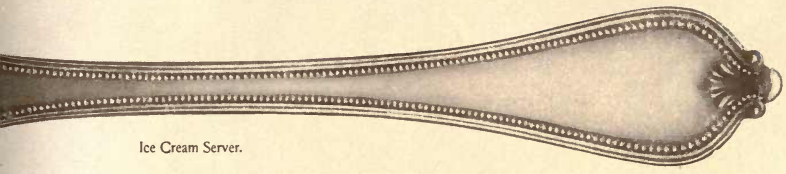
STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

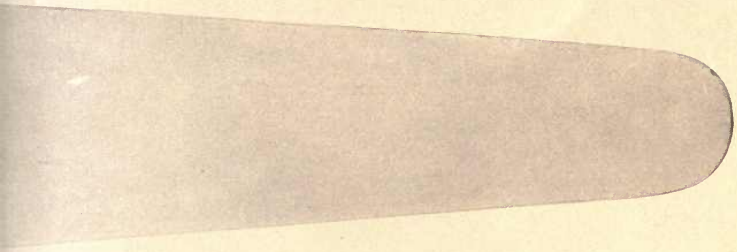


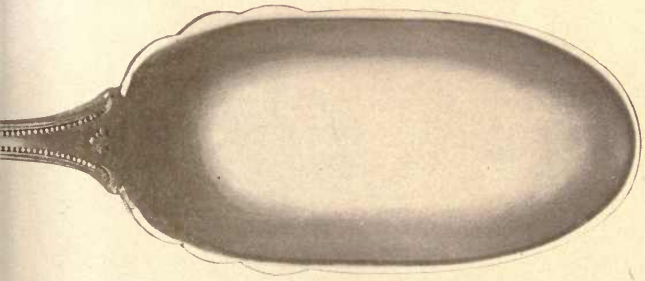
Croquette Server.

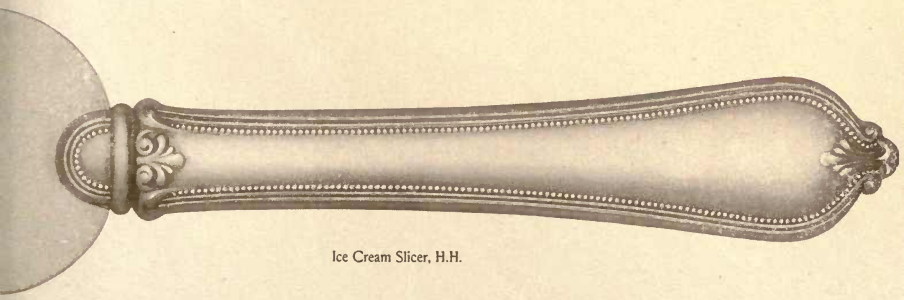




Ice Cream Server.





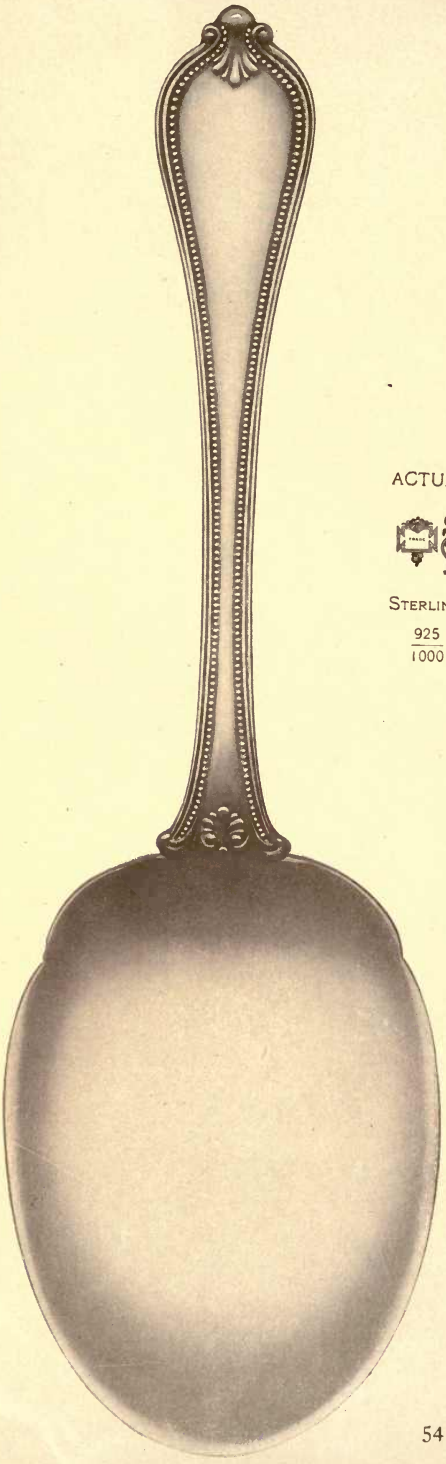


Ice Cream Slicer, H.H.

Newbury

Salad Spoon.

Salad Fork.





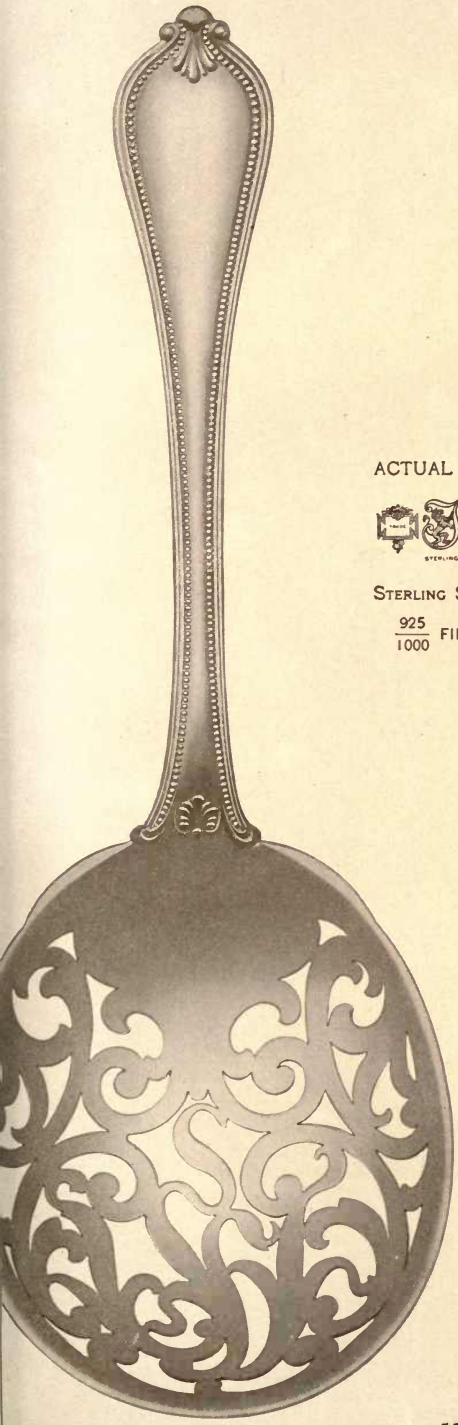
ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

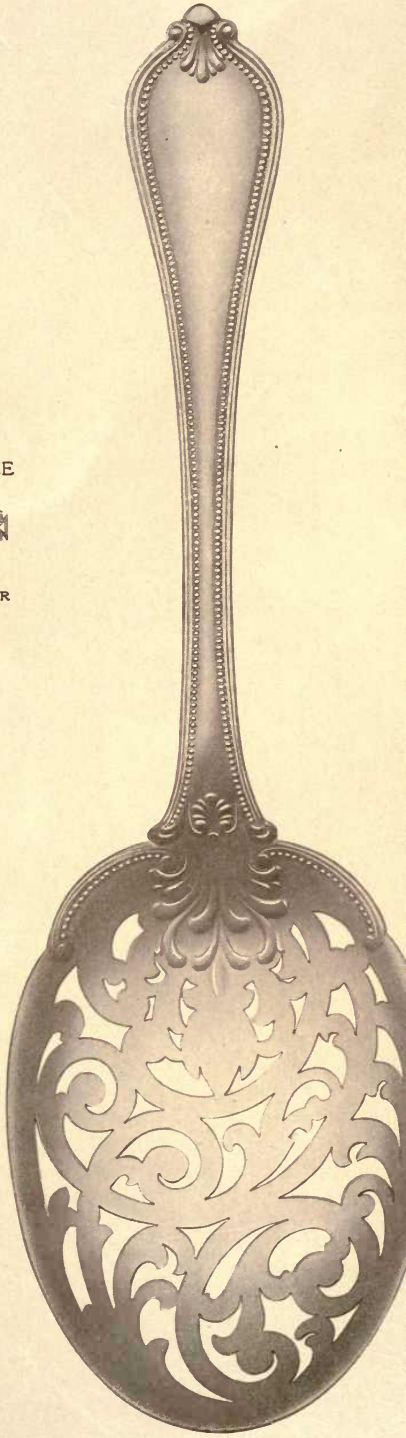
925/1000 FINE

Newbury

Pea Server.



Ice Spoon, large



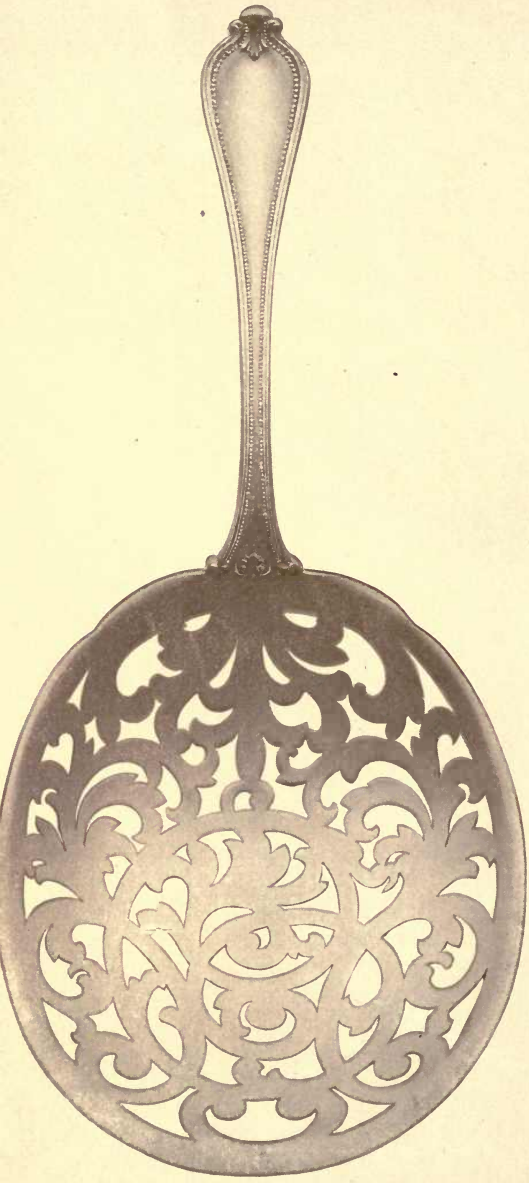
ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Newbury

Cracker Scoop.

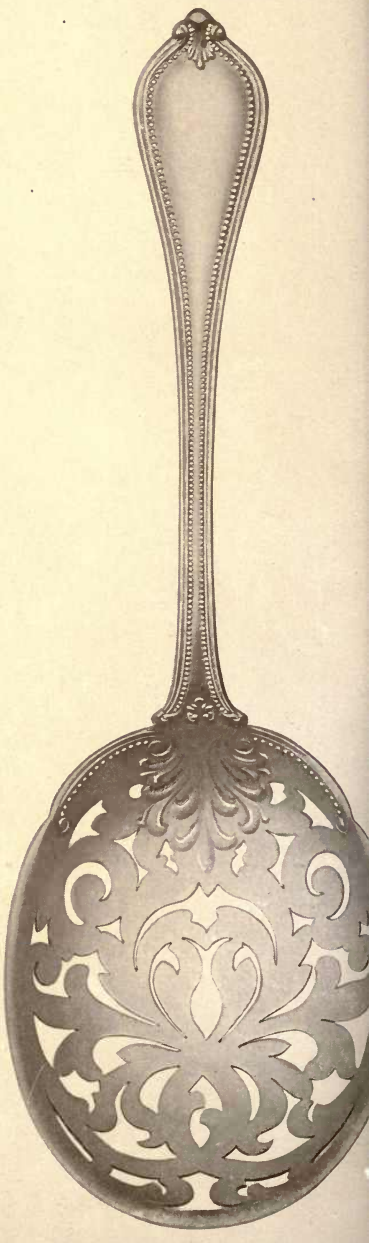


ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

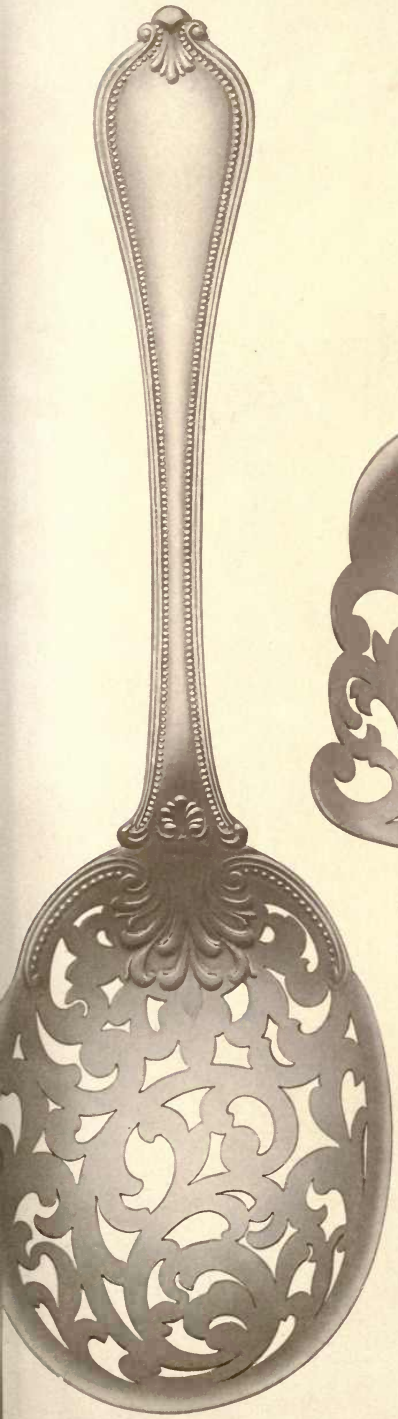
Nut Spoon, small.

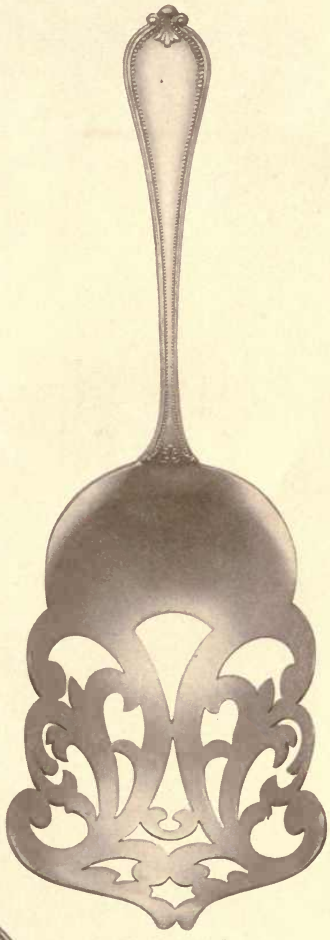


Newbury

Bonbon Scoop.

Nut Spoon, large



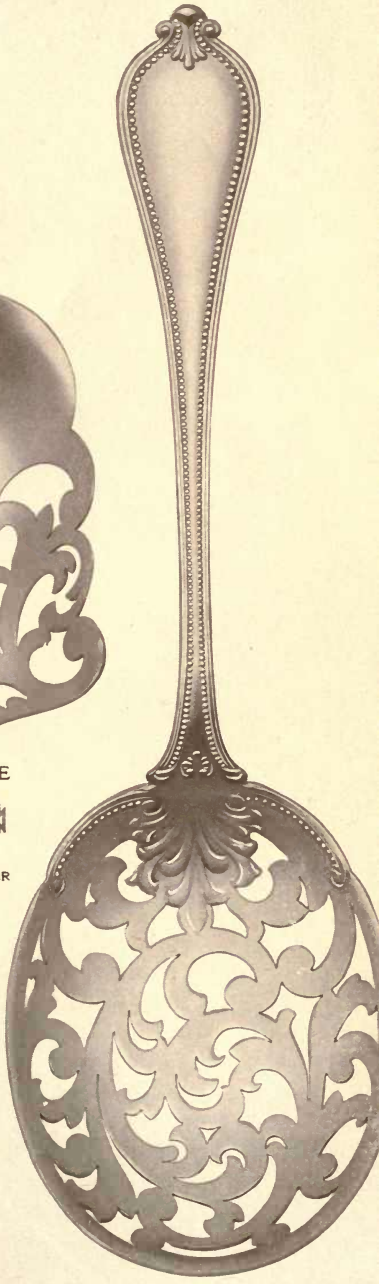


ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

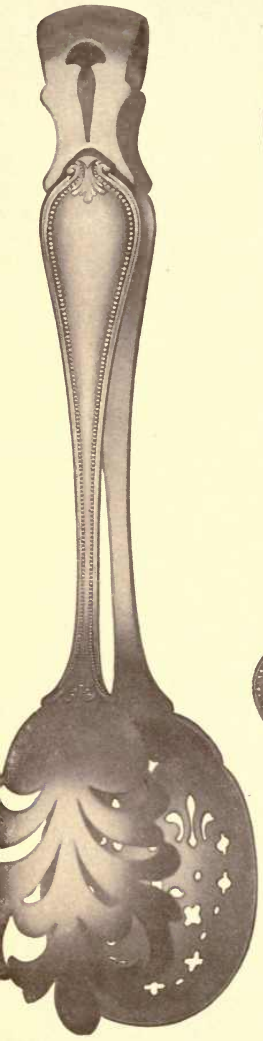
925/1000 FINE

Ice Spoon, small.

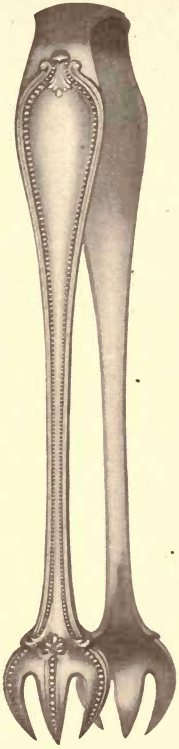


Newbury

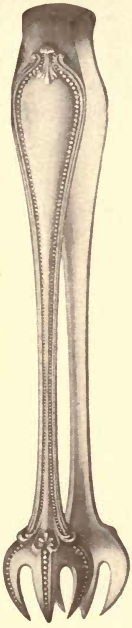
Ice Tongs.



Sugar Tongs.



Tête-à-tête Tongs.



Asparagus Tongs.

ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Newbury

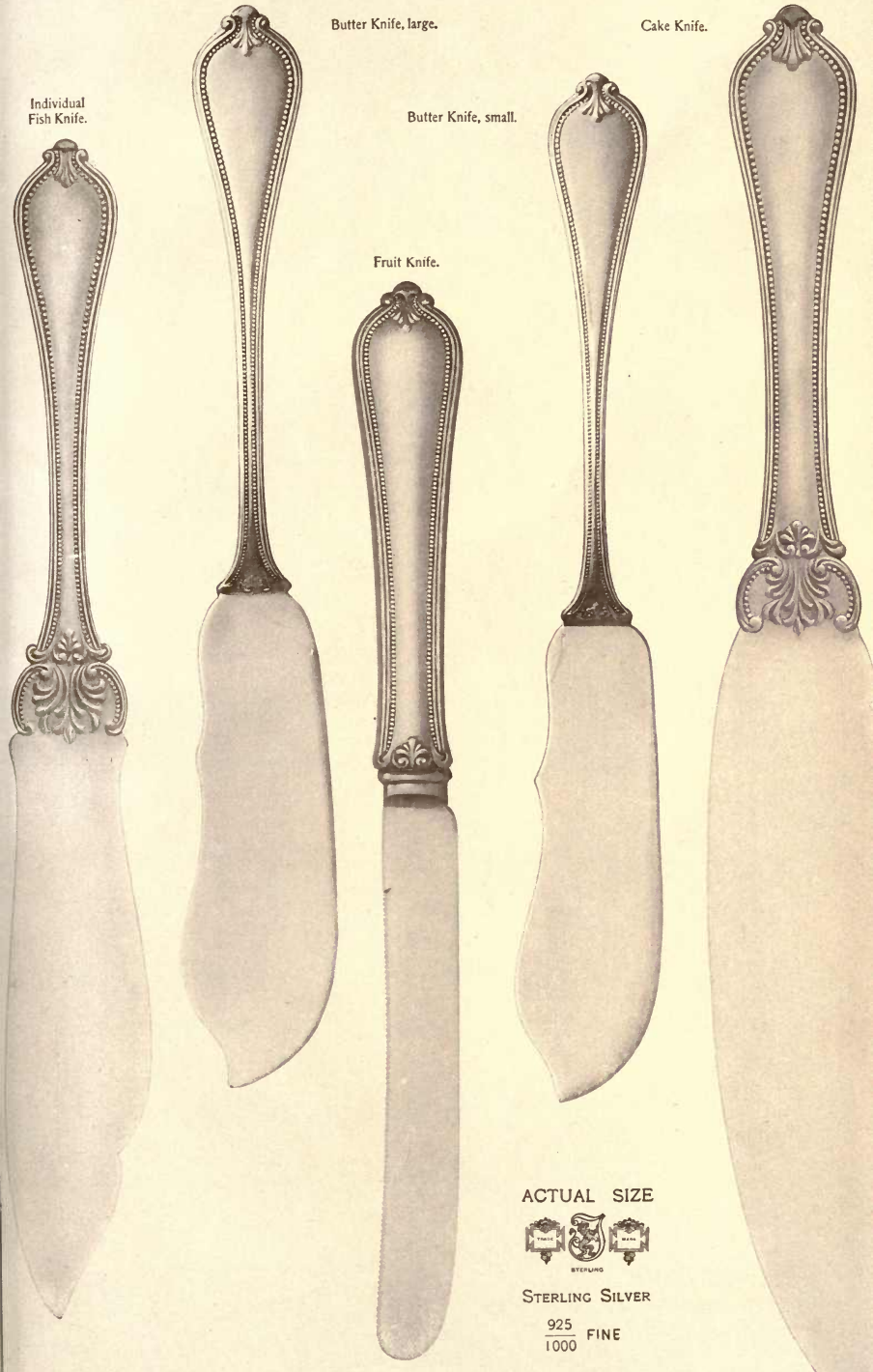
Butter Knife, large.

Cake Knife.

Individual Fish Knife.

Butter Knife, small.

Fruit Knife.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

ACTUAL SIZE

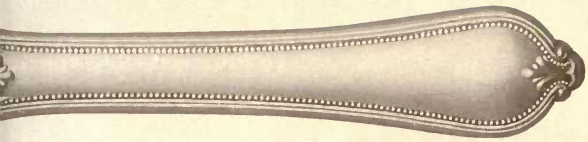
STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Roast Holder, large.

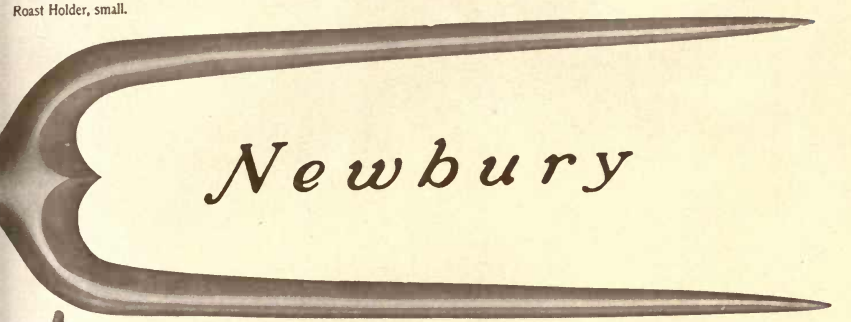
Steel.

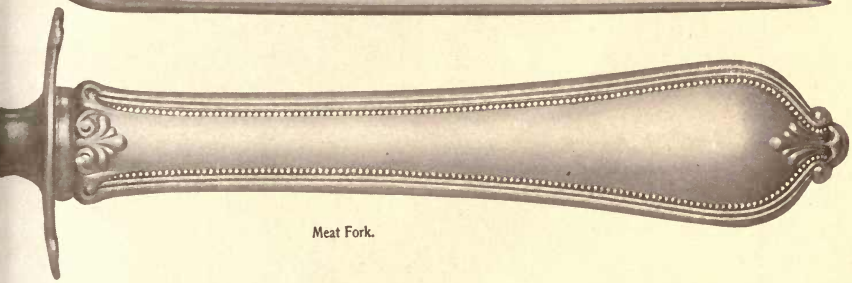
Game Fork.



Roast Holder, small.

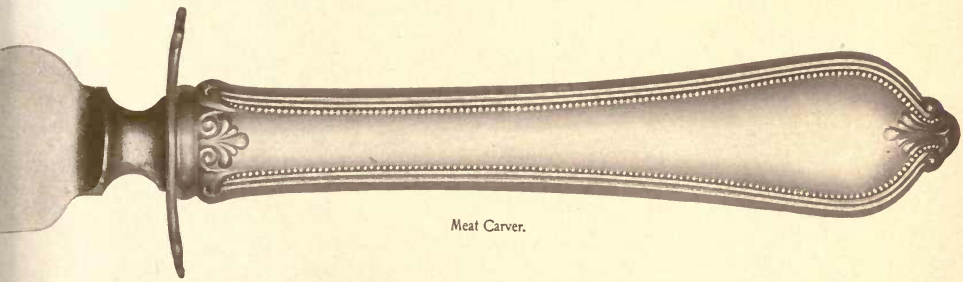
Newbury





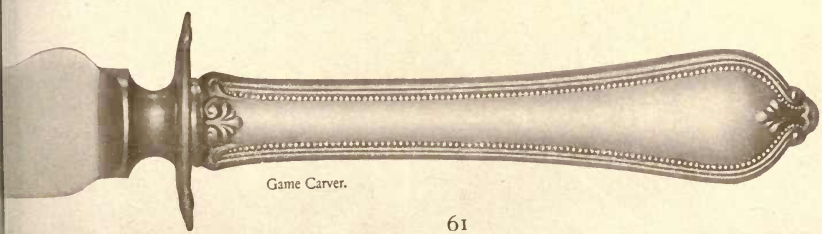
Meat Fork.





Meat Carver.





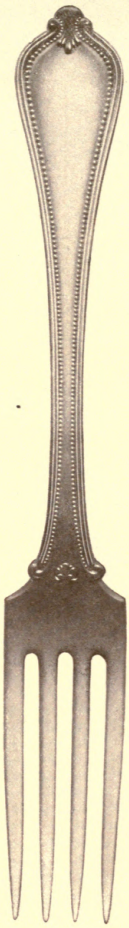
Game Carver.

Newbury

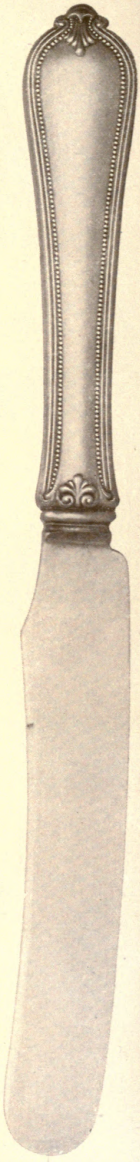
Child's Knife



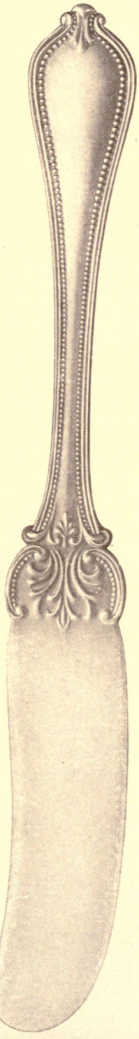
Child's Fork.



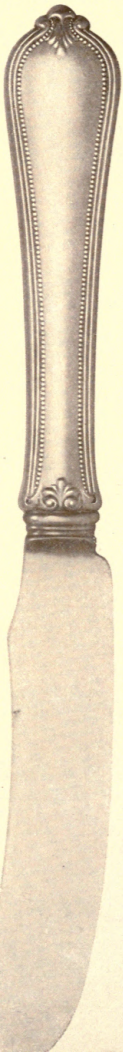
Child's Knife, H.H.



Butter Spreader.



Butter Spreader, H.H.

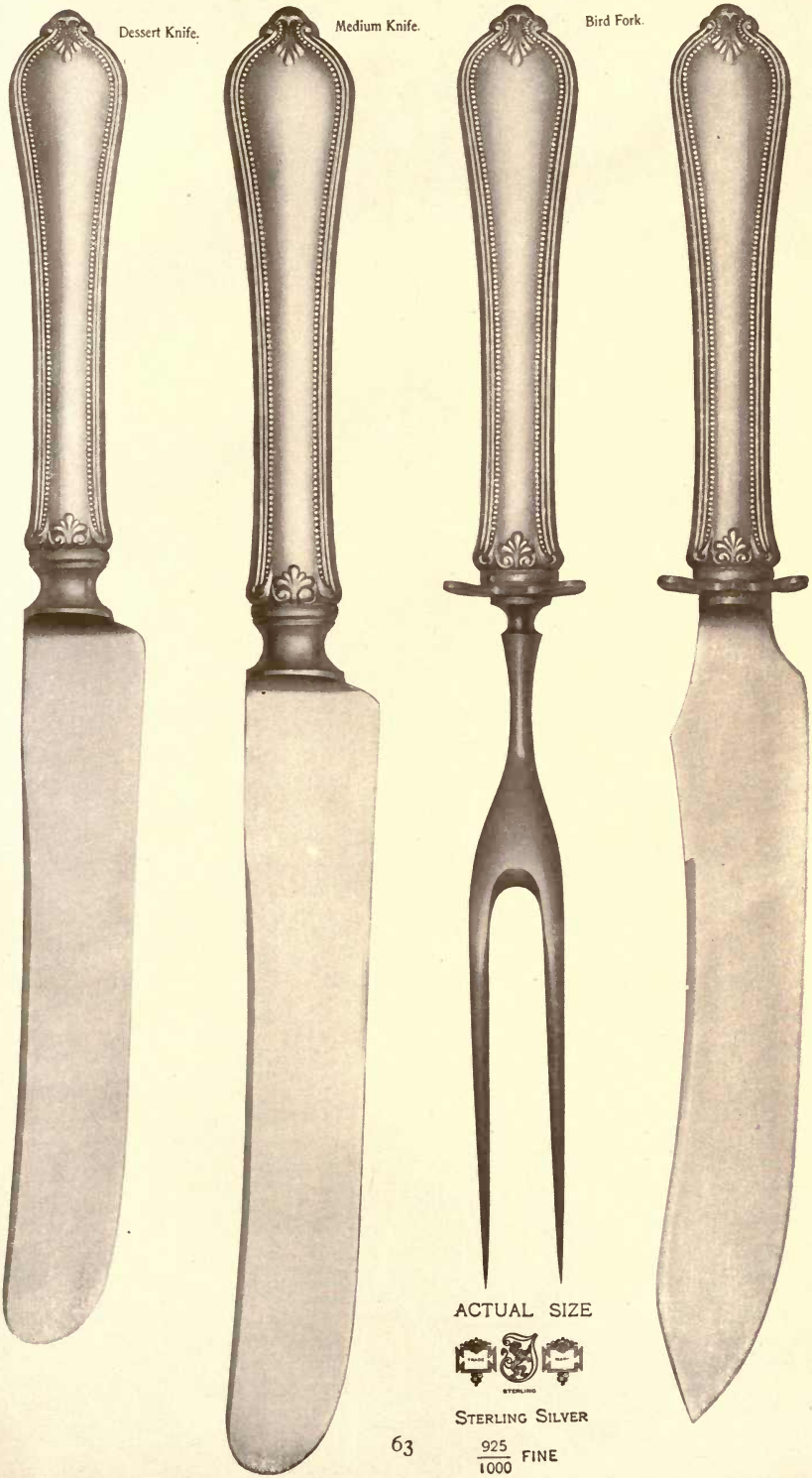


ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Newbury



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Newbury



Chest No. 361.

"COMMON SENSE."

Oak or Mahogany, with name-plate and feet. Height, $4\frac{13}{16}$ inches. Front, $17\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Front to back, $12\frac{7}{16}$ inches.

Accommodates 5 dozen Spoons and Forks in ten vertical piles, 2 dozen Knives, and 3 Piece Carving Set.

DECK.

12 Tea Spoons	12 Dessert Forks
12 Dessert Spoons	12 Table Forks
12 Table Spoons	3 Piece Carving Set

LID.

12 Dessert Knives	12 Medium Knives



THE WORKS OF THE

TOWLE MANUFACTURING COMPANY
SILVERSMITHS

NEWBURYPORT, MASSACHUSETTS





WORKS OF THE TOWLE MANUFACTURING COMPANY, SILVERSMITHS NEWBURYPORT, MASS.



WORKS OF THE TOWLE MANUFACTURING COMPANY, SILVERSMITHS, NEWBURYPORT, MASS.

TRADE MARK

STERLING



SALESROOMS OF THE

TOWLE MANUFACTURING COMPANY

HEYWORTH BUILDING

42 MADISON STREET, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS



Georgian

A pattern of spoons, forks and all other pieces of **Table Flat Ware** is fully shown in this book, in which is also given an account of the **chief events** of the **War of the Revolution** and the acts of oppression which preceded and provoked it; to which are added sundry pictures of **Places** and **Things** identified with this momentous conflict and in some cases exemplifying the **Colonial**, or most properly called **Georgian** style of architecture, from which the design of this pattern is derived; which style was first produced in **England** in the **eighteenth century** and was the result of an adaptation of classical elements to new conditions of application, and all of which is appurtenant to the **name** and **times** of

George R





By the KING,

A PROCLAMATION,

For ſuppreſſing Rebellion and Sedition.

GEORGE R.



WHEREAS many of Our Subjects in divers Parts of Our Colonies and Plantations in *North America*, miſled by dangerous and ill-deſigning Men, and forgetting the Allegiance which they owe to the Power that has protected and ſuſtained them, after various diſorderly Acts committed in Diſturbance of the Publick Peace, to the Obſtruction of lawful Commerce, and to the Oppreſſion of Our loyal Subjects carrying on the ſame, have at length proceeded to an open and avowed Rebellion, by arraying themſelves in hoſtile Manner to withſtand the Execution of the Law, and traitorouſly preparing, ordering, and levying War againſt Us; And whereas there is Reaſon to apprehend that ſuch Rebellion hath been much promoted and encouraged by the traitorous Correſpondence, Counſels, and Comfort of divers wicked and deſperate Perſons within this Realm: To the End therefore that none of Our Subjects may neglect or violate their Duty through Ignorance thereof, or through any Doubt of the Protection which the Law will afford to their Loyalty and Zeal; We have thought fit, by and with the Advice of Our Privy Council, to iſſue this Our Royal Proclamation, hereby declaring that not only all Our Officers Civil and Military are obliged to exert their utmoſt Endeavours to ſuppreſs ſuch Rebellion, and to bring the Traitors to juſtice; but that all Our Subjects of this Realm and the Dominions thereunto belonging are bound by Law to be aiding and aſſiſting in the Suppreſſion of ſuch Rebellion, and to diſcloſe and make known all traitorous Conſpiracies and Attempts againſt Us, Our Crown and Dignity; And We do accordingly ſtrictly charge and command all Our Officers as well Civil as Military, and all other Our obedient and loyal Subjects, to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to withſtand and ſuppreſs ſuch Rebellion, and to diſcloſe and make known all Treaſons and traitorous Conſpiracies which they ſhall know to be againſt Us, Our Crown and Dignity; and for that Purpoſe, that they tranſmit to One of Our Principal Secretaries of State, or other proper Officer, due and full Information of all Perſons who ſhall be found carrying on Correſpondence with, or in any Manner or Degree aiding or abetting the Perſons now in open Arms and Rebellion againſt Our Government within any of Our Colonies and Plantations in *North America* in order to bring to condign Puniſhment the Authors, Perpetrators, and Abettors of ſuch traitorous Deſigns.

Given at Our Court at St *James's*, the Twenty-third Day of *Auguſt*, One thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five, in the Fifteenth Year of Our Reign.

God ſave the King.

LONDON.
Printed by *Charles Eyre* and *William Strahan*, Printers to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty. 1775.

PURCHASED BY SUBSCRIPTION
FOR THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

Compiled and Arranged by George P. Tilton, of The Towle Mfg. Company.

Press of Springfield Printing and Binding Company,
Springfield, Massachusetts.

Copyright, 1906, by The Towle Mfg. Company.



ON the outskirts of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, by the water's edge, stands a picturesque old mansion that will, if we are so minded, carry us backward, at one step, to the "Old Colony days" when George III ruled over the English people on both sides of the Atlantic.

It was built by Governor Benning Wentworth, and from under its roof issued those first edicts of oppression that stirred the people to revolt. Within its walls one needs but little help from fancy to people it again with loyal retainers, assembled, perhaps, in its ancient council chamber, with ample chimney-piece, the carven heads of which might, could they exercise the privilege of their sex, reveal many a bit of inner history. We are prosaic indeed if we do not feel the menace of sudden alarms suggested by the grim array of muskets on either side of the stoutly barred door; and the discovery of a prisoner's ward, tucked away in a remote corner, should complete a realization of the stern conditions of life in the eighteenth century. *1750* *1765*

It is not our purpose, however, to linger in this house, fascinating though it be, but to pass through it from the world of to-day to the times it so vividly recalls. Two names that are intimately connected with it will readily take us across the ocean, and back through a century and more, to the court of the king whose misguided policy was the birth-warrant of our nation. One of these we find in Newcastle, separated by a devious inlet from Little Harbor — where Governor Wentworth built — and reminiscent of the Duke of Newcastle who was prime minister of England and leader of the Whig party at the beginning of the Revolutionary period. A few years later, after the turn of events had deprived him of power, he again entered the cabinet with the post of privy seal under the leadership of the Marquis of Rockingham, a member of the Wentworth family, for whom Governor Wentworth had named the county back of Portsmouth and Newcastle. *1762* *1765*

Although nominally representative of the people, Parliament was in those days the creature of its leaders, or the King, as successive complications favored one or the other; boroughs were bought or bullied by the dominant party, and thus the momentous enactments that goaded the colonists to revolt were the results of contested intrigue, a game with living pieces and tremendous stakes, played by the government and the opposition, and in which the English people had little real voice.

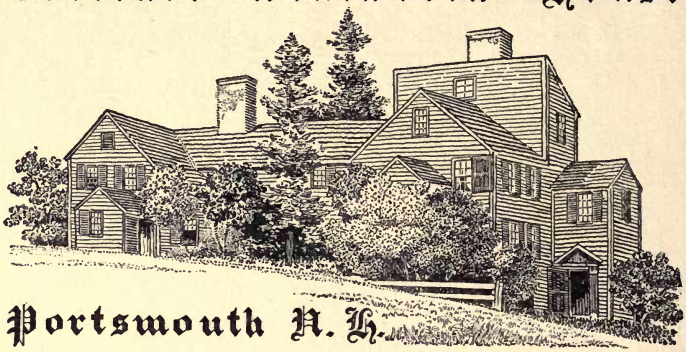


Stamp

The conception of the odious Stamp Act is credited to Jenkinson, secretary to Lord Bute, the King's favored minister; but Parliament rejected it when first *1762*

An Old House

Governoc Wentworth House



Portsmouth N. H.

proposed, although it was universally conceded that America should contribute to the payment of the enormous public debt contracted in the protection of the colonies from the French and Indians. Even Americans acquiesced in this sentiment, but they proposed to pay it by grants from their assemblies and in their own way. George, however, had been exhorted by his mother, the Princess Dowager, to "be a king" and encouraged to assert his individuality — advice which conditions did not favor, nor the King's ability warrant, but which he persistently endeavored to carry out in spite of its disastrous effect. Under these circumstances the proposition to
1765 levy a stamp tax was revived and the act passed in February, 1765. William Pitt, the constant champion of the colonies, was ill at the time, and greatly deplored its passage. Throughout the remainder of his life, which ended while the war was in
1778 progress, Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, was an ardent advocate of the liberties of the colonists; but his efforts were of little avail, and although he was at one time urged by the King to form a ministry, many concessions being made to induce him to do so, personal ambition and the resulting internal friction had so divided his party that he was unable to unite the leaders, and the policy then in force was suffered to continue.

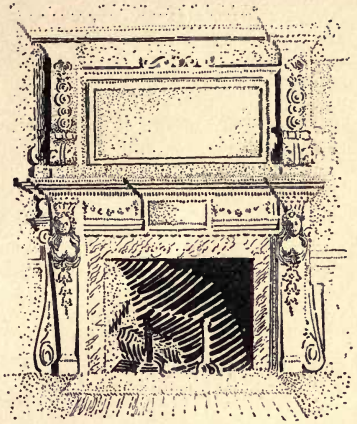
In America the Stamp Act was resented as a measure of arbitrary domination, an irritating and unreasonable form of taxation with no compensatory representation. Virginia was the first colony to voice the opposition to this measure, and was immediately followed by Massachusetts, which proposed a congress of delegates from the
1765 assemblies of all the colonies to take united action in protest. The congress met in 1765, and as a result of this, and Pitt's scathing denunciation in England, the Stamp
1766 Act was repealed early in the following year.

The King from this time lost no opportunity of strengthening his party in Parliament, and by the patronage he could dispense and the intimidation of country boroughs, was able to control both houses and secure the enactment of his policy. His next measure was the levying of import duties on colonial commerce, which was

The Stamp Act

growing rapidly in importance, especially with the West Indies; and with England alone amounted to about six million pounds per year, nearly equalling the total of British commerce with the world at the beginning of that century. This also met with bitter protest and was later repealed on everything but tea, which was made to bear the burden of the principle of English sovereignty. This principle was as clearly discerned in America as in England, and the renunciation of tea became a test of patriotism. Philadelphia had publicly denounced all traffic in tea, and the act had been endorsed by Boston when three ships laden with the obnoxious commodity arrived at the latter port. Their arrival was followed by indignant gatherings in Faneuil Hall, and the consignees were forced by public opinion to promise that the ships would be sent back without unloading; but this the Royal Governor refused to permit, and declared that no clearance papers would be issued until the cargoes were discharged. At the close of a particularly demonstrative meeting held at the Old South Church on the afternoon of December sixteenth, 1773, a party of fifty citizens, disguised as Indians, led the way to the wharf, and, boarding the vessels, scattered into the harbor the contents of three hundred and forty-two chests, the property of the East India Company, valued in the neighborhood of one hundred thousand dollars.

1767 **Chimney-piece**
Council Chamber



1770

1773 **Wentworth House**

In consequence of this action and lesser excuses, Massachusetts was subjected to 1774
a repressive policy which deprived the colonists of many liberties and was intended to precipitate a struggle, which the King believed would be short and decisive, for the purpose of finally settling the dependence of the colonies and the sovereignty of England.



Stamp

The effect of this "Port Bill," as the chief of these measures was called, was — as was expected — to confirm the colonists in their resistance, but not in the rash and isolated way that was hoped for. Keen, powerful intellects guided the people, in the persons of Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, and others, and they immediately set about to secure the coöperation of the other colonies, many of which were ripe for action, notably Virginia, where Patrick

Boston Tea Party

1765 Henry had some years earlier openly denounced British oppression, but had lacked the clear issues prevalent in the Bay State. They organized a Committee of Correspondence, and, authorized by the General Assembly of Massachusetts, urged each
1774 colony to send delegates to a congress at Philadelphia on the first of the following September.

In June of that year, 1774, the port of Boston, then under the military rule of General Gage — who had superseded Governor Hutchinson — was closed to commerce, causing a complete stagnation of business of all kinds, and much deprivation and suffering among the people.

A considerable element in Parliament was strongly opposed to this cruelty, and champions of the cause of America were not lacking who predicted the ultimate ruin England would suffer from this unwarranted oppression of her own sons, to whom, as they urged, the sentiments of liberty were as precious, and whose strength of purpose was as great, as though no ocean separated them from the free institutions of the mother country. They were powerless, however, to check the wave of vindictiveness that now, under the fostering care of the King's favorites, was extending even to the people.

The large cities, always the strongholds of advanced ideas, were still in sympathy with the colonists, and the spectacle is presented of the city of London, in its corporate capacity, subscribing one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the relief of suffering in Boston, caused by the acts of Parliament. These were eventful days in the New England town, for although the people suffered, their enthusiasm was in no way diminished, and they overthrew all civil institutions emanating from the crown.

Hancock House Boston Mass

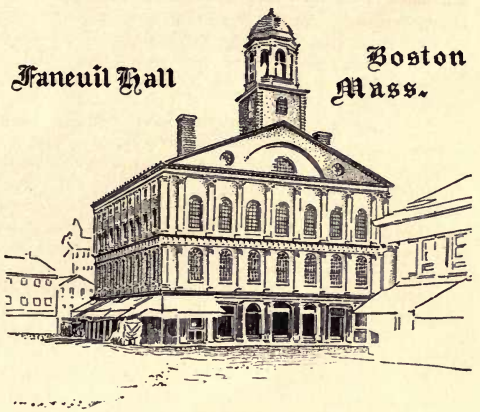


1774

Many prominent people who had until this time reserved the right to support the King's government and hoped for a peaceful settlement of all troubles, now saw the seriousness of the situation, and realizing the near approach of inevitable division, sank their personal regrets in love of country and joined heartily in the cause of liberty.

On the fifth of September, fifty-three delegates assembled in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, and under the presidency of Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, formed a Continental Congress. While recognizing the necessity of united action, these delegates, as a whole, had not yet reached a realization of the need of aggressive rebellion. The habit of loyalty was too strong to be put off at once, and it was with a certain deference, albeit firmness, that they appealed to the King, and to the people of Great Britain, to withdraw the odious measures that threatened to alienate the colonies. Georgia, the especial protégé of the King, was alone unrepresented at this gathering, and though at

First Continental Congress



heart the delegates dreaded the culmination of events which their acts were forwarding, the congress adopted measures to strengthen the union and co-operation of the states, indorsed Massachusetts in its resistance, and planned and appointed a second congress to meet the following May. Although independence was not yet declared, and, in the minds of many, was only a remote possibility, it was in reality inaugurated on that twentieth of October, 1774, when the "Declaration of Colonial Rights," a comprehensive document which recited the injustices of Parliament and asserted the right of self-government, was signed by the "American Association," the forerunner of the confederacy later announced as the "United States of America."

1774

As seed cast on fertile ground germinates and develops of its innate powers, so the American Revolution needed but the lightest sanction of administrative authority. Its real life was the unwavering determination of individuals and communities to meet squarely every issue, to see great principles behind even small aggressions, to neither palliate nor compromise, to rise above considerations of policy and to act from the first with no provision for failure and no desire for qualified victory.

Separation from the mother country was but incidental to this struggle, and was only determined upon when in the progress of events it was recognized as inevitable. The principles of liberty for which the patriots contended were no less applicable here than in England itself, where their kinsmen had declared and enacted them nearly a century before.

This spirit was manifest, but it was King George, with his succession of blundering provocations, who nourished the Revolution. Had he realized the quality of the resistance and listened to the entreatings of Franklin and the other colonial agents at Parliament, he could easily have retained that loyalism which was dear to the colonists, and the price of which was only the extension of equal liberty to his subjects at home and abroad.

Although at this time the Americans were endeavoring to obtain a peaceful establishment of their rights, they clearly perceived the need of military organization, and in November the "Provincial Congress" of Massachusetts, — the General Court under a new name — voted to enroll twelve thousand "minute men" who were to be prepared to respond immediately when the conflict should begin; later it declared its wish for peace, but advised preparations for war. Other colonies took similar

1774

The "American Association"

1774



1775

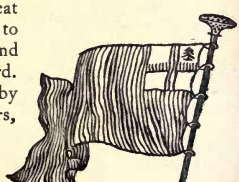
Old Powder Tower Somerville Mass.

action and many minor episodes took place which are locally held to be the initiative of the Revolution. December sixth, the people of Rhode Island seized a large quantity of ordnance in the batteries at Newport, in anticipation of its employment by the King's troops, and the same action was taken on the thirteenth by the people of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, who seized and removed a large quantity of ammunition and ordnance then in the keeping of the garrison of Fort William and Mary, at Newcastle. In the following February, the people of Salem, Massachusetts, taking heed from the warning of their governing body, began preparations for defense. These were met by an expedition from Gage's forces at Boston, and an engagement was narrowly averted. The real uprising, however, from which armed rebellion dates, was to come later at Concord and Lexington.

Parliament had officially declared a state of rebellion existent in Massachusetts and embarked large reinforcements to the three thousand British troops in Boston, while the patriots watched every movement of the British and prepared to meet their first advance, which in the nature of things could not long be delayed. General Gage, the British commander, realized it to be his duty to break up these preparations, and planned a secret raid on the stores and munitions which the Americans had concentrated at Concord, some miles from Boston, in order that they might be safely outside the line of fortifications which the British were erecting. The plan also included the capture of John Hancock and Samuel Adams, who were believed to be in that neighborhood, and who were justly regarded as most dangerous to British interests. With this object troops to the number of eight hundred left Boston for Cambridge

1775 shortly before midnight of April eighteenth, and with such speed as was possible, marched toward Lexington, on the road to Concord. They had counted on the secrecy of their movements to make the attainment of their object easy, but in this they underestimated the watchfulness and penetration of their opponents, for their purpose was understood in advance and measures taken to spread the alarm when they should actually start.

Paul Revere had obtained the information, and he repaired to Charlestown that evening, there to await the signal which he had directed to be shown from the spire of the North Church when the soldiers were known to have started. The two lights, telling him that they had gone by water to Cambridge, shone out at eleven o'clock and started Revere on his momentous ride. He was obliged to take a circuitous route to escape British sentinels, who challenged him and who would have captured a less alert man. In spite of this he gained a great advance over the attacking force, and alarmed the country to Lexington, where he awakened Adams and Hancock, and was joined by two others in his ride toward Concord. They were hardly started when they were intercepted by British officers and Revere and Dawes were taken prisoners,



New England Flag

Early Acts



while Dr. Prescott, the third member of the party, jumped his horse over a wall and escaped to carry the alarm the remainder of the way.

What it meant to the farmers was evident when, early in the morning, the regulars reached Lexington and found the minute-men drawn up on the green to meet them. Compared with the British, the patriots were few and were poorly equipped and drilled, but their cause was righteous and they believed in it in the face of death. They, therefore, paid no heed to the demand that they disperse, but met force with force and shed the first blood of the Revolution. Eight Americans were killed and others wounded, and the British then continued their march to Concord. Their commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, alarmed by the evidences of resistance that he encountered, had sent back to Boston for reinforcements, which were hastening to his assistance.

Their mission at Concord was accomplished ingloriously to the extent of destroying such few stores and guns as the Americans had been unable to secrete, and they were about to return when they discovered the minute-men advancing from the farther side of the North Bridge. They essayed to cut off the approach of the Americans by removing the bridge, but were too late, and, being obliged to retreat or fire, chose the latter, and were answered by a volley which drove them from their position. This was the beginning of the first real fight, the passage at Lexington being hardly maintained to an extent to justify that title. The farmers withdrew to such shelter as they could find and awaited further movements of the regulars, who started about noon for their return to Boston. Their march was the signal for renewed firing by the Americans, who followed them, and from the shelter of stone walls and trees delivered a harassing and destructive fire.

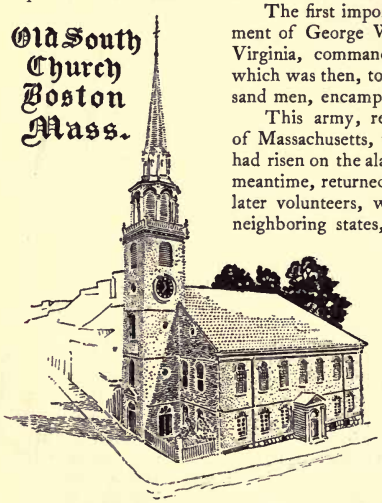
Thoroughly routed, they were fast being reduced when they were met by the advancing reinforcements, one thousand men under Lord Percy, and for a while they rested under this protection. The remainder of the retreat, even with the greatly increased force, was a repetition of the beginning, and when they finally arrived in Charlestown, and under the guns of the British ships, they were in almost a panic.

Thus began the Revolution; and the alarm carried by Paul Revere was extended in all directions until every road leading to Concord was filled with minute-men hastening to reinforce their compatriots. They remained in waiting a few days,

but no further attack being made they returned to their homes for completer organization and equipment. They realized that the struggle which was now begun meant systematic operations of defense, for which they were as yet unprepared, and an army was recruited and established in Cambridge to be ready for such action as might be necessary.

In the meantime the Massachusetts delegation to the second Congress had journeyed, in a succession of ovations, to Philadelphia, and were assured of the approval and support of the intervening colonies. May tenth, the day this Congress opened,
1775 was signalized, though the members knew not of it, by the capture of Ticonderoga by an expedition from Connecticut under Colonel Ethan Allen, and a large quantity of ammunition and ordnance was turned over to the army. Events were moving rapidly without Congress, but it was essential that there be a central authority to outline the policy to be pursued and provide means for effecting it. Even now Congress distrusted its own right to be, and repeated its supplications to George III to settle without further bloodshed the differences that existed.

These entreatings evidence the reluctance of the delegates to forswear their allegiance to England, but the fact that they nevertheless took such measures as were possible to organize and equip an army is proof also of their steadiness of purpose and desperate belief in the worthiness of their cause.



The first important act of Congress was the appointment of George Washington, one of the delegates from Virginia, commander-in-chief of the American army, which was then, to the number of upwards of fifteen thousand men, encamped in the vicinity of Boston.

This army, recruited by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, was made up of the minute-men who had risen on the alarm of Lexington, but who had, in the meantime, returned to their homes for reorganization, and later volunteers, with considerable reinforcements from neighboring states, notably New Hampshire and Connecticut; and under the leadership of officers whose names are now the foundations of Revolutionary history, was besieging Boston and planning to drive out the British, or at least to prevent them from increasing their holdings.

1775 While Washington was preparing to start for New England, events in Boston were rapidly shaping themselves for the active operations of war. General Gage, the British commander, was forced to take measures to maintain his position, and determined to forestall the Americans in the occupation of Charlestown, across the river, and so near his headquarters that he was liable at any time to be subjected to a harassing fire. His plans were disturbed, however, by the discovery, on the morning of June seventeenth, of fortifications which the Americans had

thrown up on Bunker Hill in one short night. It had become known to the American commanders that Gage contemplated moving on the eighteenth, and over a thousand hardy and intelligent men, under skillful direction, worked with pick and shovel from the settling of darkness on the sixteenth to the dawn of the seventeenth, and then, with slight reinforcements, awaited the attack of the British.



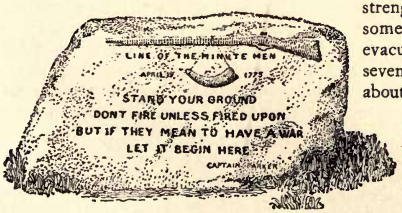
1775

Prescott, Warren, Stark, and Knowlton were among the American commanders, and by their personal bravery and perseverance they sustained the courage of their men, with the result that the British attacking force of three thousand, with all its perfect equipment, was twice repulsed with fearful loss, and only yielded to after a third destructive charge, and when the last round of their meagre ammunition was exhausted. Under the cover of a protecting fire from a line of auxiliary defense, a part of the original plan, the Americans retreated and left the British in possession of one of the most dearly bought battle-fields of history. The British loss was enormous, and this engagement prevented further aggression beyond the limits of their original holding. It also resulted in the superseding of Gage by General Howe, as commander of all the British forces. The news of this battle reached Washington soon after he had left Philadelphia, and aroused in him confidence in the eventual success of the American cause. He arrived in the vicinity of Boston on July second, and on the third took command of the troops drawn up on Cambridge common.

This army, though considerable in numbers and overflowing with patriotism, was lacking in military organization, and to the task of drilling and uniting it, and also supplying ammunition and further equipment, Washington applied himself through the summer and following winter, while maintaining a close siege over the British in Boston. Early in March, 1776, under the cover of a bombardment from his base of operations, Washington secretly marched a large body of men to Dorchester Heights, a commanding position on the opposite side of Boston, and one of extreme menace to the British. The latter awoke on the morning of March fifth, to find a repetition of the frowning embankments that had spurred them to action on Bunker Hill, this time on the landward side of the town, though separated from it by a small bay.

1776

Realizing the seriousness of the situation, Howe made preparations for attack, but unfavorable weather prevailed for a day or two, giving the Americans opportunity for strengthening their position, and after some days of hesitation, the British evacuated Boston, sailing away on March seventeenth, and carrying with them about a thousand Tories, whom they

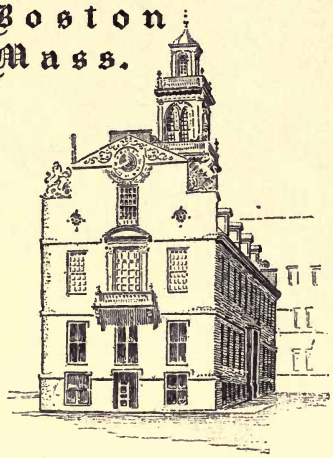


Boulder on Lexington Green

Bunker Hill

1776 **Old State House**

Boston Mass.



1775

transported with their goods to Halifax. New England, the birthplace of the Revolution, was thus saved to the Americans, and freed, for the most part, from further strife in the barely awakened cause.

Washington, from time of taking command of the army, was the centre of interest, and the course of the Revolution was chiefly with the troops under his personal direction; but it is necessary, in even an outline of the war, to note certain secondary expeditions and lesser incidents in progress at the time when Washington was encamped before Boston.

Canada was recognized from the first, by the American leaders, as a menace to the unity of the colonies by reason of the possibilities it offered as a base for operations through the valley of the Hudson to the sea-coast, which would isolate New England and prevent its intercommunication, either offensive or defensive, with other sections. To obviate this danger, Washington early decided to attempt the conquest of Canada, and organized two expeditions, to travel different routes and meet at Quebec for a joint assault.

One under Montgomery passed up Lake Champlain and captured Montreal and intervening points. The other under Benedict Arnold embarked at Newburyport, and then, following the Kennebec River, and through the wilderness beyond, reached Quebec in December, 1775, after a journey of extraordinary difficulty and hardship. Montgomery, with but a remnant of his forces, soon arrived, and with those of Arnold — also greatly diminished — formed an attacking body of but little over a thousand men, to assault a city noted for its strong situation and elaborate fortifications. The attempt, though gallant and for a time encouraging, failed with the death of Montgomery and wounding of Arnold; and although held besieged by the latter for the rest of the winter, the city remained in the possession of the British, and in the spring the Americans were forced, by the approach of a powerful relief
1776 expedition under Sir Guy Carleton, to abandon their advantage and leave Canada for good and all.

At this time the British were using their ships, against which we could as yet oppose none, to harass outlying ports, and with apparently no plan other than the resulting terror and apprehension in all coast towns. Falmouth, Maine, now Portland, was bombarded and then burned; and the British, at the instigation of Lord
1775 Dunmore, Governor of the Province, attacked Hampton, Virginia, and later Norfolk. At both places they were repulsed, but Norfolk suffered heavily from bombardment and fire. Patriotism in the South was further stimulated by an attack on

Quebec Expedition

Charleston, South Carolina, a few months later. A large fleet under Admiral Parker, with General Clinton for military commander, was organized to take that city and subdue the surrounding country; news of this plan reached South Carolina, and active preparations were made to resist the invasion. Troops of militia, local and from neighboring states, occupied all available positions, and a fort of palmetto-wood was erected on Sullivan's Island and manned by five hundred men under Colonel Moultrie. This fort was the chief defense of the city and was relied upon to withstand the brunt of the attack, although it was by some considered entirely inadequate for the purpose. 1776

Early in June the British, in upwards of thirty vessels, arrived at the entrance to the harbor, but with characteristic delay, it was four weeks before they were ready to attack. Clinton's forces were rendered ineffective by being stupidly disembarked on a sand-bar from which they expected to cross to Sullivan's Island, but to which there was no practicable ford. Parker opened fire on Fort Sullivan with six ships, and after an engagement lasting all day, was obliged to withdraw what remained of his fleet and give up the attempt. It was a most notable victory for American courage and perseverance under almost overwhelming odds, and it raised Colonel Moultrie to a place among the greatest heroes of the war. An incident of this battle was the heroism of Sergeant Jasper in replanting on the bastion the colors which had been shot away.

As the evacuation of Boston had practically ended the war in New England, so the defeat at Charleston freed the South from further molestation for some years, and removed the centre of strife to the Middle States, where less determined resistance was to be feared. Washington, realizing that the British would turn to New York as their logical base of operations, removed his army to that place soon after the taking of Boston, and made preparations to defend the city as well as his inadequate and poorly equipped army might be able to. Congress, which had mainly directed its efforts to additional attempts to secure peaceful recognition from King George, had utterly failed, through inability or inattention, to provide for the increase or sustenance of the army, and was at any time liable to disruption from the growing differences of delegates as to the policy to be pursued. There was, as yet, no union, and therefore no responsible government which could organize internal affairs and collect funds. This condition, coupled with the vanishing of hope of any concession from the King, who had declared the colonists rebels and announced his determination to crush them, emphasized the need of a basis for a permanent government; and after some hesitation on the part of representatives of a few states, it was voted, on the second of July, 1776, to announce to the world the principles for which the American people were contending. A committee, of which Thomas Jefferson, a delegate from Virginia, recently arrived, was chosen chairman, was appointed to formulate the declaration, the writing of which was entrusted to Jefferson. The result of his labor and the deliberations of the committee, was the Declaration of Independence, laid before Congress on the fourth of July and unanimously accepted. 1776



Massachusetts

Charleston

1776



Statue of Captain Nathan Hale by Macmonnies

This forceful and inspiring document attracted the attention of the civilized world, and made possible the union subsequently effected. It has maintained, and will ever hold, its position as the most revered and precious relic of American history; and it is one of the evidences of the quality of mind and character which the early patriots brought to the cause of liberty.

From Philadelphia, where the people awaited breathlessly the peal of the State House bell, which should "Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof"; through New York, where the message was read to the troops drawn up on the Common, and was boisterously celebrated by the populace, which demonstrated its patriotism by tearing from the pedestal on Bowling Green an equestrian statue of George III, of gilded lead, that from glorifying the King was turned against him in the form of rebel bullets; to Boston, where, in some ways it meant more than it elsewhere could — the acceptance by the united colonies of the cause nurtured on Boston's wrongs — the country hailed with enthusiasm this brilliant crystalization by its ablest representatives, in solemn congress assembled, of the sentiments which for months had fired individuals everywhere, but had lacked the official approval of the leaders. A large measure of this unanimity was due to the widespread appreciation of Paine's "Common-Sense," published the previous winter, in which Thomas Paine, an Englishman who had been in this country but a short time, grasped and set forth in convincing style, the principles involved in the struggle with the mother country, and the reasons why rebellion was just and right. Paine showed the people what they sought and needed; Congress declared it an accomplished fact and bestirred in its defense.

Meanwhile the cause in the field was experiencing misfortunes and disasters calculated to weaken its popularity, and was only saved from extermination by Washington's ability to successively extricate his army from seemingly overwhelming situations. He had established himself in New York and Brooklyn with the ten

1776 thousand troops that represented all that was available — many of that number for but a short period only — of the army brought from Boston, and endeavored to hold in check the large and powerful armies under Howe and Clinton, the latter having reached there from his defeat at Charleston, supported by powerful ships of war. His detachments on Long Island under Sullivan and Stirling were badly routed, and the situation there was strongly against him, when Washington brought over



New Hampshire

Declaration of Independence

reinforcements and engaged in preparing fortifications, as though intending a continuance of operations; but the next morning, August twenty-ninth, found the place utterly deserted, his army having been ferried across to New York under cover of the night and a beneficent fog. Colonel Glover's Marblehead fishermen accomplished this feat for Washington, and the British, who surrounded the Americans and expected an easy and decisive victory, were doomed to disappointment. They, however, knew their strength and Washington's weakness, and assailed him on all sides of the stand taken in New York, driving him in a few days to Harlem Heights. Washington's personal bravery as he rode among his panic-stricken men was the slender thread by which he was enabled to finally withdraw his troops.



Old War Office, Lebanon Conn

1776

It was especially desirable at this time that some knowledge be obtained of the intended movements of the British, and Washington accepted the services of Captain Nathan Hale of Connecticut, who volunteered to visit the enemy's camp as a spy. He penetrated the British lines and obtained the information without discovery, but on his way back was recognized and arrested by a Tory relative. He was taken before Howe and sentenced to death, and was executed September twenty-second. Every benefit of humanity and religion was denied him, yet he met his death with high courage, and his last words, "I only regret that I have but one life to give for my country," have become immortal.

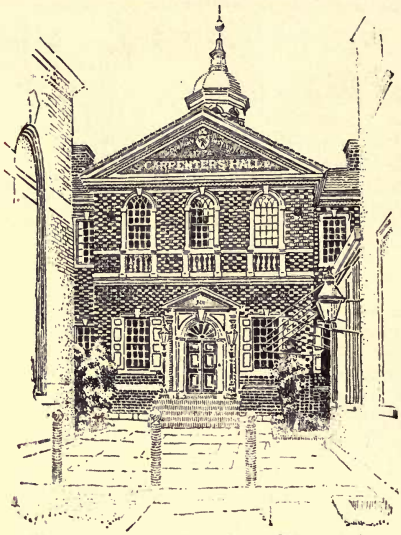
In the face of his retreat, Washington sent detachments to check the advance of the enemy's outposts, and after sharp fighting drove them back to the main lines. The American position was here fairly strong, but not strong enough to warrant Washington in risking his army; so on the further advance of the British, he seized favorable points and held them in check until he could again retreat, this time to White Plains, on the bank of the Bronx River.

Once more the British under Howe thought to crush the American forces and end the war, and once more, after a sharp engagement, the Americans succeeded in escaping and establishing themselves in a stronger position at North Castle. Forts Washington and Lee, which defended the Hudson River at Harlem, were left garrisoned with the expectation of their being able to hold the position; but the British having obtained, through the treachery of a deserter from Fort Washington, complete information as to the strength and arrangement of that fortification, it was successfully assaulted on November sixteenth,



Connecticut

Captain Nathan Hale



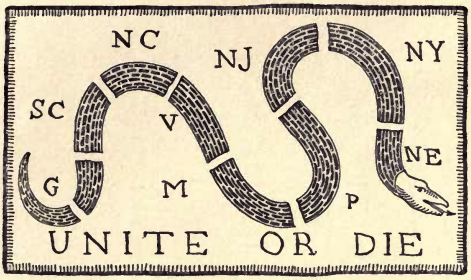
Carpenters Hall
Philadelphia Pa.

and two thousand men taken prisoners. This loss, with General Lee's disobedience in withholding, on the other side of the Hudson, the large body of troops under his command, left Washington in a desperate situation. His army was reduced through these causes, and the expiration of the terms of enlistment of many of the militia, to the neighborhood of three thousand men, and continual discharges and desertions, with the failure of efforts to secure re-enlistments or fresh recruits, threatened to leave but a fraction of that number. Fortunately at this time General Lee's troops were brought in by General Sullivan, the former having been taken prisoner while at a distance from his army.

The British, holding all the important points captured, continued their advance to Trenton and occupied that place preparatory to marching on Philadelphia, but later abandoned that part of the plan. The fear of this disaster was intense in Philadelphia, and Congress considered it necessary to adjourn to Baltimore, after vesting the entire control of the war in Washington; a compliment which would have been more appreciated had it brought greater opportunities instead of adding to the perplexities of that general. He watched the enemy from a safe distance while exerting himself strenuously to strengthen his army, though with little success. The misfortunes which made the necessity most urgent operated against his efforts, and no enthusiasm could be aroused for an apparently failing cause. Little as the prospect offered, he realized that something must be done, and done quickly, or the new year would find him almost without men.

1776 Bold as the plan seemed when the possibilities were considered, Washington made up his mind to attack Trenton, and despatched several detachments to diverse points to ensure the surrounding of the enemy. Christmas night was the time settled upon for the assault, and Washington, with twenty-four hundred men, arrived at the bank of the Delaware in a fierce storm of snow and sleet, to find the river swollen and filled with swiftly-moving ice. To a lesser man the difficulties would have been insuperable, as they appeared to his aides, to whom the duty was intrusted of attacking from other points, and who failed to cross. To Washington it meant but the call

American Losses



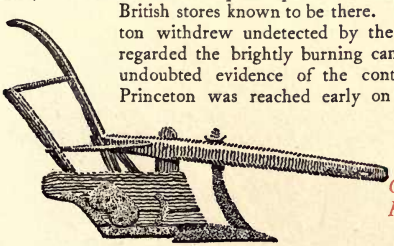
1776

for greater effort, and, encouraged by his example and guided by the hardy fishermen of Marblehead, the troops were safely, though with great difficulty, transported to the Trenton side, where they set out upon an exhausting march to the town, regardless of the storm and the pains of travel on the frozen ground. Colonel Rahl had been warned that Washington was planning an attack, but, as usual, affected to despise his opponent, and the twelve hundred Hessians were in the midst of a characteristic Christmas celebration from which all thought of the enemy was banished, when the foot-sore and wearied Americans burst upon them. Rahl's men, thoroughly panic-stricken, offered little or no resistance, and in attempting to rally them their commander was shot down. A few were killed and some escaped, but about one thousand, with all their artillery and stores, were made prisoners and taken in triumph to Philadelphia.

Washington lost no time, after this inspiring victory, in following up the advantage gained, and returning with fresh troops, re-occupied Trenton. Howe felt heavily the loss of prestige and men resulting from the defeat of Christmas night, and once more determined to overwhelm the meagre army of Washington and terminate the harassing rebellion. To this end Lord Cornwallis, with seven thousand men, set out from Princeton, January second. They were met on the road by detachments of Americans sent out to retard their movement, and slowly driving the skirmishers before them, made their way to Trenton.

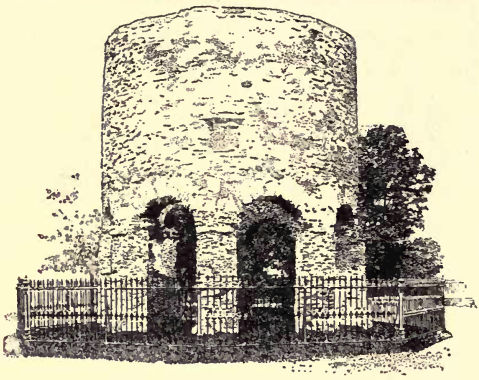
1777

The main body of the American army was entrenched just outside the town, on the further bank of the Assanpink, and here the British prepared to attack. An attempt to cross the bridge was repulsed, and Cornwallis contented himself for that day with cannonading the enemy from the opposite shore, and planning to assault them on the following morning when reinforced. The British habit of delay at critical junctures had before given Washington opportunity to extricate his army from dangerous situations, and he took advantage of it on this occasion to abandon his position on the Assanpink and march on Princeton—where Cornwallis had left three regiments of his army—from whence he hoped to pass to Brunswick and capture the large quantity of British stores known to be there. With his usual adroitness, Washington withdrew undetected by the army on the opposite bank, which regarded the brightly burning camp-fires, kindled for the purpose, as undoubted evidence of the continued presence of the Americans. Princeton was reached early on the morning of January third, and the British troops were encountered just as they were leaving to join



General Putnam's Plough

Trenton



Old Mill Newport R. I.

1777

Cornwallis. A battle ensued, which, though at times apparently in favor of the British—owing to the inability of the Americans, through lack of equipment, to meet bayonet charges—resulted finally in a splendid victory for Washington, whose personal valor and encouragement strengthened his men and turned the balance to his side. The British fled to Brunswick, but the day was so far spent that Washington deemed it unwise to attack that place, and after destroying the bridges between his army and that of Cornwallis, withdrew to Somerset Court House, and thence to Morristown, where he went into winter quarters. Cornwallis, discomfited at his failure at Trenton and the defeat of his troops at Princeton, returned to Brunswick to protect his magazines, and suspended operations for the winter.

The effect of these victories on the country and the outside world was to raise the American cause from the lowest ebb of discouragement to enthusiastic support at home and increased respect abroad. France, though yet unwilling to openly favor this country, was secretly sending supplies, and from that country and Germany and Prussia came able and devoted officers to assist our cause. Recruiting became easier and re-
1777 enlistments frequent, enabling Washington to greatly strengthen his army and prepare for a renewal of the struggle with the coming of spring.

Events moved slowly at this time, a condition to which the American cause in the field was frequently indebted, and yet the forces at work were making for results soon to place the struggle for independence on a basis of international recognition and eventual support. After declaring independence, Congress had dispatched emissaries to the courts of Europe, and especially to France, where the sympathy of progressive leaders established the cause in substantial favor. Many of the ablest members were thus employed, or were called to their homes to direct the sustaining operations of the war, so that the representation left was appreciably inferior as a whole, and of little real assistance as an executive body. It was inadequate to the task of supporting the army or of adding materially to its numbers, and its financial system, lacking bassi and credit, was a failure from the start. To the army it commissioned officers in many cases incompetent; and through a misunderstanding of facts, or unduly influenced by



Rhode Island

Princeton



interested parties, it superseded competent generals at critical times and placed inferior men in command. Lacking official support, the Revolution was sustained by popular contribution through the state leaders, the work of Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, being especially memorable, and of inestimable service to Washington in his efforts to hold together and strengthen his army.

Connecticut bore a generous share in equipping and sustaining the troops, and at this time suffered locally from the proximity of the British quartered at New York. On April twenty-sixth, 1777, Governor Tryon of New York, with two thousand British and Tories, attacked and burned Danbury, and destroyed a large quantity of American stores. On the following day the militia, under Generals Wooster, Arnold, 1777
and Silliman, forced Tryon to the coast after an engagement at Ridgefield, and the British embarked under heavy fire. General Wooster, a veteran of seventy years, was mortally wounded. A month later the Americans under Colonel Meigs retaliated by crossing from Connecticut to Sag Harbor, on Long Island, where they burned twelve British vessels and destroyed stores, bringing back ninety prisoners without the loss of a man.

Another incident illustrative of the daring and adroitness of the American soldiers was the capture of General Prescott, commander of the British forces in the neighborhood of Rhode Island, whose tyranny had excited the indignation of the people. On the night of July tenth, Lieutenant Barton of Providence, with forty men, stealthily approached Prescott's headquarters by water, and, overpowering the sentinel, secured Prescott, who was in bed, and escaped before the alarm spread to the troops.

Raids in Connecticut



Kingston N.Y.
Van Steenburg House

Congress recognized this act by promoting Barton to the rank of colonel and presenting him a sword.

1777 Spring brought a renewal of activity in the armies facing each other in the South, and in the North it saw the development of a plan to effect the separation of New England from the other states. This had long been recognized as an impending possibility, and the division of the North under General Schuyler, though weak in numbers, was so placed as to offer the utmost resistance to the anticipated movement. Lake Champlain, the natural path of such invasion, had, the previous summer, been the scene of a strenuous, if not mighty, struggle with the same object, when 1776 Benedict Arnold had, by dint of extraordinary effort, created a flotilla, effectively armed and manned, with which he vigorously contested Sir Guy Carleton's ascent of the lake; and, while ultimately forced to retreat, so delayed and crippled the enemy that the British expedition was fruitless for that season, so far as the main object was concerned. The ground thus gained was held, and served Sir John Burgoyne, the successor of Carleton, to launch with great pomp in June, 1777, an army of eight thousand men, including Indians — now for the first time employed — which maintained its triumphant progress only so long as the waters of the lake formed the line of passage. They erected fortifications on Mt. Defiance, near Ticonderoga, from which commanding position they were able to throw a destructive fire into the fort; and General St. Clair, who occupied the post with somewhat less than three thousand ill-armed troops, abandoned it on the night of July fifth, and undertook to join Schuyler at Fort Edward. The British started after him and several times engaged his rear guard, but at the end of a week the Americans succeeded in reaching 1777 Schuyler, though with the loss of some men and a considerable amount of baggage, captured by the British at Skenesboro. At this point the struggle with natural conditions began, which offered, difficult as it was, the only means by which Burgoyne could pass to Albany, where he hoped to meet forces under Howe, which were to come up the Hudson and thus dominate the line from Canada to Long Island. Schuyler, realizing the overwhelming force of the invading army, fell back in slow retreat, destroying the only road as he passed, burning bridges and clogging streams, besides devastating the country of everything that could be utilized to sustain an army. Under these circumstances Burgoyne's progress, with all the facilities of a thoroughly equipped army, was only about one mile a day, and the Americans were enabled to

Burgoyne's Expedition

keep well out of reach until reinforcements and a favorable situation should enable them to make a stand.

A strong detachment of the invaders, under St. Leger, had been sent to the westward to take Fort Stanwix, held by General Ganesvoort. They met with determined resistance, and vigorous fighting took place at the fort, and at Oriskaney, where 1777
General Herkimer, who had come to the relief of Ganesvoort with a large following of frontiersmen, fell into an ambush of the enemy. The brave general was mortally wounded early in the engagement, but with great fortitude continued to direct the battle and succeeded in routing the British, who, however, continued to maintain the siege. After some weeks ineffectually spent, they were frightened into a precipitate retreat by news of the approach of Arnold with reinforcements, and made their way to Canada, minus everything that tended to impede flight.

Burgoyne, experiencing to the full the difficulties imposed by Schuyler, felt the need of provisions, and detached a party of six hundred, under Colonel Baum, to raid the country in what is now Vermont, and capture stores held at Bennington. This party was met near Bennington by the farmers, who had hastily gathered under General Stark, and defeated with the loss of their baggage and artillery. Another party of equal numbers which had been sent out a few days afterward to reinforce the first, came up a few hours later and suffered like defeat. More than half the British were taken prisoners, and upwards of two hundred killed, leaving but a third to make its way back to the main army. These misfortunes were rapidly bringing Burgoyne to a realization of the doubtfulness of final success, which success would have appeared still more remote could he have known, as he did later, that Howe's orders had been so delayed that no help could reach him from that quarter in season to avail.

The American victories at Oriskaney and Bennington spread confidence throughout the country, and troops gathered to the support of the northern army, which Congress, with great injustice to Schuyler, now placed under the command of General Horatio Gates, a soldier much inferior to the former in ability and attainments. Gates reaped the benefit of all the hard work done by Schuyler, and entered upon his command under most favorable conditions. Burgoyne, pressed for supplies and threatened in his rear by General Lincoln—who with two thousand troops was even then retaking Ticonderoga—was on the downward slope of effectiveness, while the American army was constantly receiving reinforcements, — among which were Morgan's Virginia riflemen sent by Washington, — and with Arnold returned from Fort Stanwix, was daily gaining strength and courage, and numbered about three thousand men to thirty-five hundred of the British. Gates, after a delay of several 1777
weeks, established himself at Bemis Heights, on the west bank of the Hudson, and awaited the enemy. They arrived on September nineteenth, and on the following day attacked the Americans in their full strength. Gates proved utterly inefficient, watching the battle from the rear without taking part in it, and the conduct of the fight devolved upon the regimental commanders, among whom Arnold was the dominant figure. The battle continued until dark-



New York

Bennington



Old Senate House
Kingston N.Y.

ness, when the Americans drew off to their intrenchments, leaving the British in possession of their ground, but suffering from a severe repulse, their loss being double that of the Continentals.

1777 This was the beginning of the end with Burgoyne. On October seventh he made another attempt to break the American lines, taking fifteen hundred of his best troops; but his columns were stubbornly met, and finally, with Morgan, Dearborn, and Arnold leading, the Americans routed the British and drove them to their intrenched camp, where the fighting was continued until stopped by darkness. Arnold was on the field without authority, he having been deprived of his command by Gates, but was unable to restrain his ardor, and placed himself at the head of his old division, which he inspired to brilliant service; he was badly wounded in the later attack.

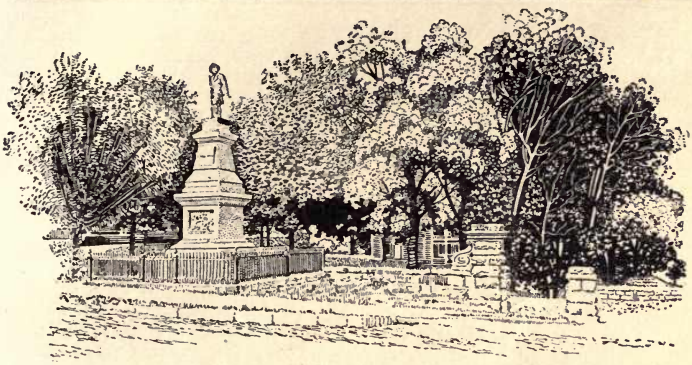
The British were now in a desperate situation; beaten and hopeless of reinforcement they sought to retreat through Saratoga, but found themselves surrounded by the gathering Americans, and a few days later Burgoyne gave up the attempt and opened negotiations for surrender. The document was signed October sixteenth, and by it an army of nearly six thousand, with all equipments, was turned over to Gates, and the long-cherished plan to control the line from Canada to the mouth of the Hudson came finally to naught. Clinton, in pursuance of belated orders, had started to Burgoyne's assistance, but his enthusiasm waned after capturing Forts Montgomery and Clinton, and contenting himself with sending a detachment to raid Kingston, which was burned October thirteenth, he returned to New York, leaving the North, when rid of Burgoyne, in undisputed possession of the Americans. News of this triumph was of inestimable help to the American cause in Europe, and created a prestige that made possible the French Alliance.

Washington, though not active in this northern campaign, was none the less a factor in its success, as his watchfulness and employment of Howe and his army in
1777 the Middle South was largely for the purpose of maintaining the separation of the British forces, which he knew to be essential to American victory on the Hudson. While Burgoyne was embarking, with so much éclat, his ill-fated expedition, Washington, who had removed from his winter quarters at Morristown, New Jersey, to Middlebrook, was endeavoring to check Howe's advance without hazarding his small army in open battle. Howe, tiring of these tactics, returned to New York, where,



New Jersey

Saratoga



Monument to André's capture
Tarrytown N.Y.

on July twenty-third, he embarked eighteen thousand men with a view of reaching Philadelphia by water. Washington discovered his motive and immediately marched his troops to that place, hoping to reassure the people before engaging the enemy. His army in point of effectiveness numbered about ten thousand, though in actual numbers several thousand more, and among his officers was the Marquis de Lafayette, a young French nobleman, who, filled with sympathy and enthusiasm for the cause of the colonies, had, in spite of the disapproval of his king, reached this country with 1777
Baron de Kalb, a German veteran, and was by Congress commissioned Major-General. Lafayette endeared himself to Washington and to the army, and became, next to Washington, one of the most prominent figures in the war.

Howe, finding the Delaware fortified against him, entered Chesapeake Bay and landed his army at Elkton, Maryland, about fifty miles from Philadelphia. From this point he marched toward the city, reaching Chad's Ford, on the Brandywine—where the Americans were encamped — September eleventh. The resulting battle was disastrous to the patriots, and although well planned and bravely fought, ended at night in their retreat to Chester, and later to the neighborhood of Philadelphia. Count Pulaski, a Polish volunteer, distinguished himself in this action and was subsequently commissioned Brigadier General by Congress, in recognition of his gallantry.

Washington, though defeated, still hoped to keep the British from Philadelphia, and prepared to engage them again near Goshen, but was prevented by a severe storm, and was then forced to withdraw to Reading to protect his stores, which were threatened by the enemy. He left General Wayne with fifteen hundred men to check the advance on Philadelphia, but the latter was surprised by a midnight attack and driven back with considerable loss, leaving the city open to the invaders, who

Liberty Bell



1777

entered September twenty-sixth. Fearing this result, Congress had removed, some days before, to Lancaster, from which a few days later it moved to York, where it remained during the British occupancy of the capital.

The danger to Reading having passed, Washington resolved on another attack, and with two thousand five hundred reinforcements he engaged the British troops stationed at Germantown, near Philadelphia; but through the failure of militia on which he relied, the effort was defeated after a severe struggle, in which the American loss was heavy. Forts Mifflin and Mercer, the former on Mud Island, in the Delaware, and the latter at Red Bank, New Jersey, were still held by the Americans, who had established them to protect Philadelphia from naval attack. These the British assaulted with the aid of the fleet from Chesapeake Bay, and after a determined but hopeless resistance the Americans were forced to evacuate, November eighteenth, leaving the harbor unobstructed for the passage of British ships. To close a season disastrous in its immediate results, Washington, early in December, went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, on the Schuylkill, and struggled to maintain the organization of his army under conditions which would have been insurmountable to another general, or with an army striving for a lesser end.

The cause of independence experienced its darkest days in that memorable camp. Thousands of men were unable to leave the rude huts they had built for shelter, for
1777 lack of clothing to cover them; they were reduced to the barest extremity for food, and yet their patriotism and faith in their commander triumphed over these miseries and sustained them until spring, when a turn of fortune brought once more the necessaries of life and comfortable equipment. During the long winter, Washington suffered not only the anguish of sympathy for his starving troops, but from the machinations of envious and disgruntled subordinates, and the criticism of some of the leaders in Congress. It was hoped, by a considerable faction, to supersede Washington by Gates — the latter's victory over Burgoyne being contrasted with Washington's campaign about Philadelphia — and sufficient support was obtained to secure control of the Board of War, which, with Gates at the head, was a source of annoyance and affront to Washington, while it utterly failed in its duties of providing for the army.

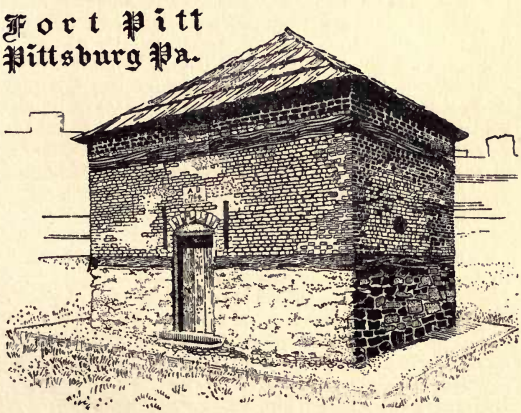


Delaware

Valley Forge

While these conditions existed at the seat of war, forces were elsewhere working for speedy and permanent improvement. The King of France, overborne by his ministers, had signed early in February a treaty of alliance and commerce, acknowledging the independence of the American Colonies. This meant money and ships and ready supplies, besides establishing the United States on a recognized footing at the capitals of Europe. The victory at Saratoga, which had encouraged France to 1778
this action, had startled England into a belated concession of privileges, which a peace commission was sent over to propose; but the time for such measures was past and they were rejected by Congress, which declared that no proposals would be entertained except on a basis of complete independence and the withdrawal of British troops. This, of course, was not contemplated, and the commission ingloriously returned. The action of France was regarded by England as a declaration of war, and preparations were made for strengthening the situation of the troops in America. General Howe, who, it was realized, had done nothing more than seize upon comfortable winter quarters for his army, was recalled and superseded by General Clinton. Philadelphia being of no military value to the British without a line of communication with the main army at New York, it was decided to abandon it ere the French fleet could come to the assistance of Washington's army and force the evacuation. In pursuance of these orders Clinton, who had assumed command the latter part of May, so hastened preparations that on June eighteenth he left the city and started his army across New Jersey.

Washington, whose patience and endurance the winter had so severely tried, was now well equipped, thanks to the efforts of Greene, who in March, as quartermaster-general, succeeded the incompetent Board of War; the spring levies had filled his ranks, and best of all, his army, which had been drilled all winter by Baron Steuben — a distinguished Prussian officer — was now for the first time in perfect training. Under such gratifying conditions it is not strange that Washington wished to intercept Clinton and match his strength against the British; but a council of his officers by their disapproval so delayed him, that, though he finally overruled their decision, Clinton was then so far advanced that to overtake him required extraordinary effort, and forced the troops to a fatiguing march, which at the last became so hurried that many threw away their knap-



1778



Betty Ross House Philadelphia, where first American flag was made

1778

sacks in their desire to reach the enemy. The British were advised of Washington's approach, and though numbering seventeen thousand, were headed for the coast by the most direct route, their march fast becoming flight under the vexations of climate and the harassing attacks of the New Jersey militia. On the twenty-sixth of June they encamped at Monmouth Court House with Washington but a few miles behind, and a detachment under Lee, which had been sent in advance, within striking distance. The latter, Washington ordered to attack as soon as the enemy should resume the march in the morning, promising support as soon as he could come up. Lee, an Englishman who had been a source of trouble to Washington all through the war, was impressed with Clinton's invincibility, and fearing to engage him, contented himself with unimportant manœuvers, until Clinton, seeing his opportunity, charged, and had started the Americans in retreat when Washington, whom the incredible news found straining every nerve to reach the field of battle, galloped on the scene, and overcome with rage, demanded of Lee an explanation of his course. This Lee was unable to give, and ordering him to the rear, where the next day he was court-martialed and suspended from his command, Washington rallied the troops, that had failed wholly from the lack of efficient ordering, and with the arrival of the main army recovered the ground and drove the British in retreat. Under the cover of the night the retreat was kept up, and Clinton succeeded in reaching the coast and embarking before the Americans could again come up with him. His army was reduced by two thousand, in the march and battle, and had it not been for the incompetence of Lee, would have been utterly destroyed. As it was, he was beaten, and the campaign which Washington had lost at Brandywine and Germantown, was redeemed at Monmouth. An incident of this battle was the bravery of Molly Pitcher, the wife of an American artilleryman. She was bringing water to her husband when she saw him fall, and heard an order for withdrawing his gun; determined that it should not be silenced, she took his place and served the gun throughout the fight. In recognition of her patriotism Washington appointed her a sergeant in the army, where she became widely known and popular.

1778

During the summer of 1778 the war made little progress, so far as the main armies were concerned. The British were now confined to New York, with an out-

Monmouth



post at Newport, Rhode Island, and evinced little inclination for aggressive measures. Early in July the French fleet, under Count d'Estaing, appeared off Sandy Hook, but owing to their greater draught were unable to approach the British fleet. In lieu of this, a plan was arranged for destroying, in conjunction with a land force, the British garrison and ships at Newport. D'Estaing arrived there with his fleet August eighth, and his presence with the forces under Sullivan, Greene, and Lafayette caused the British to destroy their men-of-war and other vessels in the harbor. While preparations for the attack were being made, a British squadron appeared, and the *1778* French went outside to engage it, but a very severe storm arose and scattered the fleets, injuring the vessels so that the British were forced to return to New York, and the French went to Boston, to refit. Upon this the land forces, which also suffered from the storm, were obliged to withdraw without accomplishing their purpose, though a sharp engagement took place between four thousand reinforcements, which Clinton had brought from New York, and a division under Green, in which the British were repulsed. Clinton occupied himself in ravaging the surrounding country and burning shipping at New Bedford, returning to New York soon afterward and subsequently abandoning Newport.

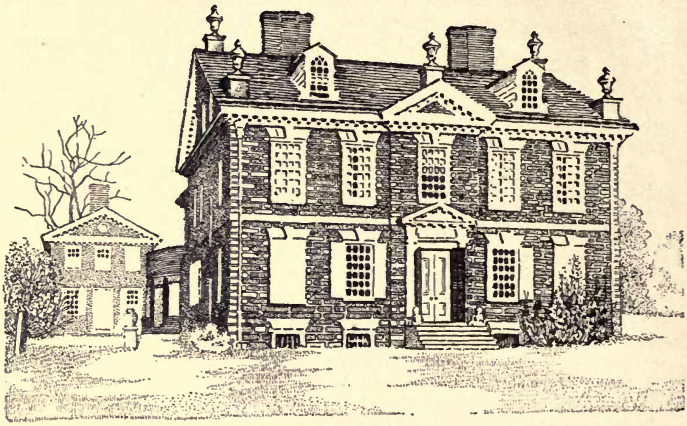
One of the particularly disturbing features of the summer were the Indian raids, made at the instigation of British agents and participated in by many Tories. Wyoming, Pennsylvania, and Cherry Valley, New York, suffered frightfully in this way, hundreds of men, women, and children falling victims to the tomahawk, while in many instances the torture was much more severe. Further west the British had seized old French trading posts and garrisoned them with regulars and Indians, to ensure the unlimited extension of British territory when the victory should be won. They also sought to uproot the settlement in what is now Kentucky, but were tenaciously resisted by the hardy pioneers under the lead of Boone, Logan, Kenton, and other intrepid woodsmen.



Among these was one who realized the value of the outposts that the British had seized, and determined that the vast territory dominated by them should be held by Americans. Kaskaskia, Vincennes, and Cahokia, in the Illinois country, were the

Pennsylvania

Newport



Chew Mansion Germantown Pa.

coveted settlements, and George Rogers Clark, a native of Virginia, the far-seeing frontiersman who set out to take them with less than two hundred men, raised by his personal efforts under the authority of Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia. Overcoming all obstacles, they reached Kaskaskia on the evening of July fourth, and Clark by skillful manœuvers took the garrison completely by surprise, and overpowering the guards, compelled the surrender of forces two or three times greater in number than
1778 his own. Vincennes and Cahokia followed with little trouble, but the difficulty was to hold the posts with his small following, of which many of the men were anxious to return to their homes. At this time the British arrived with a strong force and retook Vincennes, but owing to the lateness of the season hesitated about attacking Kaskaskia, held by Clark with the main body of his command. Neither the season nor the condition of the country had any terrors for Clark, and getting together one hundred and seventy men who could be depended upon, they started for Vincennes early in February, undertaking fearlessly a journey of over two hundred miles, in which they experienced hardships of every kind, including hunger, and a march through miles of icy water, waist high, but, in spite of these, arrived at their destination on the twenty-second of the month, and after a short fight forced the fort to again surrender.

The importance of this exploit was far-reaching, as it not only secured to the United States vast territory in the West, but it broke, from that time, the alliance with the Indians, which the British had created with difficulty, and upon which they largely depended.

The British, from their only stronghold, New York, kept up their devastating raids on the surrounding country, descending early in September on Buzzards Bay, where they destroyed shipping and privateers to the number of seventy sail, continu-

Major Clark's Expedition

ing through New Bedford and Fairhaven the pillage and destruction, and finally returning to New York with a large number of cattle and sheep captured at Martha's Vineyard. On the thirtieth of the same month they sailed to Little Egg Harbor, New Jersey, where they captured a considerable quantity of American stores.

This employment of his army, while perhaps a degree more creditable than absolute inaction, would never win for Clinton the control of America; and having 1778
tried and failed in successive attempts to hold the Northern and Middle States, the British turned again to the South, as offering the only remaining opportunity for lasting victory. Driven out of Boston, defeated and destroyed on the Hudson, balked at Philadelphia, and menaced at New York, they with some reasonableness hoped, by gaining a foothold in a thinly populated country, where loyalism was undoubtedly stronger, to extend operations on a permanent basis until they could unite with the Northern forces. The South, unmolested since Clinton and Parker's inglorious attack on Charleston, was unprepared for resistance and was divided by party differences that under the strain of war developed into serious civil conflict.

To this promising field, then, Clinton turned his attention, with immediate results that seemed to fully justify his deductions, and warranted confidence in the success of his ultimate plan. A partially successful raid under General Provost came out of Florida and pillaged the coast towns of Georgia, but the first important move was against Savannah. On the twenty-ninth of December, Colonel Campbell landed with an army of three thousand and attacked the city, which was defended by General Robert Howe with less than a thousand men, and those without experience in action. The British were easily victorious, and completely scattered the opposing force, taking some five hundred prisoners and capturing valuable stores. Following this, Provost returned and captured Sunbury, which had repulsed his first raid, and Campbell with a division of his troops advanced successfully on Augusta. Thus Georgia, the last to renounce the royal authority, was the first to again feel its yoke, the British being now in virtual possession of the State.

General Benjamin Lincoln was sent by Congress to command the Southern de- 1779
partment, but met with little success. He succeeded in raising a small army, but attempting prematurely to recover Augusta and Savannah, his force was seriously reduced without the attainment of his object, and he was obliged to retire to the hills



White Hall

Anne Arundel Co. Maryland

The War in the South

with but a handful of men, leaving the British in full possession of Georgia. The direct results of his campaign were the gallant repulse of the British at Fort Royal by General Moultrie, the defeat and dispersal at Kettle Creek of a band of seven hundred Tories under Colonel Boyd, who was shot in the engagement, and the preser-
1779 vation of Charleston, which Provost had set out to attack, but from which he was compelled by Lincoln's advance to withdraw.

Encouraged by their progress in the South, the British resumed with greater boldness their periodic raids in the North. Under Sir George Collier and General



Arnold Mansion Philadelphia

Matthews they entered Hampton Roads, May ninth, ravaging Norfolk and Portsmouth, and then sailed for New York, where they assisted Clinton in capturing the
1779 unfinished fortifications at Stony Point, by which the Americans had hoped to control King's Ferry. An expedition had been sent against West Greenwich, Connecticut, the previous March, which is memorable chiefly on account of General Putnam's bold escape from what seemed certain capture. He had rallied a company to oppose the British, who were on their way to destroy the salt-works at Horse Neck, but was unable to offer effective resistance to the fifteen hundred invaders, and his men were soon dispersed. Putnam sought to reach Stamford, but was pursued by the British, who were fast gaining on him, when he turned his horse over the edge of a steep, rocky bluff and rode safely to the bottom, leaving his astonished pursuers

General Putnam's Ride

daunted and baffled at the top. Another expedition, under Governor Tryon, left New York for Connecticut early in July, and sailing along the coast plundered New Haven, East Haven, Fairfield and Norwalk, which latter place was also burned.

These measures were met by the Americans with movements against Stony Point and Verplank's Point, and later against the British garrison at Paulus Hook. These were not wholly retaliatory, as Washington feared from the capture of Stony Point the extension of British occupation through a series of such posts, which would accomplish all that was striven for in Burgoyne's campaign, and cut off his army and the Southern states from the recruits and supplies so generously furnished by New England. He therefore determined to retake the fort at once, and entrusted the work to General Wayne, one of his most intrepid aids. General Wayne with a few hundred men reached the precipitous slopes in the rear of the fort on the evening of July sixteenth, and in a dashing assault, upon which the heavy fire of the garrison made no impression, they mounted the breast-works and compelled a speedy surrender. Nearly five hundred prisoners were taken, and guns and munitions of great value captured. After training the guns of the fort on Verplank's Point, opposite, and compelling its evacuation, the Americans leveled the works and returned to the main army. Their achievement is looked upon as one of the most brilliant of the war.

1779



Doorway Harwood House Annapolis

Paulus Hook, now the site of a part of Jersey City, was one of the strongest natural positions held by the British; nearly surrounded by water, it was approachable only by the post road, of which it originally formed the terminus and landing place of the ferry from New York. Major Harry Lee undertook the capture, and surprised it early on the morning of August nineteenth. The British had little time for resistance before they were overpowered by the attacking party, which secured upwards of one hundred and fifty prisoners — a number greater than that of the Americans — and quickly withdrew, lest the alarm spread to the main body of the enemy and retreat be cut off.

1779



Another undertaking, though carefully planned



Mount Vernon

1779 and fitted out at great expense, met with disaster and utterly failed. This was the expedition against the British post at Castine, near the mouth of the Penobscot River, organized in Massachusetts, in which thirty-seven vessels were engaged, and had entered the river, when, on August thirteenth, they were hemmed in by a British fleet of superior force which suddenly appeared. The Americans, rather than see their ships fall into the hands of the British, beached and burned them, making their way back to Boston overland.

The American navy, from the poverty of national resources an inconsiderable power heretofore, received at this time a memorable accession in the fleet under John Paul Jones, fitted out at L'Orient, France, by the American and French governments. Jones, by birth a Scotchman, had already shown high ability in the service of America, and when, after many tedious disappointments, he found himself in command of an effective if not powerful fleet, he lost no time in making his presence felt among the shipping of Great Britain. He intercepted and captured many merchant vessels, in some cases boldly entering harbors to destroy them, and spread terror of his name throughout the British Isles. These exploits, while of importance in a scheme of warfare, were far from sufficient to the aggressive character of Jones, and he eagerly sought an encounter with armed vessels, though the conditions might apparently be against him. Such an opportunity came to him off Flamborough Head, September twenty-third, when he overtook two British ships of war, the Serapis and Countess of Scarborough, convoying a large fleet of merchantmen. Jones commanded the Bonhomme Richard, his flagship, and had with him but two other
1779 vessels of his squadron, the Alliance and Pallas, the others having been lost sight of in a gale. The British ships were greatly superior in size and armament, the Serapis being the larger, and a much newer and stouter vessel than the Bonhomme Richard, with which she engaged. The Countess of Scarborough soon struck to her opponents, the Alliance and Pallas, and the three remained in a group apart, leaving the two larger vessels to struggle for mastery. The battle that ensued is renowned in history as an example of the triumph of personal invincibility in the face of apparent ruin.

The Bonhomme Richard and the Serapis fought at close range until both were badly battered and pierced, and then, grappled together, the guns of each touching the other's side, they continued their fearful work of carnage and destruction. On several occasions the Richard



Washington's Coat of Arms

Commodore John Paul Jones

Mount Vernon



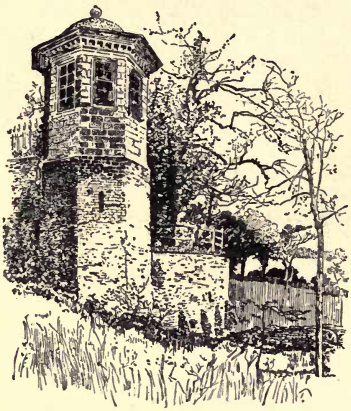
1779

was reported to be sinking, but by extraordinary effort was kept afloat, and at last Pearson, the captain of the Serapis, yielded to his antagonist at a moment when, as far as material evidence was credible, the victory might well have been his own. The Alliance, which should have helped the Richard, remained aloof during the greater part of the engagement, and when at last she came up, nearly ruined Jones's chance by firing broadsides which swept the deck of the Richard. This action was excused on the ground of mistaken identity, but Landais' jealousy of Jones and his restiveness under the latter's superior authority, give color to a presumption of traitorous intent, and he was soon afterwards dismissed from the navy. The prizes were taken to Holland, and Jones, after a short stay in Paris, where his achievement was enthusiastically honored, returned to America, and received the thanks of Congress for his eminent services.

While Jones was receiving his vessels from France, the French fleet under D'Estaing, which had been cruising in West Indian waters, suddenly returned to the coast and captured four British men-of-war at Savannah. The French commander resolved to follow up this victory by recovering the town, and sought the help of the militia in the undertaking. Several weeks elapsed before the South Carolinians with Lincoln, who came to their aid, could complete an effective organization, and in this time the British had received reinforcements and erected formidable defences. D'Estaing, chafing under the delay, demanded an immediate attack, and on October ninth, the allies gallantly assaulted the works and succeeded in planting the flags of America and France on the ramparts, but they could not maintain their position, and finally were repulsed with great loss. The brave Pulaski was killed in this action, as was Sergeant Jasper, the hero of Fort Moultrie; and Count d'Estaing, who led his troops in person, was severely wounded. The French fleet put to sea, and Lincoln, with about two thousand men, withdrew to Charleston, where the people, desirous of protection, urged them to remain.

The British, encouraged by their victory, appeared off the coast of Georgia early in 1780 with a fleet under Admiral Arbuthnot, bringing Clinton and eight thousand men, who were placed in commanding positions about Charleston, where they were joined by Cornwallis with troops to the number of three thousand. General Lincoln, who had remained in the city, had been reinforced by a considerable body

1780



Tool House
Mount Vernon

of Virginia veterans, but his forces could offer no effective resistance to an army numbering four to his one. Aided by the fleet, which ran Fort Moultrie without difficulty, the British instituted an aggressive siege which resulted in the capitulation of the city on May twelfth; General Lincoln and all his men were taken prisoners.

With the loss of the last remnant of Lincoln's army, organized defense was obliterated in the South. The British spread over and devastated South Carolina as they did before in Georgia, plundering all not avowedly loyal, and committing outrages calculated to embitter the patriots and strengthen them in their later resistance.

A detachment of two thousand men under DeKalb had been sent South to augment the forces there, and this was now utilized as a nucleus of a new army. As many more were soon added by enlistment and the accession of isolated bands, and Gates, in whom Congress had great confidence, based on a misconception of his part in the capture of Burgoyne, was sent, against the judgment of Washington, to take command. Under conservative leadership this army would have grown and developed into an effective force, but without waiting for these processes, and apparently without consideration of its weakness, Gates led it to Camden, then an important center for the British. The despair resulting from the loss of Savannah and Charleston had been broken by minor though brilliant successes at Fishing Creek and Hanging Rock, and the patriots rallying under Marion, Sumter, and Pickens were harassing the British with a partisan warfare destructive of their sense of security,

1780 though lacking in effective organization. These leaders joined forces with Gates; but they added nothing to the strength of the attack on Camden, as both Marion and Sumter were detached for special operations, the latter taking four hundred of the best troops in addition to his own.

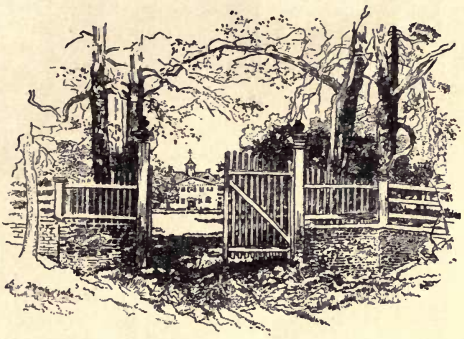
The British under Lord Rawdon, knowing of Gates' advance, set out to intercept and surprise him, and on August sixteenth, the armies came suddenly together, neither being aware of the proximity of the other. A battle was immediately ordered, and a line of militia, never before under fire, was marched in the first charge against the perfectly drilled regulars of the British. The natural result was, that the Americans, frightened by the solid fire of the enemy, broke and fled, leaving to DeKalb and his Continentals the whole burden of resistance. The latter fought with remarkable cour-



Virginia

General Gates in the South

age, but they were hopelessly outnumbered, and, after losing eight hundred men, including DeKalb, were obliged to retreat and save themselves as best they could. Sumter's detachment, which had captured the British wagon train, was overtaken by Tarleton and routed with the loss of half its men, killed or captured. The re-formed southern army, barely started in its mission, was thus effectually scattered, and once more the British were free to extend their lines and prosecute their plan of northward conquest.



1780

Old Entrance
Mount Vernon

This immunity was of short duration, however, the rigorous measures adopted by Cornwallis quickly bearing fruit in an uprising fatal to British supremacy. Wishing to free himself from the annoyance of local attacks, Cornwallis sent a division under Colonel Ferguson to range the western borders of the Carolinas and intimidate the inhabitants. The threats of the invaders roused the mountaineers, who had hitherto contented themselves with repressing Indian aggression, and gathering under favorite leaders, they assembled on the Watuga, late in September, to the number of nearly twelve hundred. They chose Colonel Campbell — leader of the Virginians — chief commander, and under his direction were more closely united and instructed in methods of attack. They were later joined by upwards of three hundred from North Carolina, and started to crush the detachment under Ferguson. The British commander had word of their coming, and undertook to elude them; but being unsuccessful in this, took up a strong position on Kings' Mountain and awaited the conflict. To shorten the pursuit the backwoodsmen had divided their force, the pick of men and horses to the number of seven hundred entering on a forced march, leaving the rest to come up as they could. Riding night and day in their impatience to attain their object, the Americans arrived in the vicinity of the British camp on the 1780
morning of October seventh, and immediately arranged the attack. The British had more men, and a strong position on the top of a wooded hill; but every man in the attacking force was a trained Indian fighter and thoroughly at home in such a situation. They charged from opposite sides of the hill, and a repulse on one side was immediately followed by an assault on the other, thus keeping the British in constant motion, and gradually reducing the intervening space, until arriving at the top they surrounded and overpowered the enemy, forcing unconditional surrender. Ferguson and fully one-third of his men were killed, and the victors secured a large store of arms and ammunition, the lack of which was everywhere a serious hindrance to the struggling patriots.

King's Mountain



Clagett's Tavern Alexandria Va.

The tide of war thus ebbing and flowing, rose perceptibly for the Americans from this time, the people, encouraged by the destruction of the merciless foe that dominated the frontier, rising in scattered bands to pick off isolated British posts and even driving the main army to seek security nearer the sea-coast. Marion and Sumter appeared in unexpected quarters, cutting off supplies and routing loyalist militia, leading Tarleton hither and thither in futile attempts to reach them. He finally came up with Sumter at Blackstocks and was severely repulsed. The British, once more on
1780 the defensive, were checked in their northward march, and all that was needed to permanently cripple them was an organized army to which the roving bands could rally. This Congress undertook, for the third time, to supply; but depleted ranks and bankrupt finances were conditions not lightly subjected, and Greene, whom Washington was privileged to appoint to this command, could obtain but little in material equipment, either of men or outfittings, and was obliged to depend on appeals to the Southern States, backed by recommendations of the central government. In some aspects Greene's expedition was in the nature of a forlorn hope. Two armies had been sacrificed in the same cause, exhausting the resources of the northern division, which could now spare but a mere body-guard to the departing general. Disaffection was rife in the Continental army on account of the worthlessness of the currency with which it was paid, and enlistments were correspondingly difficult to obtain. In the face of this discouraging outlook Greene went resolutely to his task, rousing the country as he traveled through it and importuning the governors for aid of any kind. His energetic measures brought him some immediate assistance, and more followed as he journeyed South, leaving a train of activity where apathy had

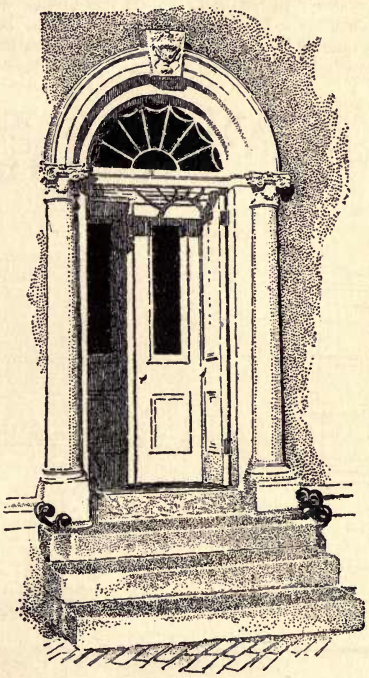
General Greene goes South

before prevailed. He reached Charlotte, North Carolina, December second, and relieved Gates, who had since his defeat at Camden gathered the available militia of the state to the number of two thousand, to replace his lost army. These troops were raw and undisciplined, but with Steuben and Lee, whom Congress had assigned to the Southern department, Greene set about the work of fitting them for service, while they also formed a nucleus for gathering recruits.

1780

In appointing Greene to the command of the Southern division, Washington had deprived his army of a strong general, but he was content in the knowledge of the special fitness of Greene for the duty to which he was assigned. His notable service as quartermaster-general after the failure of the Board of War, and his eminent ability in the field, were considerations that impelled Washington to urge his appointment to this post after the destruction of Lincoln's army at Charleston; but Congress, enamoured of Gates, chose the latter. In the interval since that time the contrast of ability in the two men had become apparent even to Congress. While Gates hurried to destruction in the South, Greene gained fresh honors in New Jersey, where he checked Clinton's advance at Springfield and sent him in retreat to Staten Island.

Alexandria Va.



1780

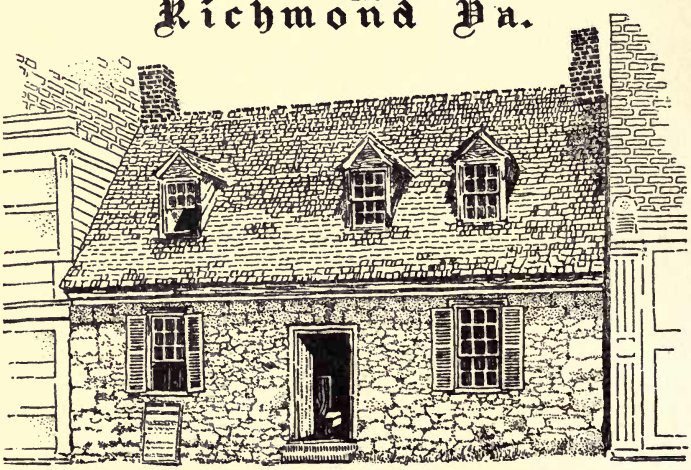
Incursions of this character were the extent of British activity in the North during the spring and summer of 1780. Washington had moved into New Jersey and driven out Knyphausen, whose force was greatly superior, before Clinton arrived from Charleston; and while the latter was engaged in his abortive raid, the American commander defended his position on the Hudson. His army, impoverished and reduced in numbers through the incapacity of Congress, was reinforced by the arrival at Newport, Rhode Island, July tenth, of a powerful French fleet under Admiral Ternay, bringing Count de Rochambeau with six thousand soldiers. The strength of the allied forces was thus sufficient to imperil the British at New York, and their outlying posts were finally abandoned for the better protection of the larger interests.

At the British headquarters, and in the heart of the American councils, events were making for one of the saddest burdens that Washington, in

Arrival of French Allies

all the misfortunes of the Revolution, was called upon to bear. Benedict Arnold, whose name is now identified with treachery, was at that time one of the most valiant officers in the patriot army. Impetuous and ardent, he was ever at the forefront of action, and his self-ignoring courage inspired those about him to victorious effort in the face of impending disaster. He had led a starving army through the northern wilderness to
1775 Quebec, his energetic struggle for the control of Lake Champlain had delayed by a
1776 year the British advance to the Hudson and operated for its final defeat, and his resurgent valor at Saratoga turned the tide of battle in favor of his cause. The elements of character that contributed to these worthy ends were equally potent in self-seeking
1777 baseness, when the high impulse of patriotism had given place to one of personal gain and revenge. The wound received by Arnold in the charge at Saratoga incapacitated him, temporarily, for active service, and when sufficiently recovered he was put in
1778 command of Philadelphia, which the British had then recently evacuated. Here he married the daughter of a Tory, and formed associations that opened the way for later operations. Life at the capital developed the weaknesses of his nature, and he became involved in difficulties that brought him successively before a committee of
1779 Congress and a court-martial; the former exonerated him, but the latter, though acquitting him of the charges preferred, qualified the verdict by directing Washington to administer a formal reprimand. The harshness of this measure was greatly miti-

Washington's Headquarters
Richmond Va.



Major-General Benedict Arnold

gated by the implied praise which Washington, who admired Arnold and believed him wronged, incorporated in the rebuke; but to Arnold it was no less a rebuke, and it weighed in turning him from a life of honor to one of ignominy.

Smarting under his wrong, real or fancied, and looking to the possibilities of personal emolument, he opened cautious communication with the British, who saw in this an opportunity of acquiring by treachery what they could not take by force of arms. The American fort at West Point, on the Hudson, was coveted, and Arnold set out to obtain the post of commandant that he might work its ruin, for which he was to receive a large money consideration and a commission as brigadier-general in the British army. Though Washington had other plans for Arnold's employment, such was his regard for the man, that he deferred to the latter's wishes, and the first requirement of the plot was effected. From possession it was but a step to delivery; but that step was carelessly executed by Major André, the British emissary sent to meet Arnold and arrange the details, and while on his way back to the Vulture, a sloop-of-war which had brought him up the river, he was captured at Tarrytown and the full import of his mission discovered. John Paulding, David Williams and Isaac Van Wart, the vigilant rangers who seized André, took him, in spite of liberal offers for liberty, to the American headquarters at Northcastle; and a few days later he was hanged at Tappan, after having confessed to being a spy, and notwithstanding strenuous efforts on the part of Clinton to save his officer's life. Through a blunder of the officers to whom André was delivered, Arnold was notified of the failure of his conspiracy and succeeded in escaping to the British on the day, September twenty-fifth, that the surrender was to have taken place. *1780*



1780

School-house of Randolphs and Jeffersons Tuckahoe Va.

To Washington, who arrived unexpectedly at West Point on the morning of Arnold's flight, the moral disappointment was particularly severe. Arnold was a valuable officer, but the gap which he left could, in a way, be filled. The real calamity was the shaken confidence in human integrity engendered by the perfidy of one so highly esteemed, and who owed so much to the kindly consideration of his superior. It opened unconsidered possibilities of defeat, and such was the improbability in Arnold's case that no limit could be set to unwelcome suspicion. Happily no further cause for such existed, and the treason of Arnold remains the one blot on the record of patriotism.

Arnold's Treachery



Westover James River Va.

In the North the year 1780 closed as it had passed, without important aggression by either side. To Washington, in his quarters in New Jersey, the outlook was cheerless in the extreme. All the old familiar besetments of failing men and scant supplies harassed him with stubborn persistence. As an executive body Congress was a failure, and Washington's strenuous entreaties were received with indifference and apathy. The lack of funds was the most serious difficulty, and after its own conspicuous failure in this field, Congress, with unusual discernment, shifted the burden to an individual of large means and earnest patriotism, by appointing Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, to be Superintendent of Finances. In the early days of the war, Morris had answered Washington's appeal with fifty thousand dollars raised on his personal credit, and, though the task was one that few men would have cared to undertake and fewer still have succeeded in, he now applied his ripe business ability to the problem, and with the coöperation of Gouverneur Morris, of New York, established a bank and raised the credit of the government on the strength of his own acceptance of the trust. The money thus available was of immense assistance to Washington, enabling him to recoup his army at a most critical time, when, as later developments proved, unreadiness would have been fatal.

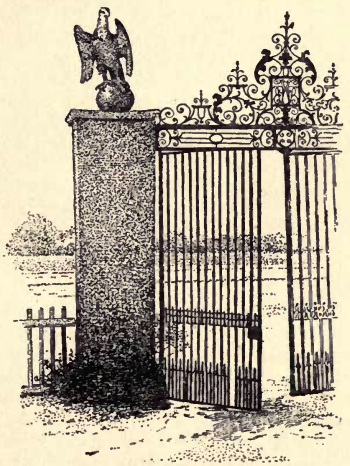
1781 Benedict Arnold, with his commission from King George, had been sent to ravage Virginia, and with Cornwallis and Tarleton in the Carolinas, the importance of the British strength in the South was clearly apparent to the American commander. He dispatched Lafayette with twelve hundred men to meet Arnold, who was burning and

Robert Morris

pillaging with the energy that had been characteristic of his worthy efforts. Early in March, Lafayette reached Annapolis, at which place he was to join the French fleet which had been sent from Newport to convoy him to Portsmouth, where Arnold was entrenched. The plan was frustrated by the appearance of a British fleet under Arbuthnot near the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, and as a result of the ensuing action the French were obliged to return to Rhode Island, leaving Lafayette 1781
without the means of reaching Arnold. Clinton, though yet with no plan beyond disconnected raids, sent General Phillips with two thousand men to join Arnold, whom the former was to relieve of command. His mission thus rendered hopeless, Lafayette was ordered to join Greene, who was beginning to make his presence felt in the farther South.

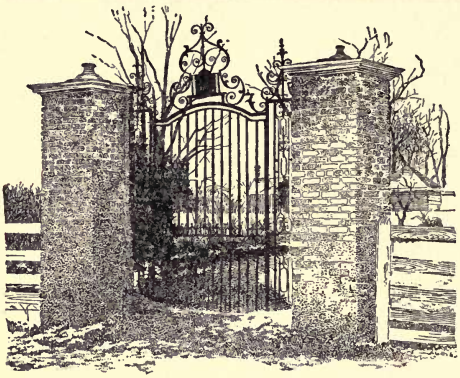
One of the typical figures of the war was Daniel Morgan of Virginia. Born to humble station, he served as private in the early Indian wars, and at the outbreak of the Revolution raised a regiment of Virginia riflemen and hurried to the front. His men formed an important part of the expedition to Quebec and were prominent in many later actions, notably at Saratoga, where they won the praise of the enemy. Morgan had not received the recognition his achievements merited and had withdrawn to his Virginia plantation, when Gates's defeat at Camden revealed the desperate situation of the cause in the South. Repressing personal considerations, he made haste to join Gates, and soon received from Congress a commission as brigadier-general. He was engaged in organizing his troops when Greene arrived, and with the approval of the latter he moved to the westward, and gathering the militia, stopped the ravages of loyalists in that section. Cornwallis watched with apprehension Morgan's growing power, and sent Tarleton, with his light infantry, to check his operations. Morgan retreated before him until he reached a favorable position at Cowpens — on the boundary between North and South Carolina — where he established himself, and instructing and encouraging his men, he waited in battle order for the British to come up. They arrived on the seventeenth of January and dashed upon the Americans with an impetuosity calculated to break the ranks of the latter; but they were prepared for this and met the assault boldly, changing formation to bring fresh troops to the front, and then by a partial retreat led the British forward, enabling a division under Colonel Washington to attack them in the rear. Met by fire before and behind, the enemy soon succumbed in unconditional surrender. Tarleton himself escaped, but upwards of six hundred of his men fell into the hands of the Ameri-

Gate Post Westover



1781

Morgan's Victory at Cowpens



Gate Westover

cans, with all the arms and baggage of the command. Morgan's victory was a brilliant one, his force being inferior to that of his adversary, and was largely the result of clear judgment and careful planning, backed by experienced troops.

Although Tarleton's command was destroyed, it was dangerous for Morgan to remain within reach of Cornwallis, who was sure to retaliate for the loss of his favorite regiment; and as soon as the battle was over a rapid retreat was begun, which, before the next morning, had carried the Americans well beyond the Broad River. Events proved the wisdom of this course, and the advantage thus gained barely sufficed to save them from the pursuing army, which was lightened by burning its heavy baggage, that the chase might be unimpeded. Greene also realized the importance of outwitting Cornwallis, and on learning of the victory started at once to join Morgan, at the same time sending messengers ahead to gather boats at all the rivers on the line of march, that everything might be in readiness when the troops arrived. Without this foresight all the strenuous efforts of Morgan would have come to naught, as successively at the Catawba and the Yadkin the Americans had only the river between them and their pursuers.

1781

Greene's army, following close upon its general, joined Morgan's division at Guilford, the ninth of February, and together they continued the flight to the Dan, where Kosciuszko, sent ahead by Greene, was preparing defences. The British were so close behind that it was only by employing a rear guard to engage them in skirmishes that the Americans succeeded in crossing the river; when this was safely accomplished the skirmishing party followed rapidly, leaving the enemy baffled at the bank. The British had no boats, and as it was out of the question to ford under the fire of the Americans, they withdrew and gave up the chase.

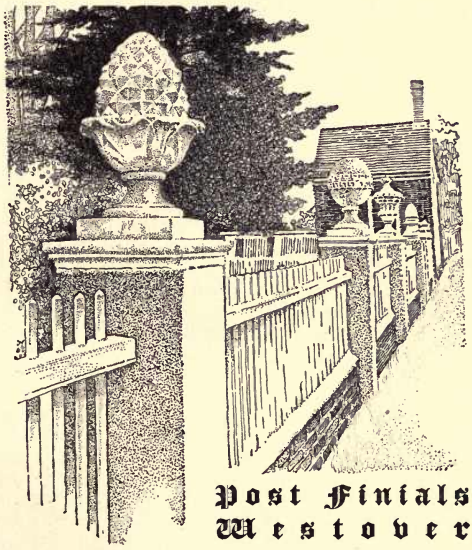
Greene soon returned to the country south of the Dan, and for some weeks harrassed Cornwallis by raids on outlying divisions, and by intercepting his recruits and supplies. Every attempt to reach the Americans was frustrated by a rapid change of position, and after seriously fatiguing his army to no purpose, Cornwallis withdrew to rest his men and seek recruits. This gave Greene a like opportunity, and the militia, for which his aides had scoured the neighboring states while the British were being held in check, began to arrive in appreciable force. When sufficiently strengthened, Greene, who saw the necessity of a battle which should cripple his adversary, even though himself obliged to retreat, marched to Guilford Court House, which he

Morgan's Retreat

had selected as an advantageous position. The next day, March fifteenth, the British accepted the challenge and boldly opened the attack. Greene's forces, which numbered somewhat over four thousand, were largely untrained militia, and at the first charge of the enemy, the firing line, thus constituted, broke and fled without offering any effective resistance. The Continentals, who were next behind, fought with steady regularity and twice repulsed the British, who only saved the day by the reckless use of artillery fired through their own ranks. Greene withdrew in good order, but minus a large part of the militia, which failed to return after the first rout.

Cornwallis, who lost in the neighborhood of six hundred men, took up his march to Wilmington to refit before coming northward. Greene immediately followed him, *1781*
although defeated and with his force reduced by desertion — his loss in battle being less than a third that of the British; but he was compelled by the continued desertion of militia to abandon the pursuit at the Deep River when almost up with the enemy.

With the British forces divided, as they were by Cornwallis's expedition to Virginia, it became necessary for Greene to choose between following the former to the North, and the alternative of moving against Lord Rawdon, who held Camden and a chain of fortified posts in South Carolina. He chose the latter plan, and quickly withdrawing from the vicinity of Cornwallis, that the latter might not detect his purpose in time to obstruct his movement, he marched for Camden, April second, and arrived that night at Hobkirk's Hill, within a short distance of the enemy's works. Rawdon, thinking to surprise Greene, whom he knew to be as yet without artillery, led an attack early on the morning of April seventh, and succeeded in dislodging the Americans. Greene was surprised, but not unprepared, as he had camped his army in battle form to guard against this possibility. The struggle was sharp, and for some time the advantage appeared to be with the Americans, but at a critical moment one of those unnecessary weakenings, which had turned the scale against them on many other occasions, broke the formation, and seeing the inevitable result, Greene withdrew his men while yet possible to do so without sacrifice.



Post Finials
Westover

Reinforcements reached Rawdon a few

Greene's Campaign

weeks later, in spite of Lee and Marion, who, at the first inception of the plan, had been sent to cut off his supplies. With this added force, Rawdon started out early in May to reach, by a détour, a position in Greene's rear, which he hoped to find unguarded. The sagacious general was not to be caught in such a simple manner, however, and changed his position for one so strong that the British feared to attack. Unable to dislodge Greene, and threatened by the latter's outlying divisions, which had already taken Fort Watson, one of his important posts, Rawdon abandoned Camden, May tenth, and moved to the sea-coast. On his way he hoped to strengthen the garrison at Fort Motte, but he was too late, and arrived May twelfth, just in time to witness its surrender. Sumter had taken Orangeburg the day before, and Neilson's Ferry and Fort Granby fell within a few days. Lee and Pickens with their divisions entered Georgia and captured Fort Galphin, May twenty-first, reaching Augusta, their objective point, a few hours later. Here they met determined resistance. The two forts, Grierson and Cornwallis, were besieged, and the former, which was the weaker, was soon taken by Pickens, enabling him to go to the assistance of Lee, whose operations had so far had little effect on the strong garrison of Fort Cornwallis, which fought gallantly and held out with stubborn tenacity. The Americans were no less determined, however, and gradually weakening the defense by daily engagements, they finally assaulted the fort on June fifth, and forced its surrender.

1781

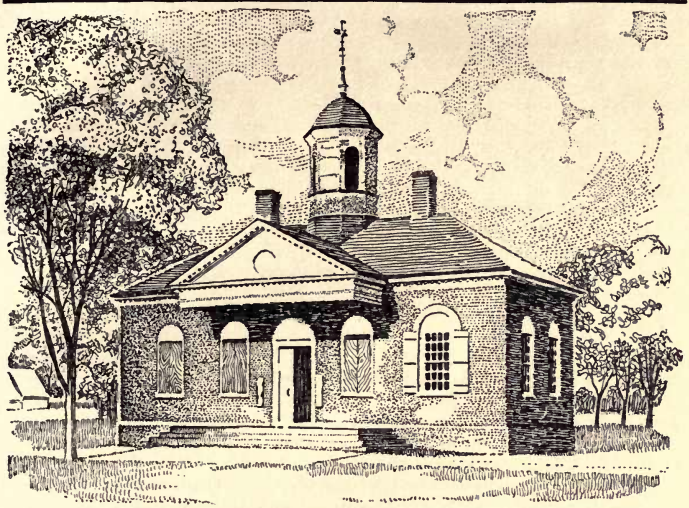
One of the strongest British posts in the South, and after the fall of Augusta the only one in that section remaining in their control, was Ninety-Six, Georgia. To this Greene directed his attention after recuperating his army, and opened systematic



Farmington, Charlottesville Va.

Designed by
Thomas Jefferson

Sumter, Lee and Pickens



Court House, Williamsburg Va.

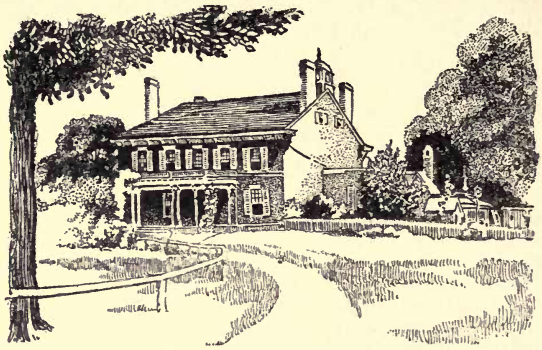
Designed by Sir Christopher Wren

siege operations, which, with the help of Lee, who had joined him after the victory of Augusta, had reduced the strong garrison to a point where surrender could not be long delayed, when the Americans received word of the approach of Lord Rawdon, who had again left the seaboard to come to the relief of the besieged post. Greene, *1781* who was too weak to cope with such a force, reluctantly withdrew and led Rawdon a futile chase from point to point, until the latter, unable to disperse the Americans, and fearing to remain in the position he had come so far to sustain, withdrew from Ninety-Six, taking the garrison and loyalists, and returned finally to the coast. Thus the purpose of Greene's campaign, apparently frustrated, was accomplished by the force of conditions his earlier work had created.

Detachments of the American troops followed the retreating British to the outskirts of Charleston, harassing them and preventing scattered raids and pillage. They also, as a result of engagements with outlying commands, captured upwards of one hundred and fifty prisoners, among whom were a number of officers.

Lord Rawdon embarked for England early in July, and his successor, Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, undertook to reoccupy the country from which Rawdon had been driven. He started, late in August, with between two and three thousand men, and camped on the Santee near Fort Motte. Greene, who was encamped in the neighboring hills, had rested and strengthened his army, and he set out on receipt of in-

Ninety-six Evacuated



Crogan Place Locust Grove Ky.

formation of Stewart's movements, to intercept the latter and at the same time to assail his communications by detachments in his rear. This plan was so successful that the British were obliged to withdraw to Eutaw Springs, some twenty miles down the river. Here they selected a strong position and awaited the Americans, who reached that vicinity September seventh, but were undiscovered until the morning of the eighth, a short time before they were ready to attack. The armies were evenly matched, and although the Americans pressed steadily forward and easily destroyed the enemy's outer lines, the resistance was able and determined, and for a while seemed sufficient to hold the ground. At this point Greene's superior tactics prevailed, and the Continentals, being formed in to replace the exhausted militia, which had so far borne bravely the brunt of the battle, charged
1781 the British before they had time to recover from the fire of the militia, and penetrating their line, drove them in disorder to the shelter of a brick building about which the camp was set. Unfortunately the victors were over-confident of success and scattered in search of plunder, with the result that the British were enabled to gather sufficient strength to render the final outcome doubtful, and Greene, bitterly disappointed, yet ever watchful of the safety of his army, felt compelled to withdraw and trust to the severity of the blow he had inflicted to force the enemy to retreat. He took with him five hundred prisoners, making the British loss, with those left on the field, nearly a thousand; which, as was anticipated, decided Stewart to return to the coast, where the protection of the British ships formed their only stronghold. As before, detachments under Marion and Lee followed and harassed the retreating army, which, to be less encumbered, destroyed large quantities of stores, and left behind more than a thousand stands of arms. Greene retired, according to his custom, to gather reinforcements, and later moved to the vicinity of Charleston, where his presence served to restrain the British and check their raids on the surrounding country; but his work was practically done, and the South, the most cruelly devastated section of the Union, was, with the exception of a few points on the coast, freed from British dominion.

Simultaneously with these victories in South Carolina came the master-stroke of the Revolution, — the operations about Yorktown which led to the surrender of Cornwallis. The successive raids into Virginia had attracted attention to that quarter,

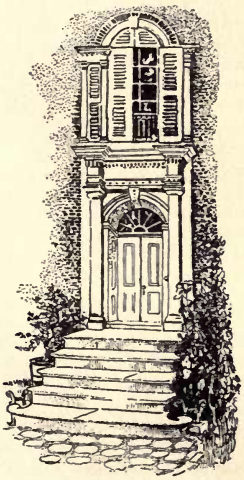
Eutaw Springs

but the expedition under Phillips that added two thousand men to Arnold's already strong force, and Cornwallis's approach from the South, gave to the situation there an importance not hitherto possessed.

Washington, in his survey of existing conditions, realized the necessity of a decisive engagement that should successfully terminate the Revolution, which otherwise stood in grave danger of dissolution as a result of the apathy and incompetence of Congress, and the failure of the states not directly menaced, to continue the much-needed supplies of money and men. To this end he sought the coöperation of Rochambeau and his French troops, and the fleet under De Barras, recently arrived at Newport. The choice lay between New York and Yorktown, at either of which places the ships could coöperate with the land forces, an essential condition to the complete victory that Washington desired to ensure. His preference at first was for New York as offering the greater opportunity, and early in July a combined attack was made on the forts at the upper end of Manhattan. The attempt was fruitless as to its main issue, but it served to alarm Clinton, and caused him to withdraw further aid from Cornwallis; it also served as a feint and enabled Washington to make unsuspected preparations for carrying out the alternative plan, to attack the forces now combined and entrenched at Yorktown. This plan gained opportune encouragement by the receipt of assurance of coöperation from Count De Grasse, who was on his way from the West Indies with another and larger fleet. 1781

Lafayette, whom Cornwallis unsuccessfully endeavored to isolate, had been joined by Wayne with his command, and together they had driven the British from the interior, engaging them at Williamsburg and Green Spring, and held them at bay at Yorktown. Neither Cornwallis nor Clinton had any idea that Washington would abandon New York with his main army, and this, with the operations already attempted, and the elaborate preparations made by the latter with the apparent purpose of continuing on the same lines, enabled the allied armies to slip away, leaving only a detachment to hold the British to Manhattan, and get well out of reach before Clinton discovered their absence. When he became aware of the movement he vainly endeavored to divert them from their purpose by sending Arnold, who had been unappreciatively ordered north by Cornwallis, into Connecticut to ravage and excite the country. Forts Trumbull and Griswold, near New London, were taken, and at the latter, Colonel Ledyard and nearly a hundred of his men were murdered, after having surrendered in good faith. New London was burned to complete the wanton destruction.

Frankfort Ky.



Designed by Thomas Jefferson

The armies under Washington crossed the Hudson August nineteenth, and marching through Philadelphia, arrived September eighth at the head of Chesapeake Bay, where they gathered transports and awaited the French fleet. De Grasse had

Movements of Allied Forces



Clark House
Mulberry Hill Ky.

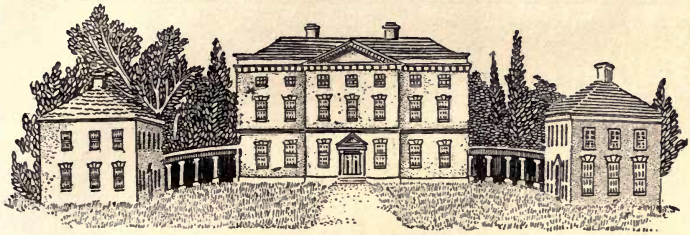
arrived at the entrance to the Chesapeake and was landing troops sent to reinforce Rochambeau, when a British fleet under Admiral Graves appeared off the capes, and the French at once went out to meet it. The ensuing action, while not eminently decisive, was severely felt by the British, who lost one ship and were obliged to sail north to refit. On his return, De Grasse found awaiting him the squadron under De Barras, who had eluded the English fleet sent to intercept him, and arrived safely with transports and siege tools, and together they proceeded up the bay and brought down the troops, which were landed at Williamsburg, September twenty-sixth. Joined by Lafayette and the French reinforcements, the combined armies, numbering in the neighborhood of sixteen thousand men, took up positions about Yorktown, September twenty-eighth, and laid down the first lines of the siege.

With the river, against which the town was set, and Gloucester Point, opposite, in the hands of the enemy, Yorktown was ill-adapted to successful defense, and Cornwallis soon found himself surrounded with steadily approaching armies. His first position was in trenches outside the town, but he was soon obliged to withdraw to the inner fortifications, while the besiegers occupied his abandoned works. Day by day the lines contracted and the heavy guns battered the defenses with steady effectiveness. October fourteenth two outlying redoubts were taken, one by the Americans and one by the French, and Cornwallis, realizing the desperateness of his situation, resolved to stake all on an attempt to escape by the river. On the night of the sixteenth he embarked a detachment of his men which reached the opposite bank in safety, but the sudden advent of a storm frustrated his plan, and the troops already over were with difficulty brought back the following day.

1781 His last hope gone, Cornwallis sought terms of surrender, and on the eighteenth the articles were signed. The next day eight thousand men laid down their arms to the Americans, and the British ships with a thousand more were delivered to the French. The ceremony was very imposing, the conquered army assuming all the dignity permitted by the articles of surrender. Cornwallis remained in his quarters under plea of sickness, presenting his apologies to Washington through General O'Hara, who also delivered the British commander's sword to General Lincoln, whom Washington, as a slight recompense for the former's like humiliation at Charleston, had appointed to receive it.

The careful plan had been wrought out, the overwhelming blow had been struck;

Cornwallis surrenders



Tryon Palace New-Berne N.C.

and although it could not be immediately known, the end of the Revolution had come. To Washington there yet appeared much need of continued effort, and great exertion was required on his part to prevent an easy relaxation after such a notable victory. King George was still insistent for war, and the British still held New York and Charleston.

Further reinforcements were sent to Greene, who continued to watch Stewart at the latter place, and Washington withdrew his army to the highlands of the Hudson. Clinton, with late awakening to the danger of Cornwallis's position, had started with a relief expedition and arrived at the entrance to the Chesapeake five days after the surrender. He immediately returned to New York, where the winter was quietly spent, and in the spring was succeeded by Sir Guy Carleton, whose appointment marked the accession of the peace party in Parliament, and whose mission was as much diplomatic as belligerent.

Washington's fear of further aggression and his appeals for continued vigilance, while justified by considerations of ordinary caution, and the unchanged attitude of King George, were happily unfounded, and events slowly but inevitably forwarded the termination of the war.

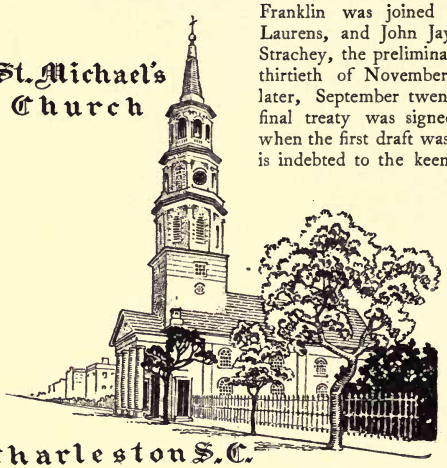
In England, irresistible surgings of public opinion were steadily decreasing the bal- *1782*
ance of power held by the King and his party, and by the first of March following the surrender at Yorktown they were reduced to a minority. King George, whose every measure in the history of the war had been too late for its opportunity, still clung to the hope of crushing the rebels, but he was practically alone, and before the month had passed, Lord North, his prime minister, was forced by the opposition in Parliament to dissolve his cabinet and resign the government to the Whigs. Rockingham came in at the head of the dominant party, but he was broken in health and died soon after, his place being taken by Lord Shelburne, then secretary of state.



Franklin, to whose victories of diplomacy America's standing abroad was chiefly due, had already opened negotiations with Shelburne; and with Richard Oswald, the latter's agent, had drafted at Paris the terms of peace. After much diplomatic contention, in which

North Carolina

The End of the War



1782 Franklin was joined by John Adams, Henry Laurens, and John Jay; and Oswald by Henry Strachey, the preliminary articles were signed the thirtieth of November. It was nearly a year later, September twenty-third, 1783, when the final treaty was signed, but the work was done when the first draft was agreed to, and this country is indebted to the keenness and ability of its representatives, especially to Franklin, for much more advantageous terms than could reasonably have been expected.

The troubles of the embryo nation having diminished with regard to England, the looseness and insufficiency of the central government became alarmingly apparent, and the army, the only real power, from being the instrument of liberty, threatened oppression of another form. All through the war the inability of Congress to provide for the army had been an almost paralyzing difficulty, but in one way or another Washington had been able to bridge this condition and maintain an effective organization. With the war ended and the urgency of action less apparent, Congress was at the point of abandoning the soldier with no provision for arrears of pay, and no assurance of even remote recompense for the hardships endured and the battles won.

1783 The disaffection thus engendered permeated the entire army and needed but the leadership of an active spirit to rise to organized revolt. This leader was at hand in the person of Major John Armstrong, and through him the grievances of officers and men were declared in the form of a written address, in which the army was called upon to rise in its power and assume the government. Early in the previous year a some-

1782 what similar movement had resulted in a proposition to crown Washington and declare him king; but though touched by this evidence of devotion, his high character was proof against all allurement, and he unhesitatingly rejected the offer, denouncing the principle, and pointing out the priceless benefits of the liberty for which they had fought. This later and more determined demonstration called for more decisive action, as it was approved by the general body of officers, and a day appointed for inaugurating the plan.

Filled with grief, alike for the necessities of his men and the danger of the nation, Washington rebuked the movement in general orders, and then, calling his officers to

1783 meet him, he reviewed the seriousness of the step contemplated, and with deep emotion appealed to them to stand by him and their country, trusting to the final triumph of justice and the righting of their wrongs. Promising his continued efforts in their behalf, the general withdrew, and the officers, yielding to his entreaties,

Insurrection imminent

formally resolved against the uprising. Alarmed by the imminence of this peril, Congress was stirred to action, and by partial payment, and land warrants, succeeded in pacifying the troops, preparatory to disbandment.

St. James Goose Creek S.C.



1782

Wayne, whom Greene had sent, soon after his arrival from Yorktown, to operate in Georgia, drove the British out of Savannah the following July, and on the fourteenth of December the same year, two weeks after the preliminary treaty was signed at Paris, they evacuated Charleston. New York was now the only port held, and Carleton occupied that uneventfully during the following year, until the signing of the final treaty, September twenty-third, was announced. He departed in state, November twenty-fifth, and as the British 1783 marched to their boats, Washington, with Governor Clinton, entered from the north and took possession. By this final act the United States were freed from British sovereignty, and the independence declared in 1776 was accomplished before the world.

His work finished, Washington called his officers about him, and bade them farewell with the simple dignity that had characterized his communion with them, but with deep emotion and fervent wishes for their future prosperity. In silence and in tears he embraced each one, and then, departing, made his way to the ferry, followed by the company, and, entering his barge, he raised his hat in final salute and began his homeward journey. What the Revolution could have been without Washington, is difficult to imagine. Through it all he stands preëminent, and continued study of his life serves but to further impress his greatness. To the wisdom and courage that planned his operations and effected them, were added nobleness and virtue that bound his army to him in bonds of love, that held when duty was forgotten.

George III, to whose unwise activity the independence of the United States is due, was, with all his deficiencies in statecraft, an honest and patriotic ruler. Surrounded by scheming and intriguing politicians, with only here and there a straightforward leader, it is little wonder that he became irretrievably committed to a policy in which there was, from his point of view, room for honest belief, and which his fawning courtiers were ever ready to extol. A complicated and disproportionate system of representation placed undue power in the hands of a few, while the great body of the people was very inadequately represented. These conditions, in times so degenerate, made it impossible for the King to gain his ends except by barter and intrigue, and we find him often the distracted victim of unfriendly and exacting cliques whose temporary strength forces recognition.



South Carolina

Charleston and New York evacuated

Believing fully in his divine right to govern, with every sentiment of hereditary prejudice outraged by the resistance of the colonists, King George, in his policy of subjection, was at least true to his natural instincts, for which we must allow while condemning the vindictive and oppressive measures resulting from it. Strong and unrelenting as was his enmity in war, his right-heartedness is evidenced by the equal sincerity of his friendliness when finally he realized the failure of his cause; his prayer to this end expressed before Parliament, when, with emotion, he acknowledged England's defeat, that "religion, language, interest and affection might prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries," is a worthy tribute of magnanimity, but it has been tardy of fulfillment, and the century now closing has, from the beginning, witnessed strife, and jealousy, and unworthy suspicion.

Recent events, however, have clearly revealed the underlying kinship and natural sympathy of the two nations, and notwithstanding the contention which must result from the conscientious discharge of duty by representatives of these governments, a warmer friendship is assured, which it is hoped will ultimately realize the contrite benediction of King George III.

Peace

Georgia



ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES A COMPLETE CATALOGUE OF THE GEORGIAN PATTERN IS SHOWN. IT IS MADE IN STERLING SILVER ONLY (925-1000 FINE), AND MAY BE HAD IN CHEST COMBINATIONS OF GREAT VARIETY. AN IMPORTANT FEATURE OF THE GEORGIAN, AND A MARKED INNOVATION IN FLATWARE, IS THE EXTENSIVE LINE OF HOLLOW HANDLE SPOONS AND FORKS, WHICH ARE PARTICULARLY APPROPRIATE TO THIS PATTERN BECAUSE OF THIS ADDED SIMILITUDE TO THE IONIC COLUMN WHICH IS THE BASIS OF THIS DESIGN.

THE PRODUCTS OF THIS MANUFACTORY ARE MARKETED THROUGH THE JEWELRY TRADE.

THE TOWLE MFG. COMPANY DOES NO RETAIL BUSINESS.



IN adopting the Georgian Style as a motive for this design, we recognize the wide and still growing appreciation of every manifestation of colonial architecture. While this style is more nearly indigenous than any other that the changing tastes of recent years have approved, — its precedent being identified with so much that is vital in the early history of our country, and its characteristics so amenable to existing conditions, — we must remember that plans and fittings were first brought from England, where, early in the reign of George III, the reproduction of classical designs became fashionable.

Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren had long before revived and adapted the teachings of Palladio and other Italian masters, and their influence prepared the way for popular acceptance of the promulgations of James Stewart, who returned, in 1762, from extended residence and study in Greece. The first fruits of the application of a style developed by the needs of public and religious life in a mild climate, to the domestic requirements of England, were absurd in the extreme; but a growing recognition of its limitations evolved the charming if not pure style with which we are familiar.

In the search for novelty its merits were for many years overlooked; but gradually the beauty of the old work has become apparent, and there is every reason to believe that the favor in which this style is now established will be lasting.

Derivation of Design

Georgian

Tea Spoon, P.M.



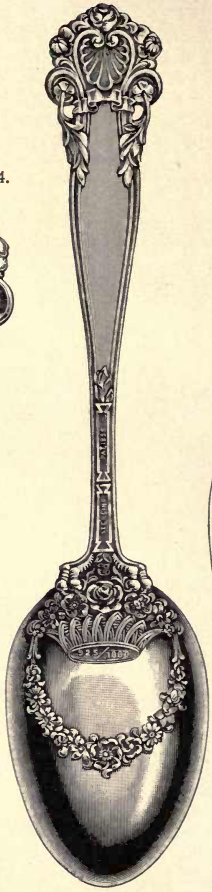
Tea Spoon, small, No. 13.



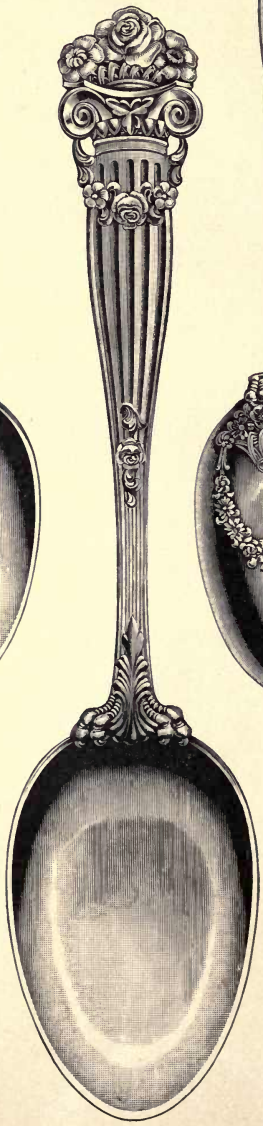
Tea Spoon, Nos. 15 and 18.



Tea Spoon, reverse.



Dessert Spoon, Nos. 26, 30 and 34.



Coffee Spoon.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Nos. 26, 30 and 34.

Nos. 33, 39 and 43.

ACTUAL SIZE.

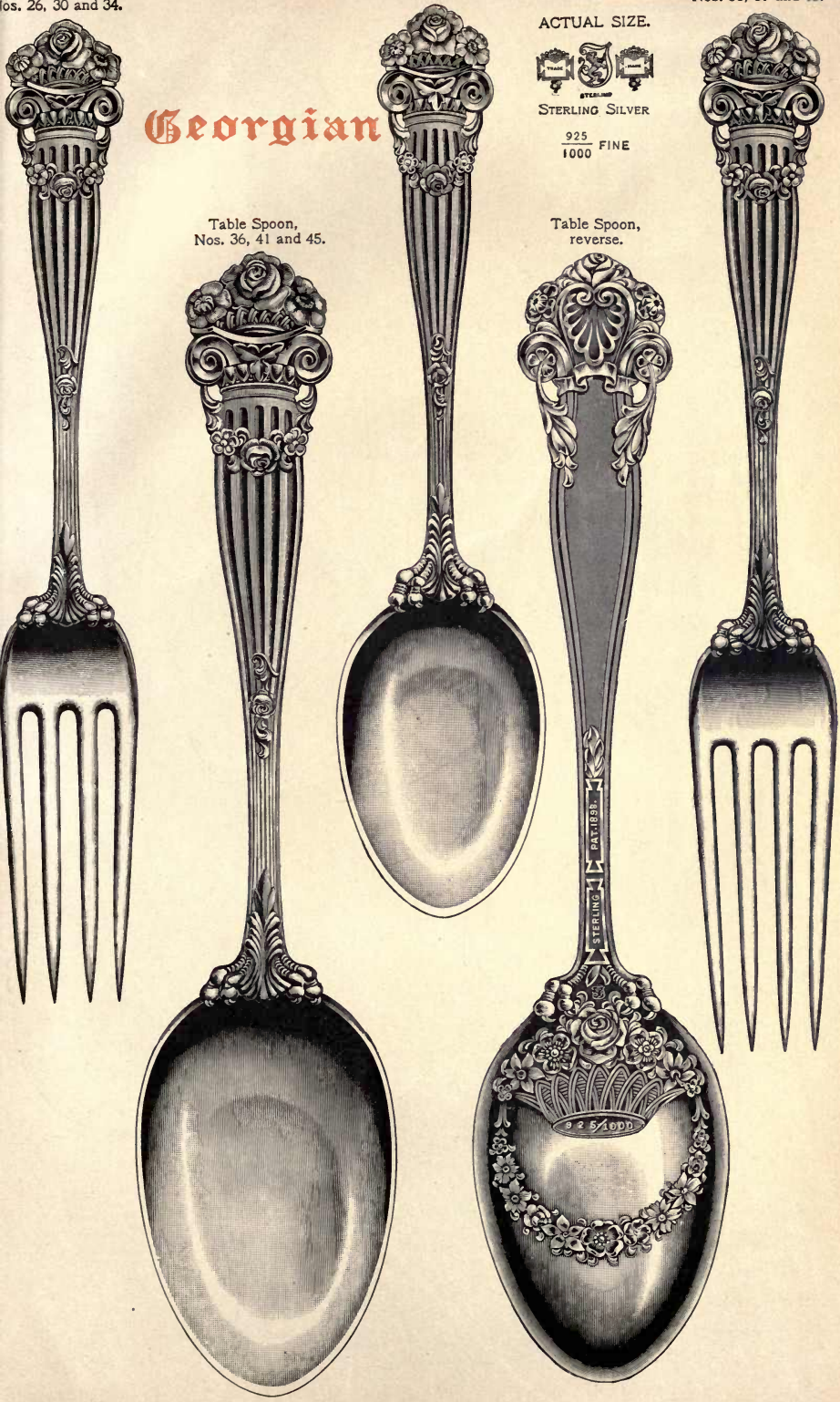
STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Georgian

Table Spoon,
Nos. 36, 41 and 45.

Table Spoon,
reverse.



Georgian

Ice Cream Spoon.

Sugar Spoon.

Jelly Spoon.

Bouillon Spoon.

Soup Spoon.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Georgian

Berry Spoon, large.

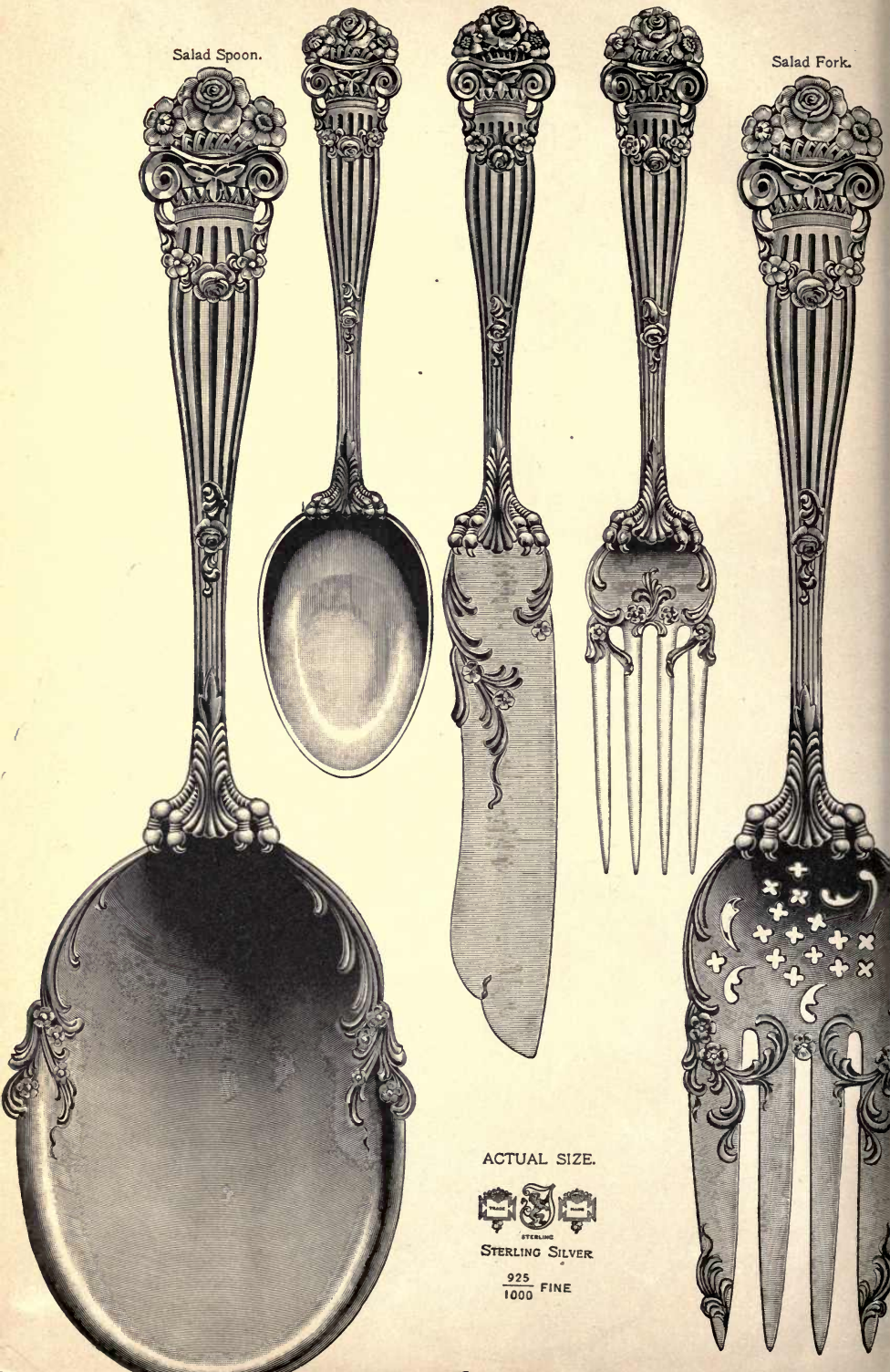


ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Georgian



ACTUAL SIZE.

STERLING SILVER

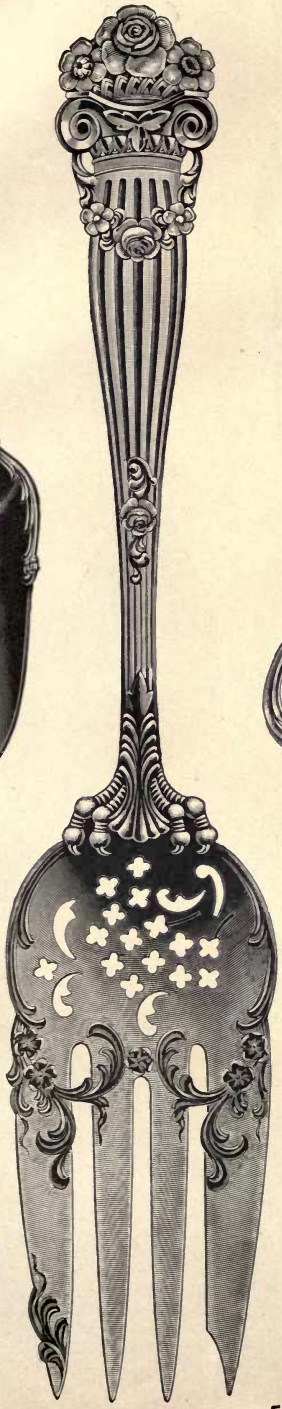
925/1000 FINE

Cheese Scoop, small.

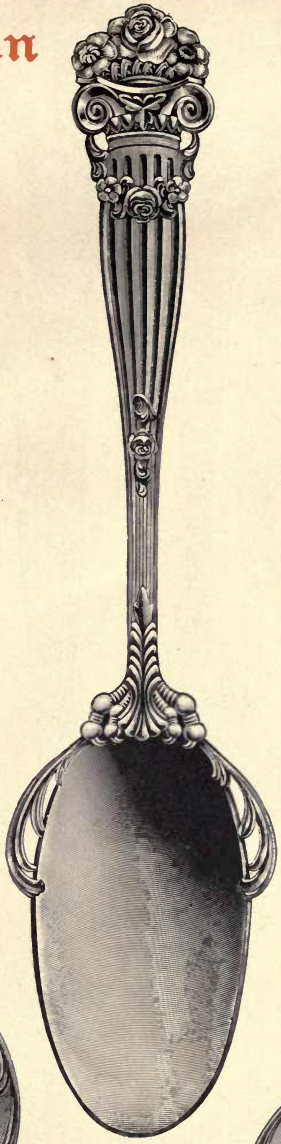
Georgian

Cold Meat Fork, large.





Cheese Scoop, large.

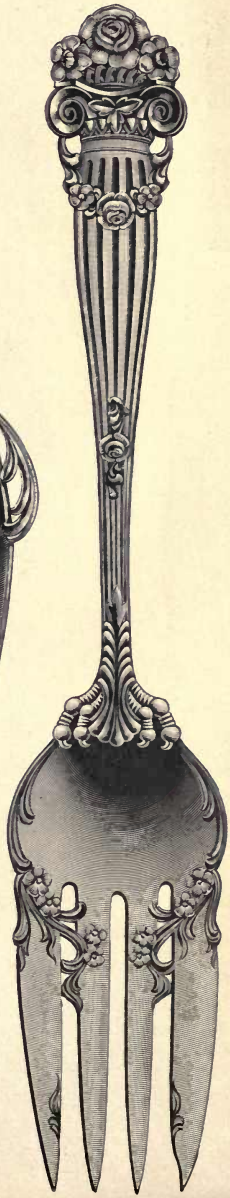


ACTUAL SIZE

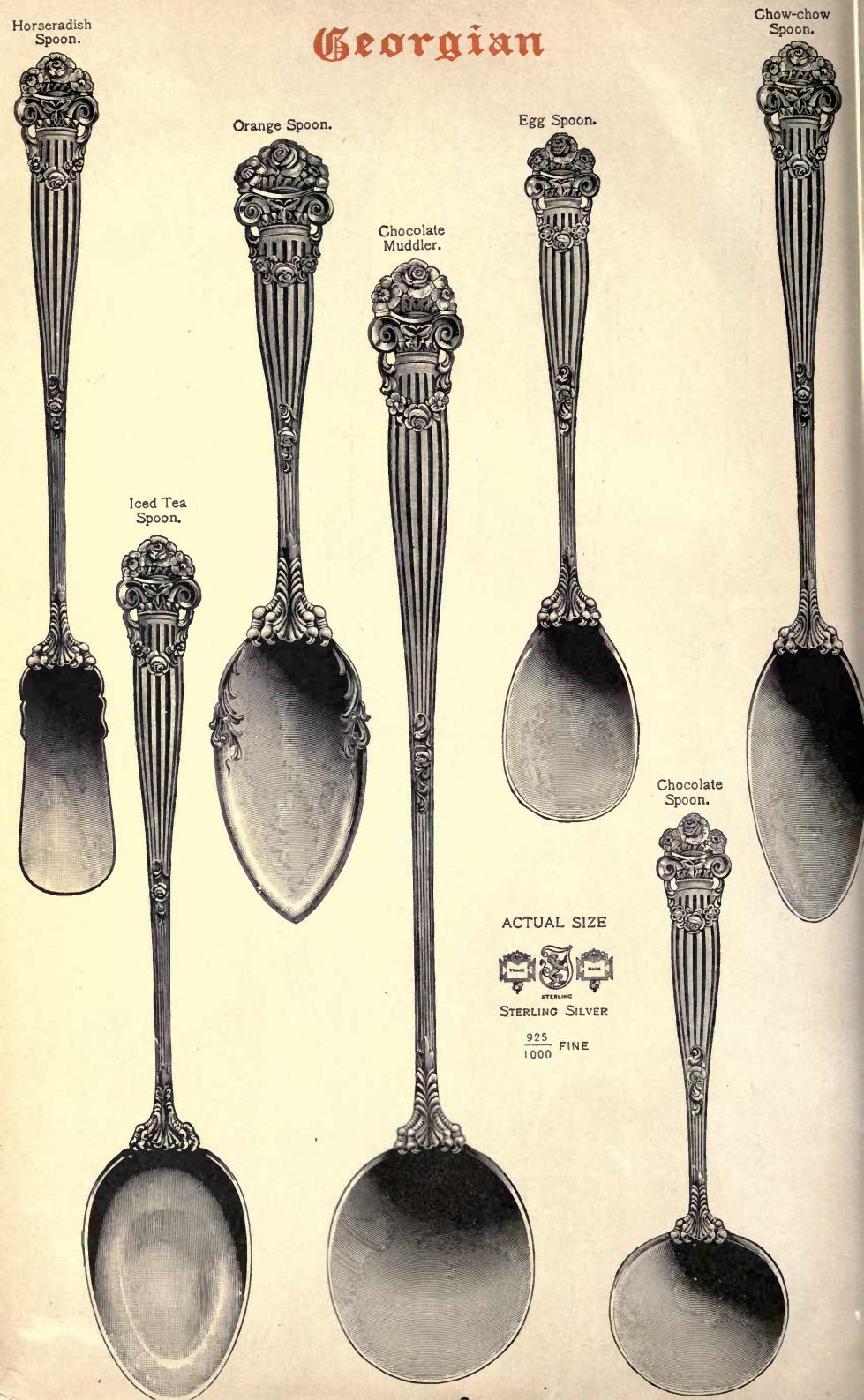
STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Cold Meat Fork, small.



Georgian



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

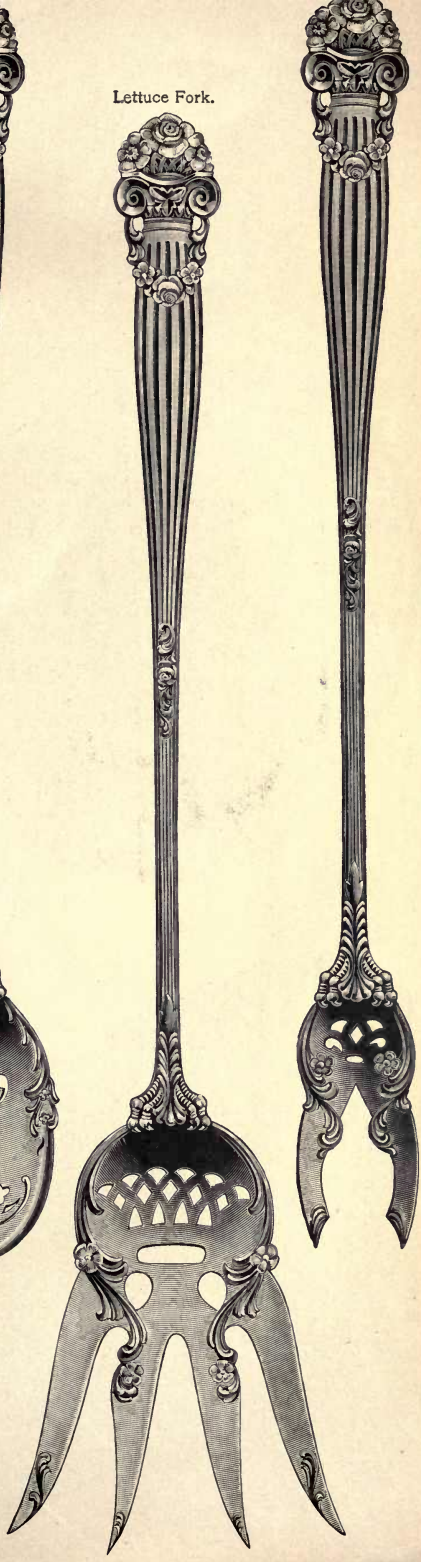
925/1000 FINE

Georgian

Lettuce Spoon.



Lettuce Fork.



Georgian

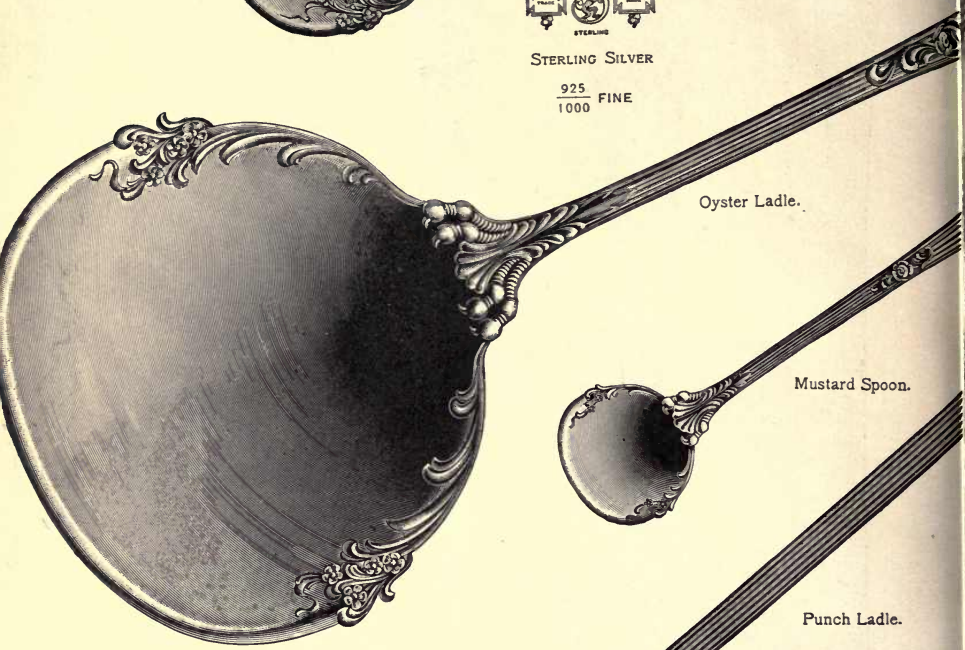


Cream Ladle.

ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

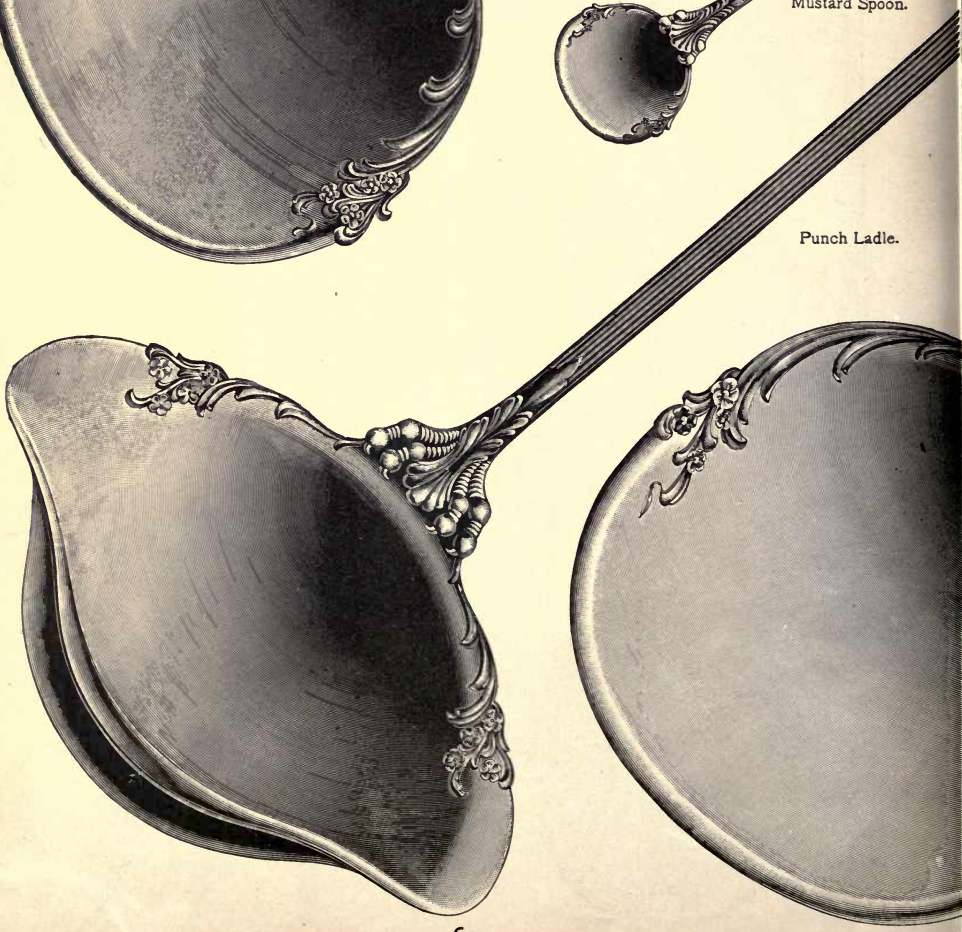
925/1000 FINE

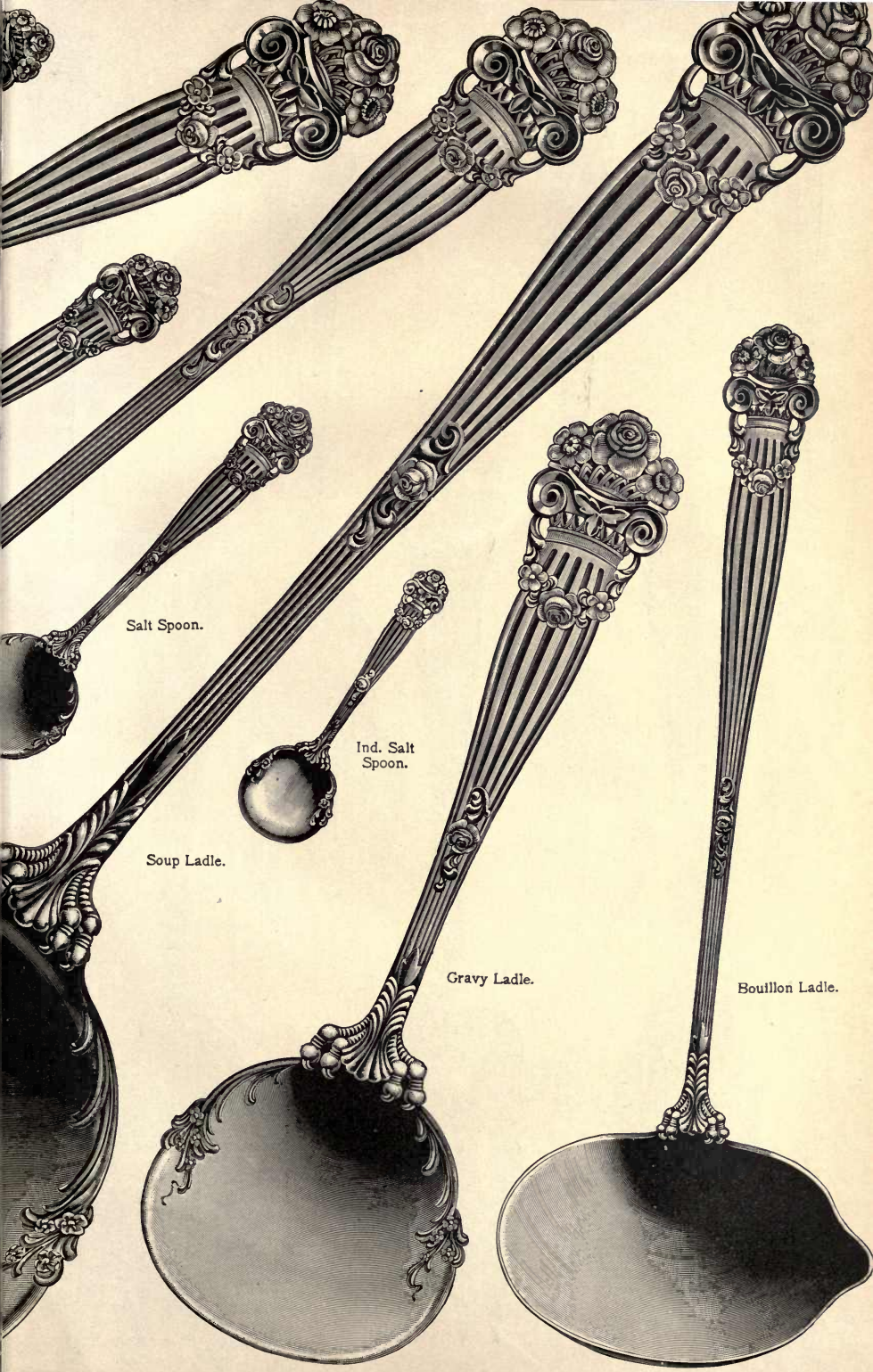


Oyster Ladle.

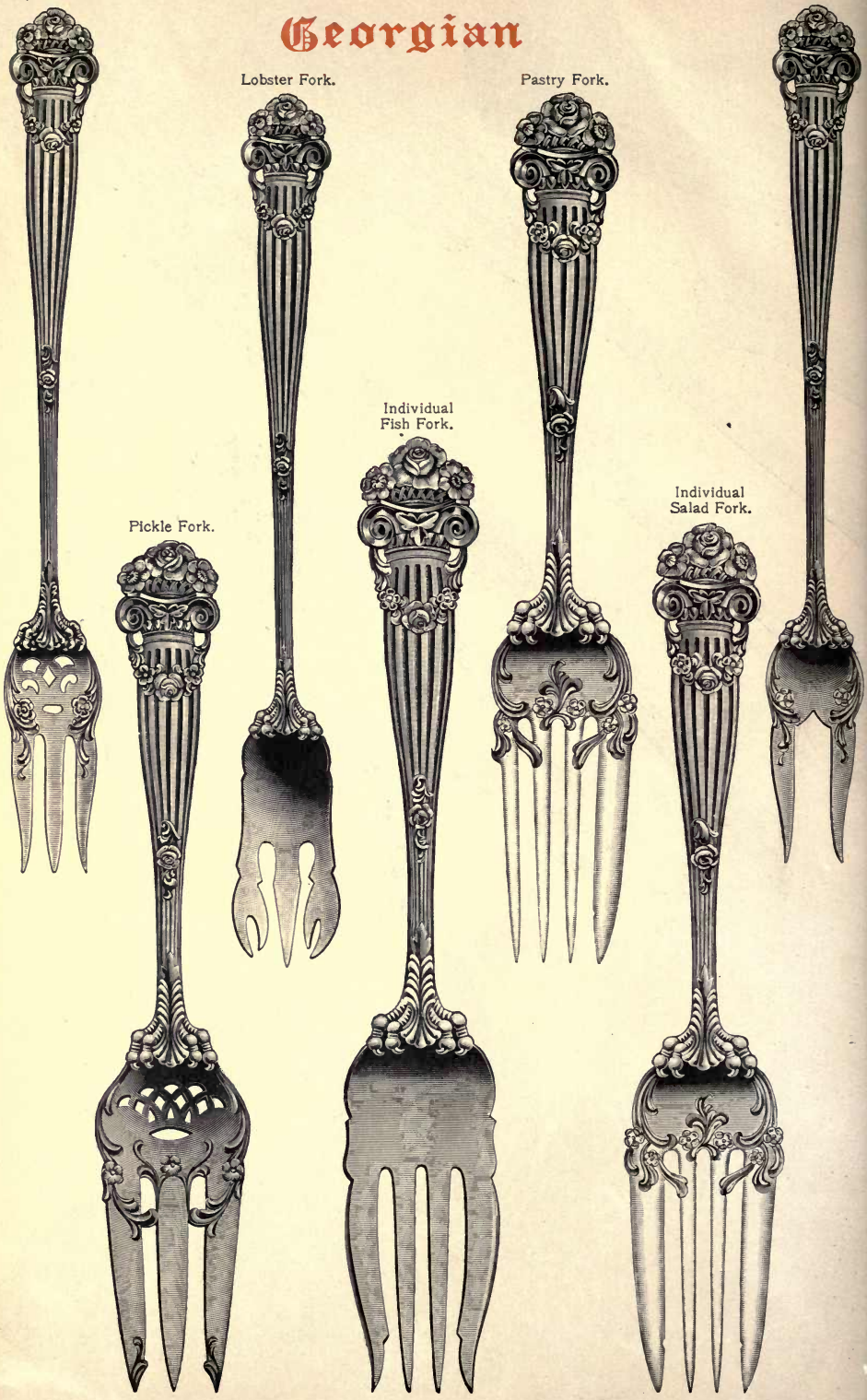
Mustard Spoon.

Punch Ladle.




Salt Spoon.
Ind. Salt Spoon.
Soup Ladle.
Gravy Ladle.
Bouillon Ladle.

Georgian


Oyster Fork.
Chow-chow Fork.
Lobster Fork.
Pastry Fork.
Individual Fish Fork.
Individual Salad Fork.
Pickle Fork.

Butter Pick.

Berry Fork.

Georgian

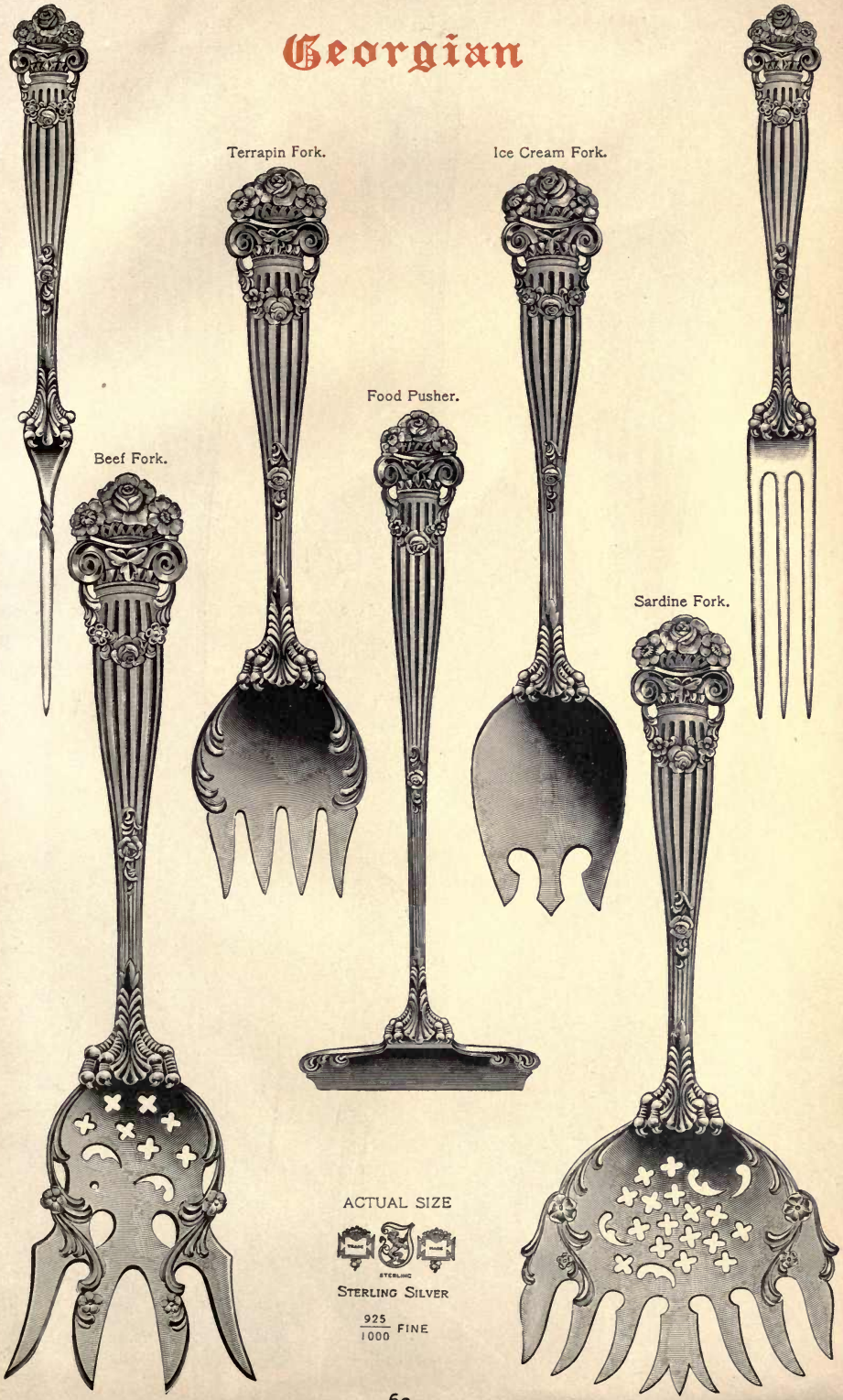
Terrapin Fork.

Ice Cream Fork.

Food Pusher.

Beef Fork.

Sardine Fork.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Georgian

Cucumber Server.

Asparagus Fork.

Patty Server.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Sugar Sifter.

Georgian

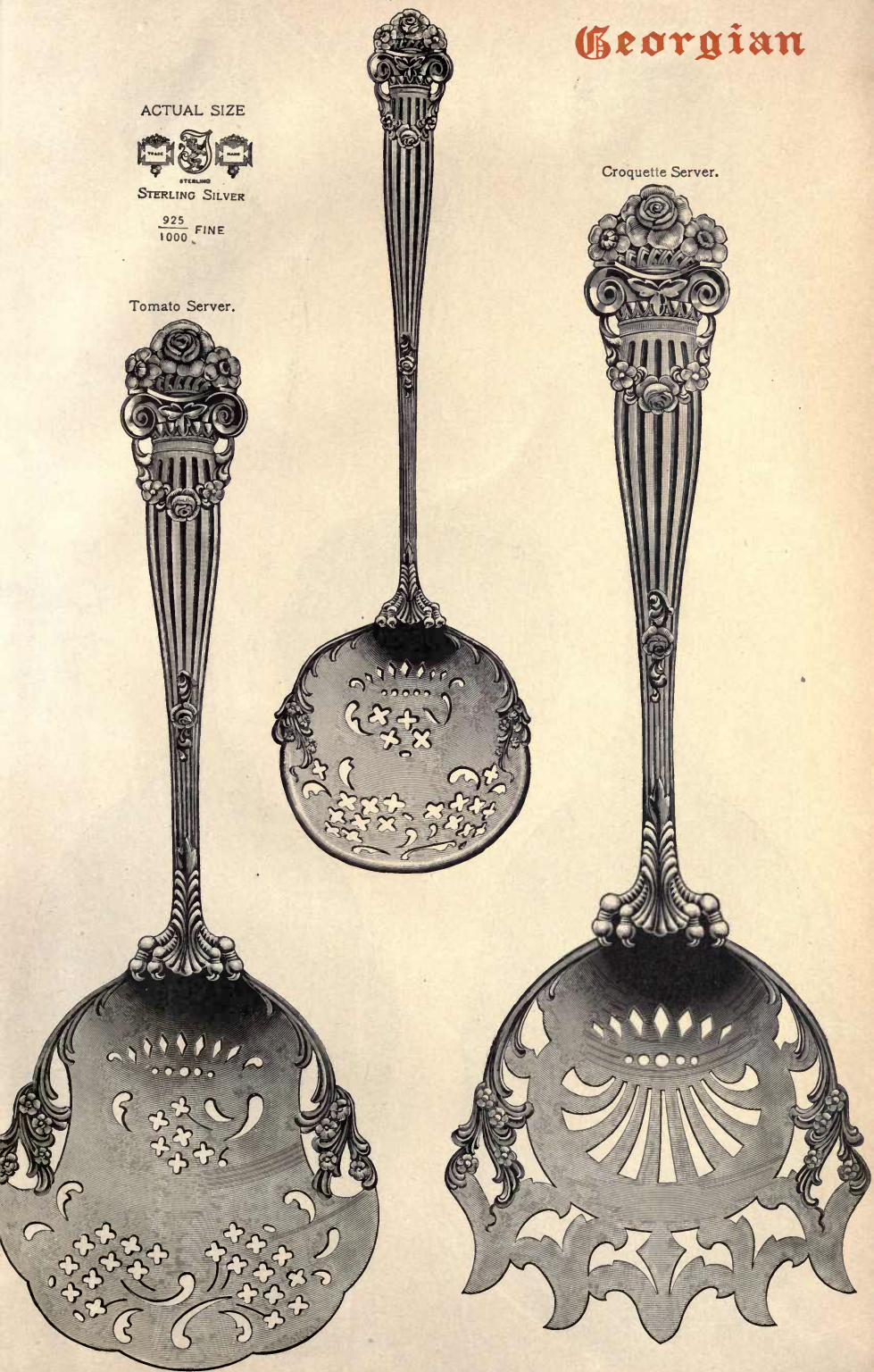
ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Croquette Server.

Tomato Server.

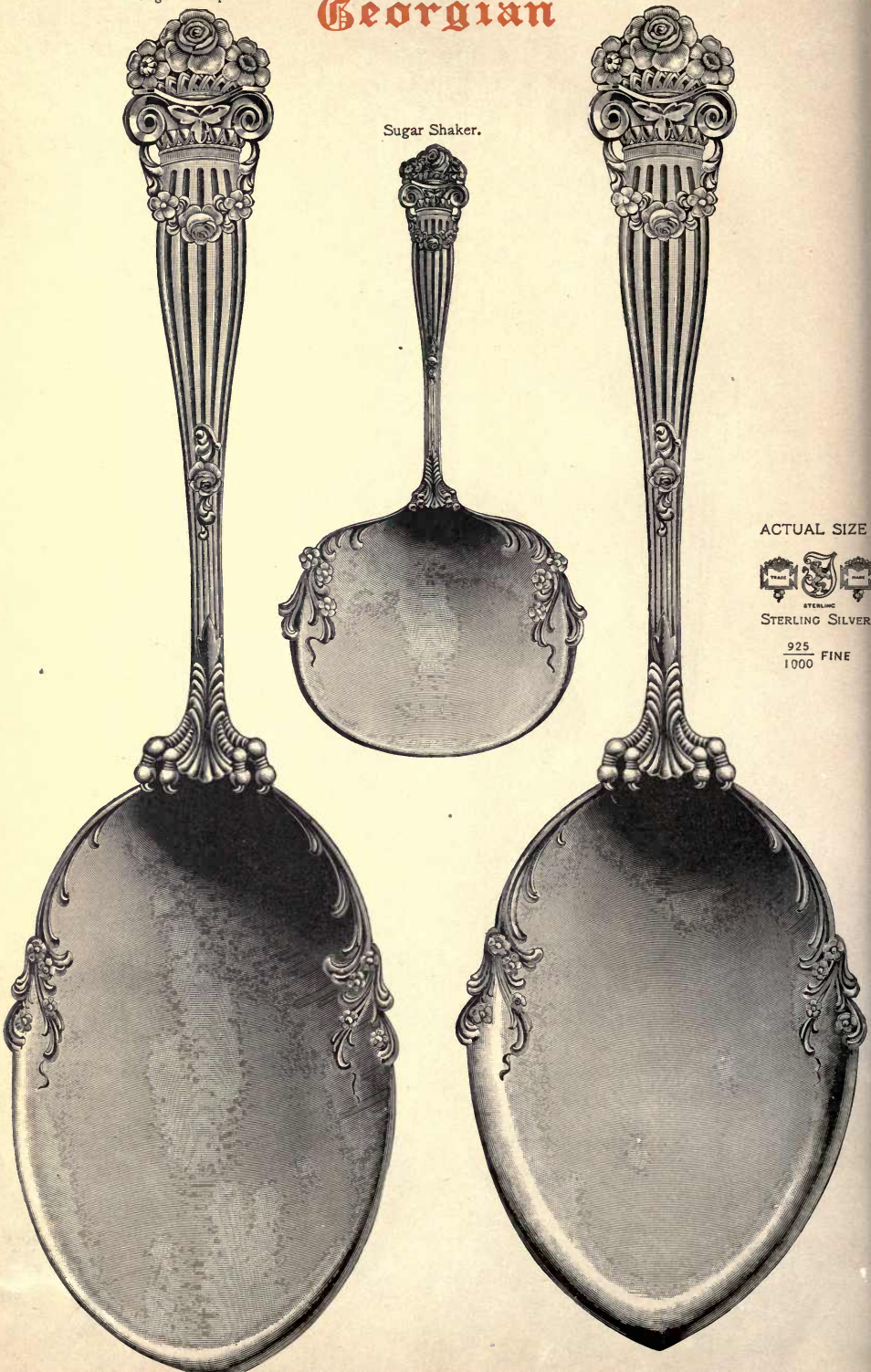


Georgian

Vegetable Spoon.

Sugar Shaker.

Pudding Spoon.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

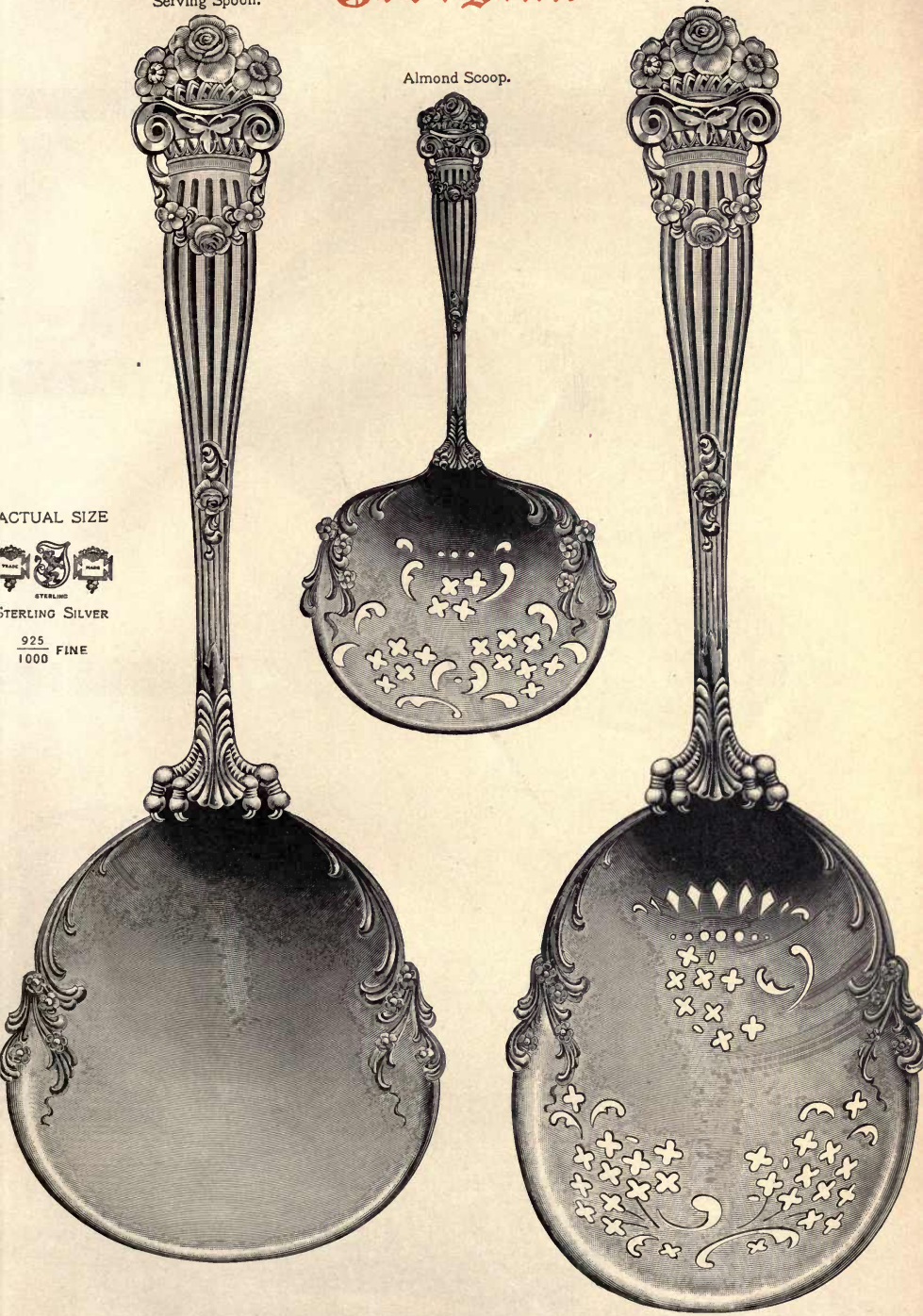
925/1000 FINE

Georgian

Serving Spoon.

Almond Scoop.

Ice Spoon.

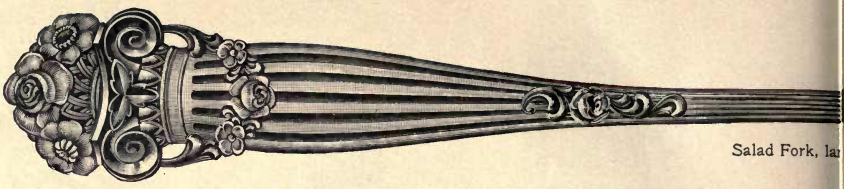


ACTUAL SIZE

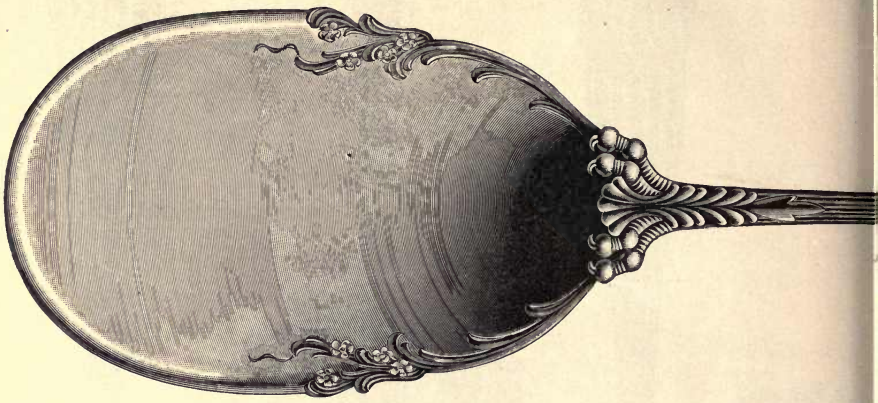
STERLING SILVER

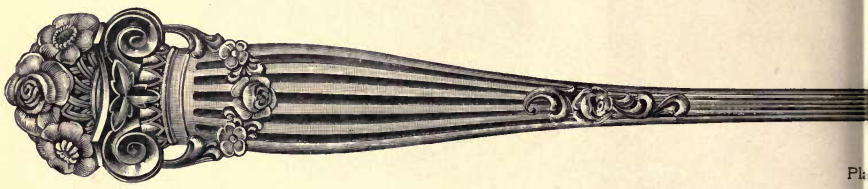
925/1000 FINE

Georgian

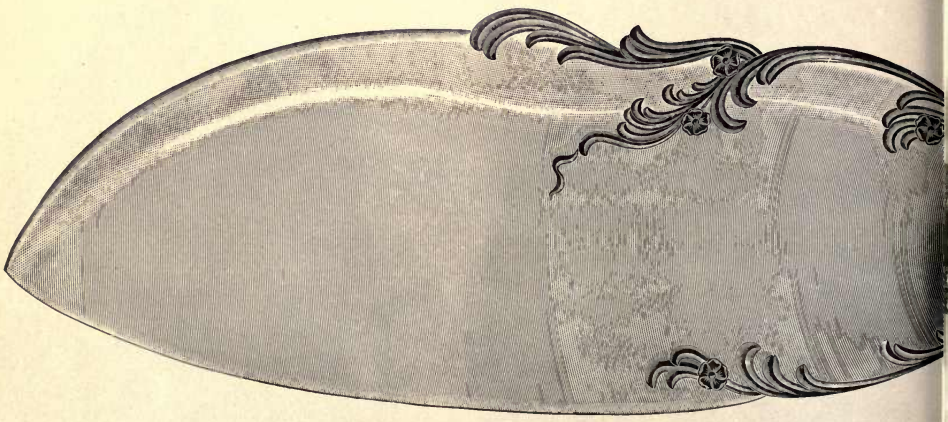


Salad Fork, la





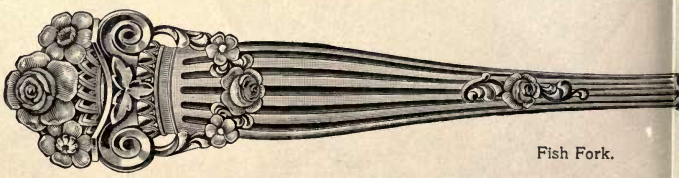
Pl



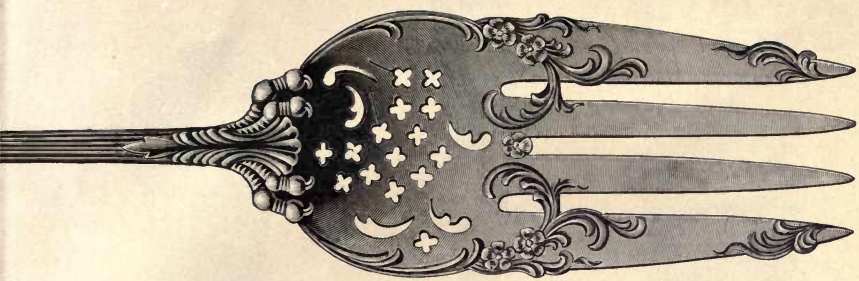
ACTUAL SIZE

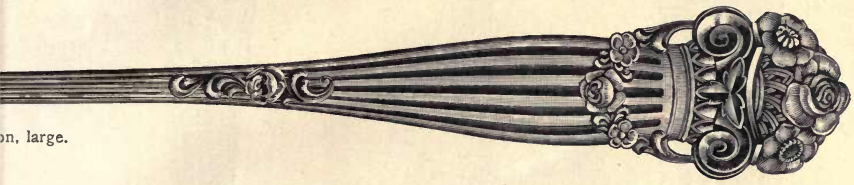
STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

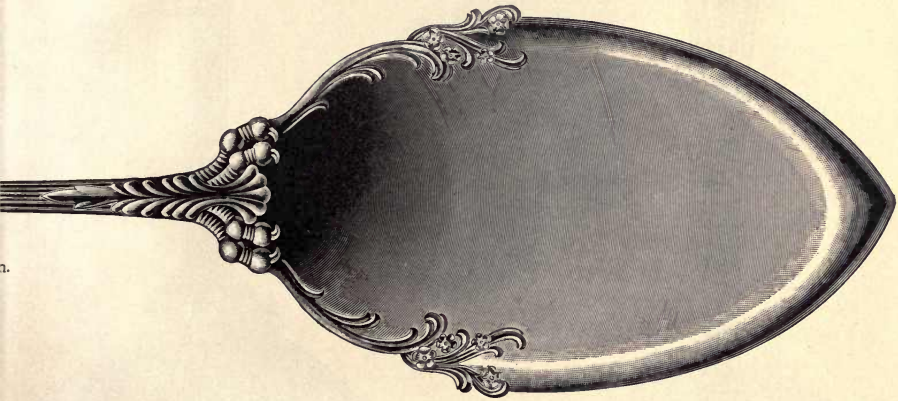


Fish Fork.





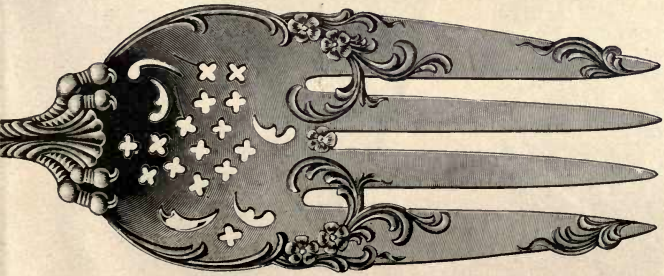
on, large.



n.



Fish Knife.



Georgian

Lemon Server.

Nut Spoon.

Pea Server.



ACTUAL SIZE.

STERLING

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Bonbon Scoop.

Georgian

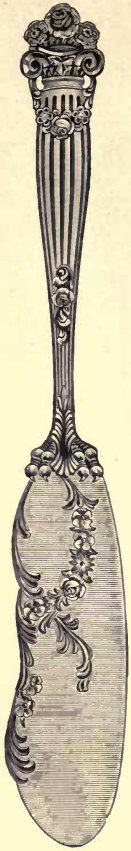
Vegetable Fork.

Bread Fork.

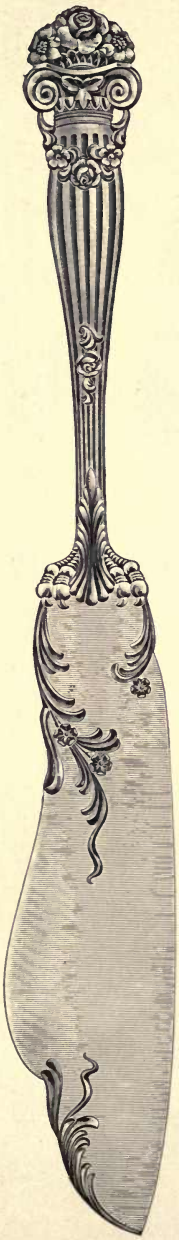


Georgian

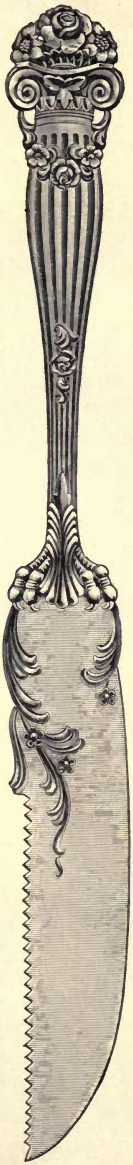
Butter Spreader.



Individual
Fish Knife.



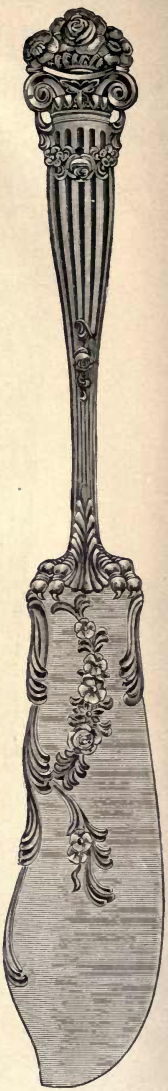
Orange Knife.



Tea Knife.



Butter Knife.



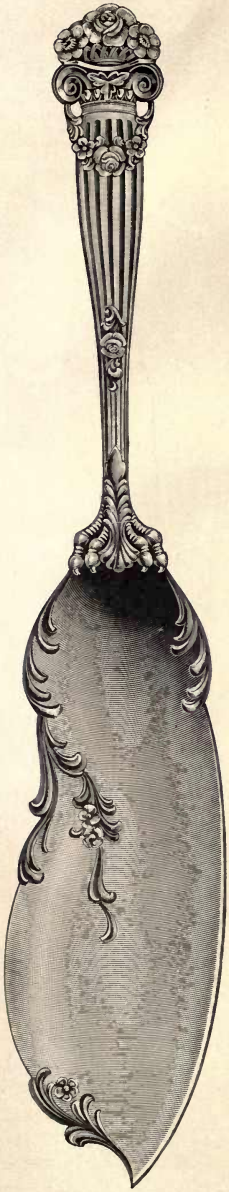
ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Georgian

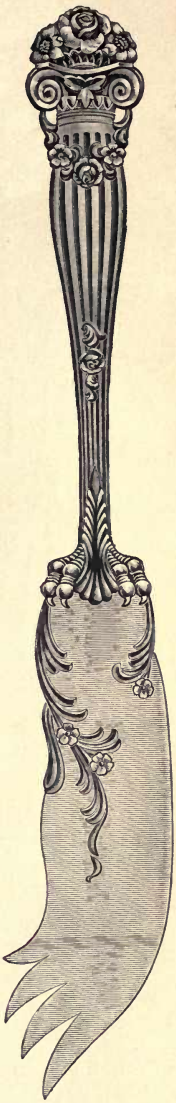
Jelly Knife.



Macaroni Server.



Cheese Knife.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Georgian

Cheese Server.

ACTUAL SIZE

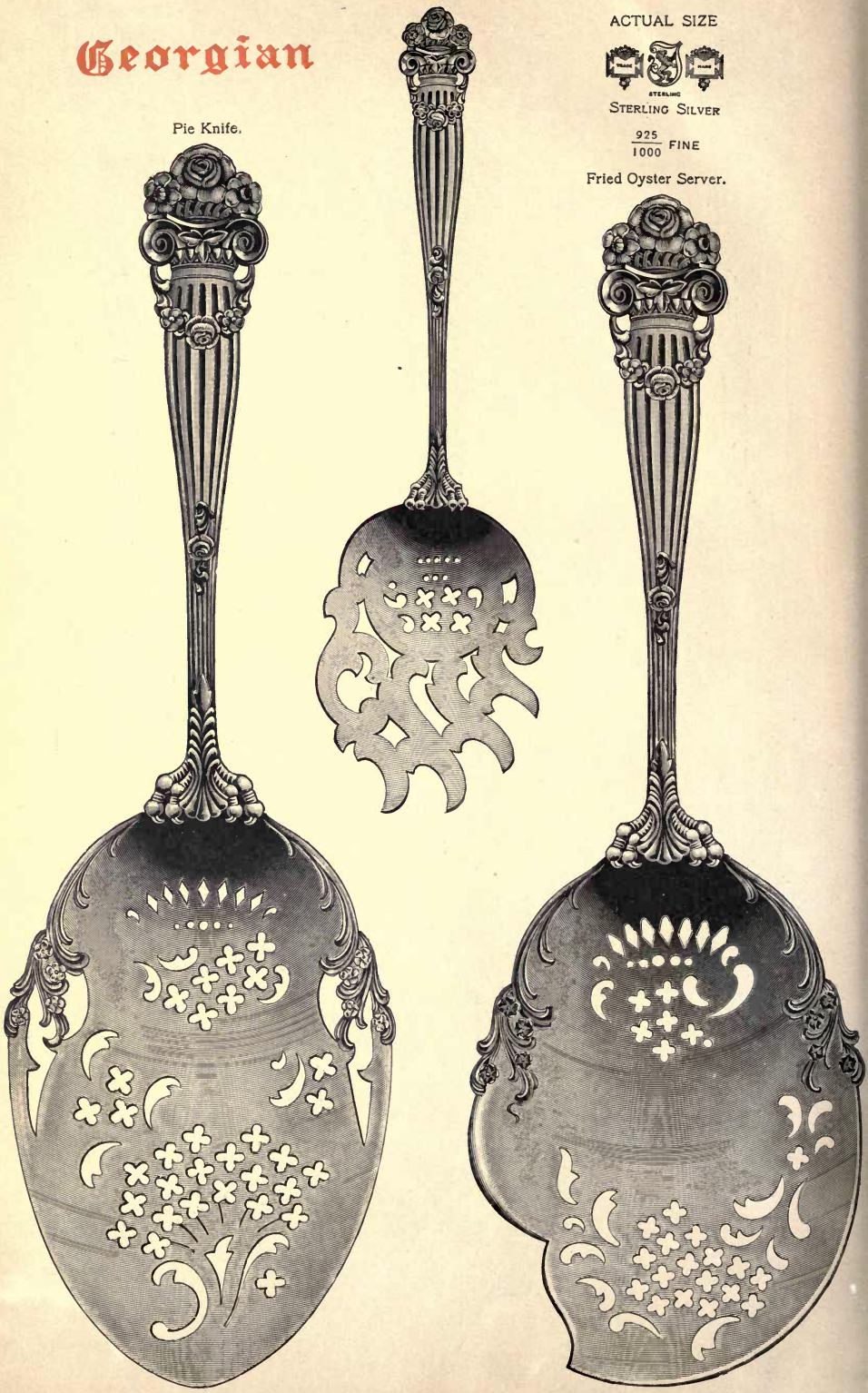
STERLING

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Pie Knife.

Fried Oyster Server.



Confection Spoon.

ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

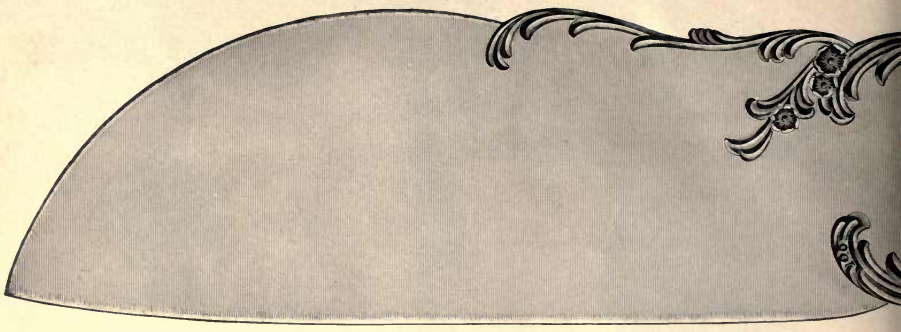
925/1000 FINE

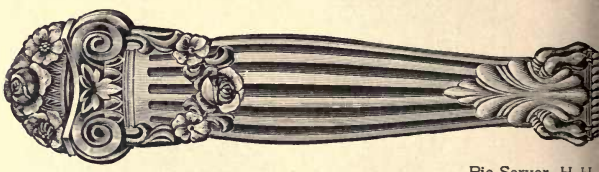
Georgian

Waffle Server.

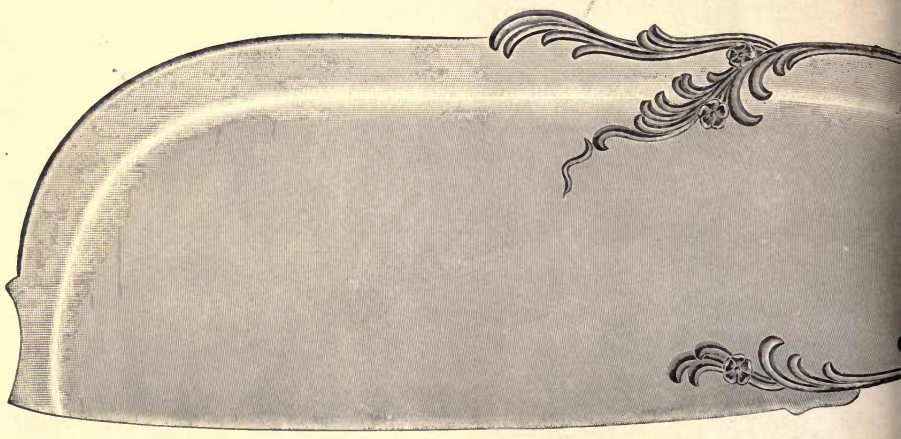
Cracker Scoop.

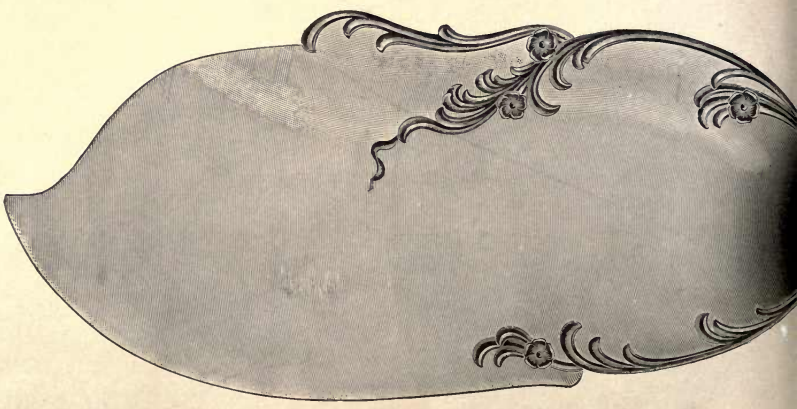




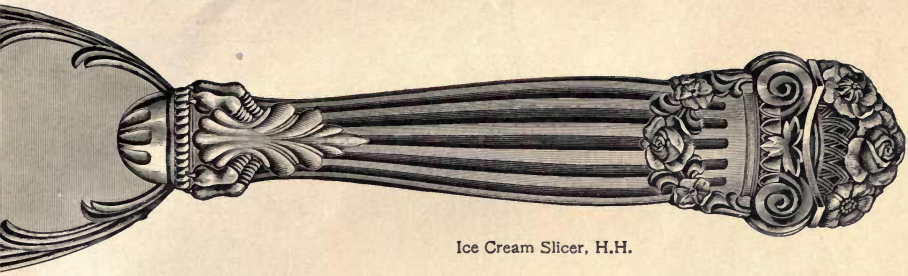


Pie Server, H. H.

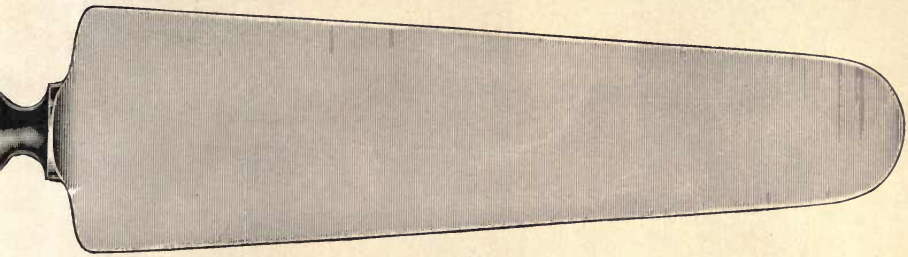


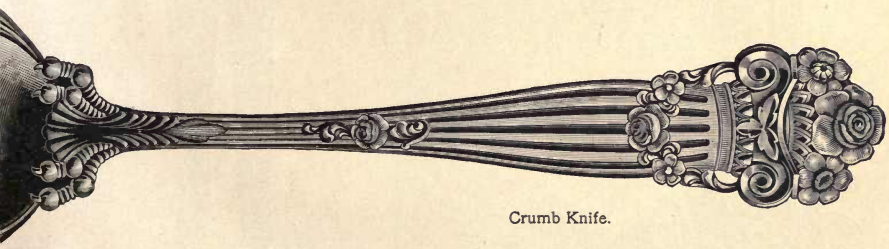


Georgian



Ice Cream Slicer, H.H.



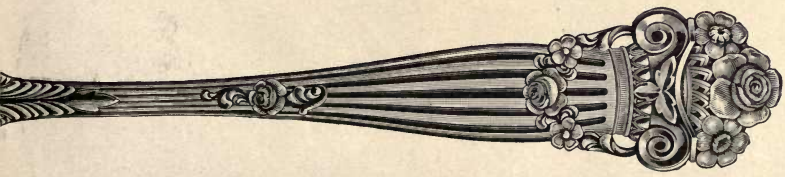


Crumb Knife.

ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE



Ice Cream Server.

Georgian

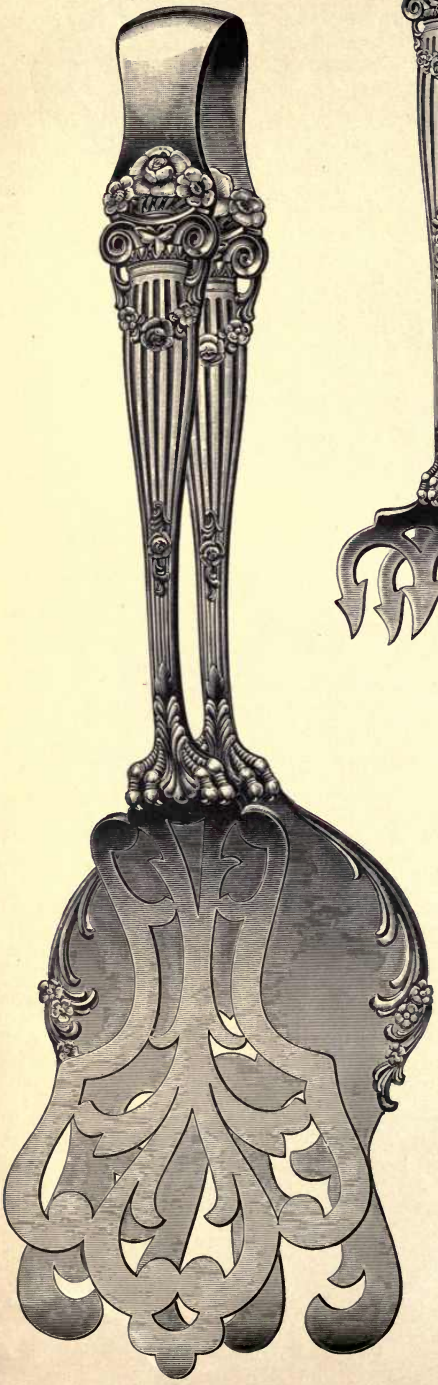
Sardine Tongs.

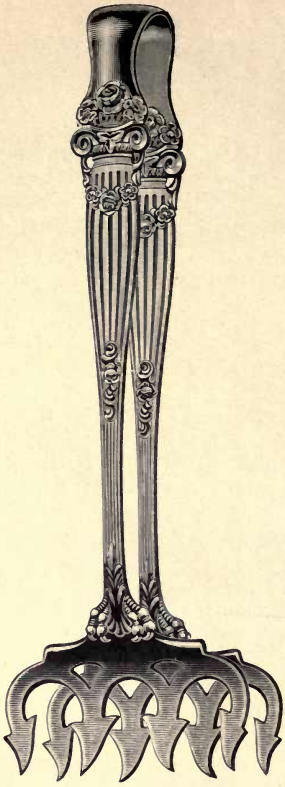
ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

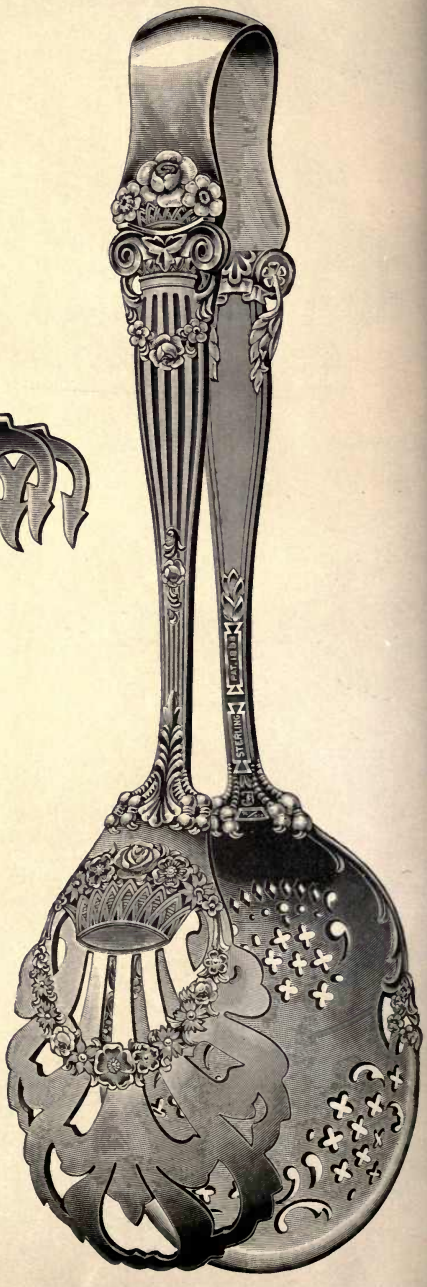
925/1000 FINE

Asparagus Tongs.





Ice Tongs.



Sugar Tongs.

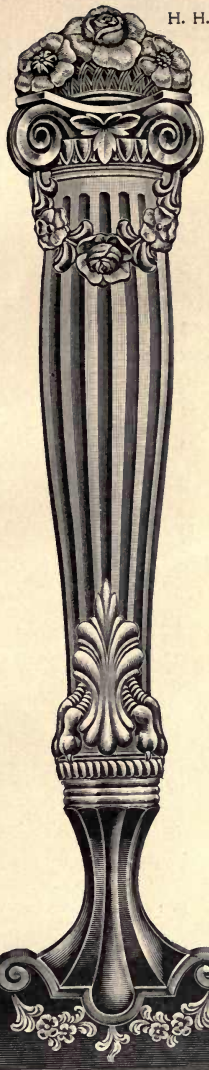
H. H. Toast Server.

Georgian

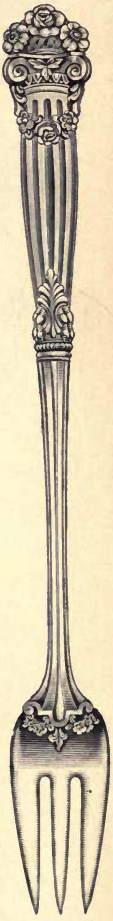
Tete-a-tete Tongs.

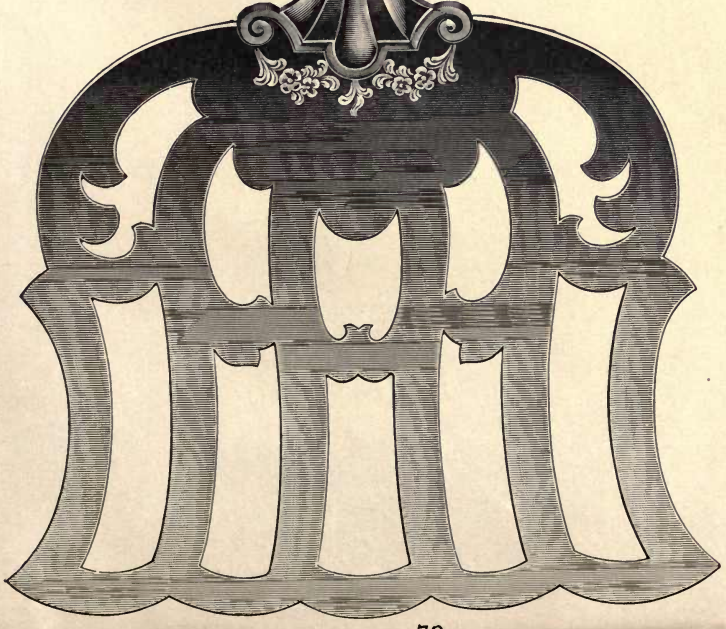
H.H.
Oyster Fork.











ACTUAL SIZE.

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Georgian

Tea Spoon, P.M.

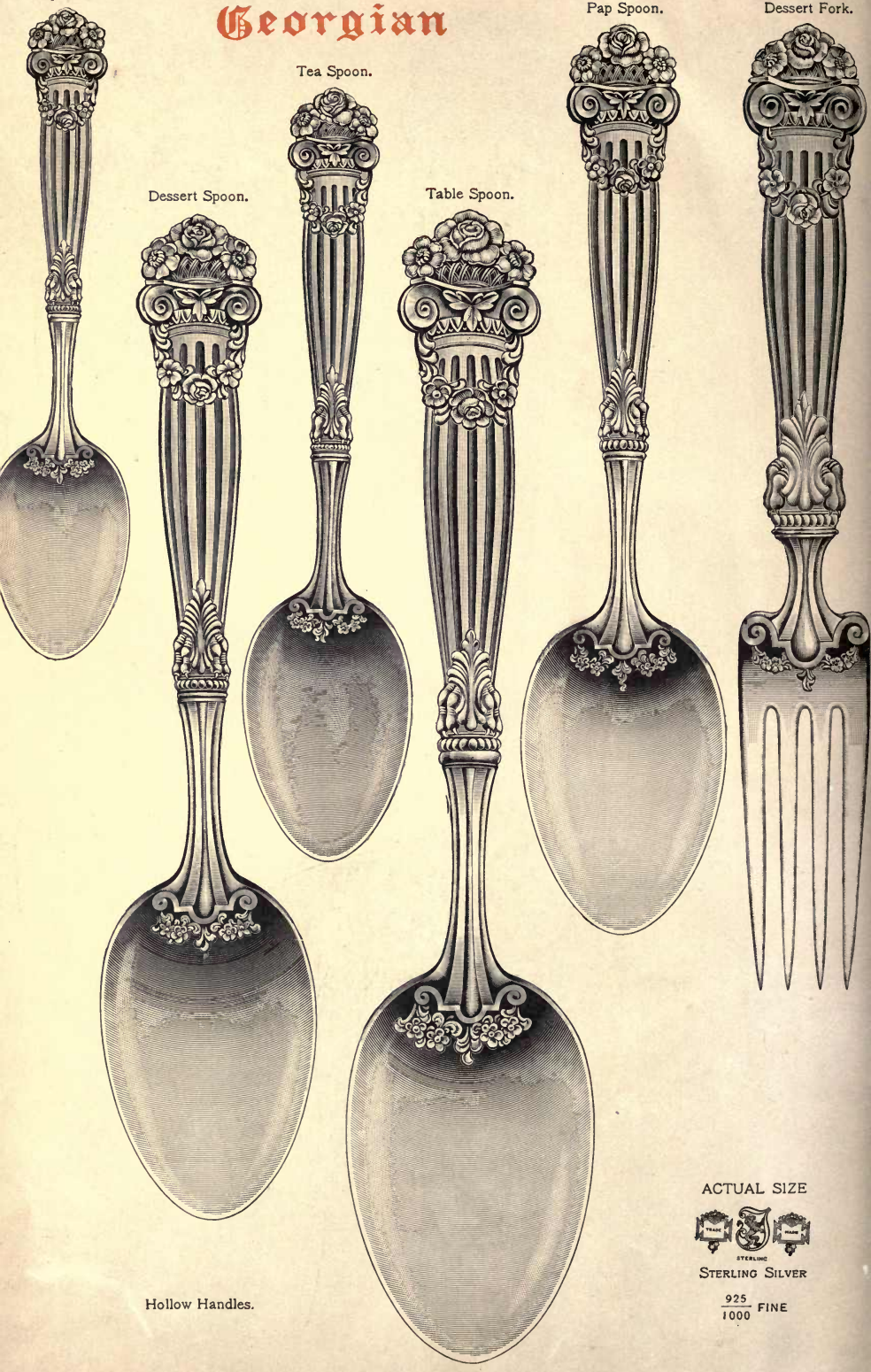
Tea Spoon.

Pap Spoon.

Dessert Fork.

Dessert Spoon.

Table Spoon.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Hollow Handles.

Georgian

Table Fork.



ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE



Cake Knife.



Hollow Handles.

Salad Spoon.

Georgian

ıad Fork.

Cream Ladle.

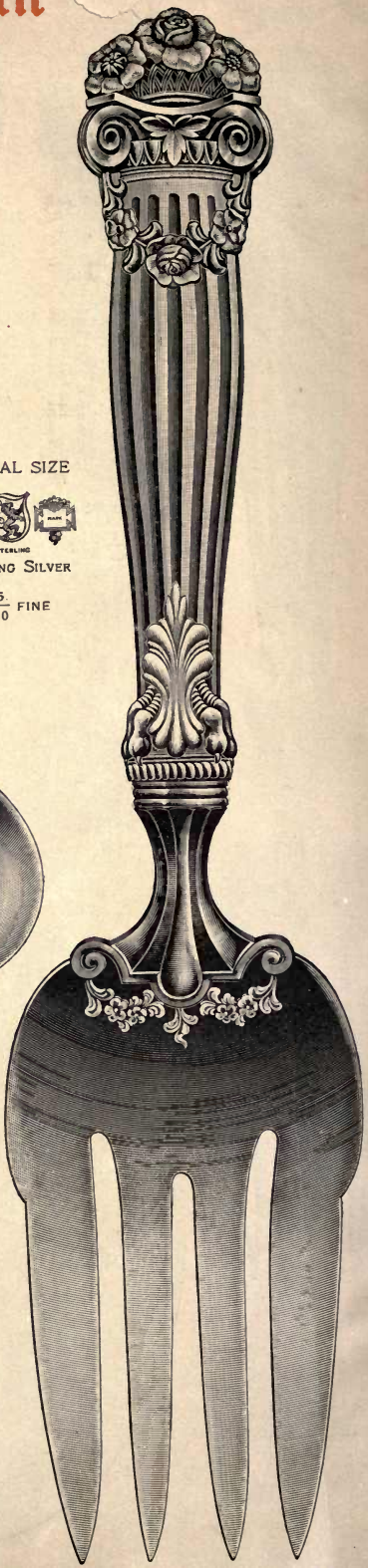


ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Hollow Handles.

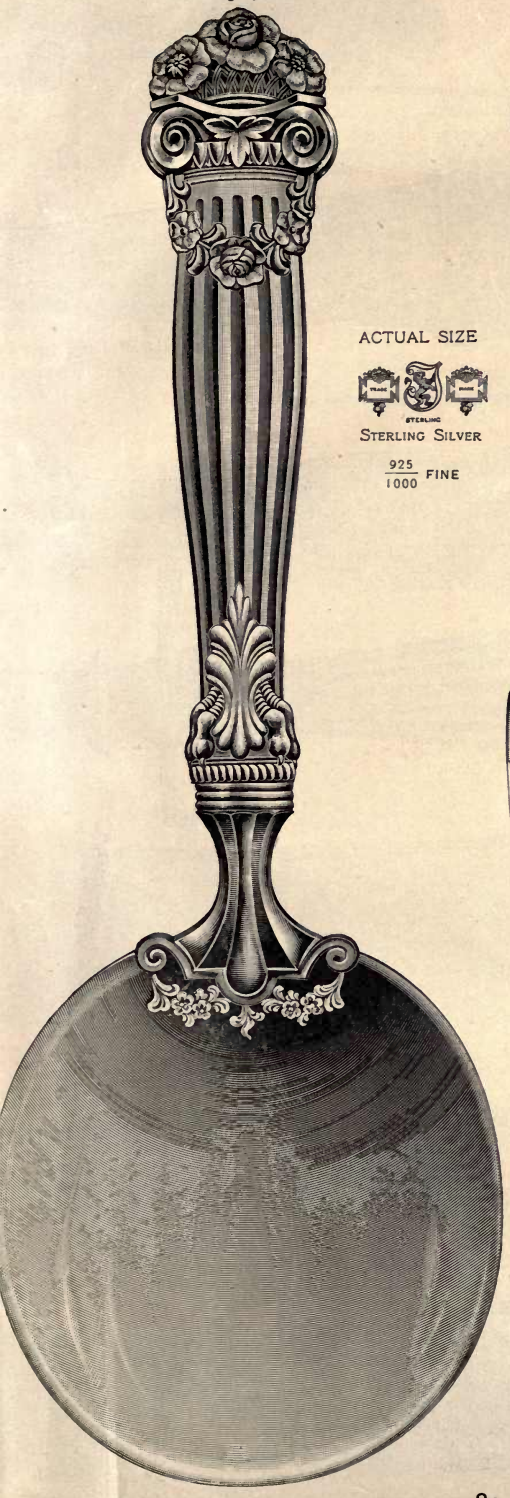


Georgian

Serving Spoon.

Ind. Salad Fork.

Entree Fork.

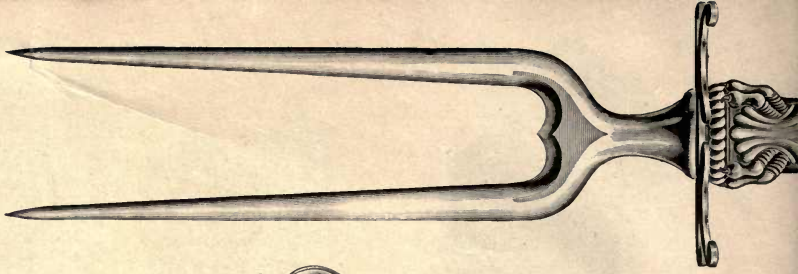


ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Hollow Handles.



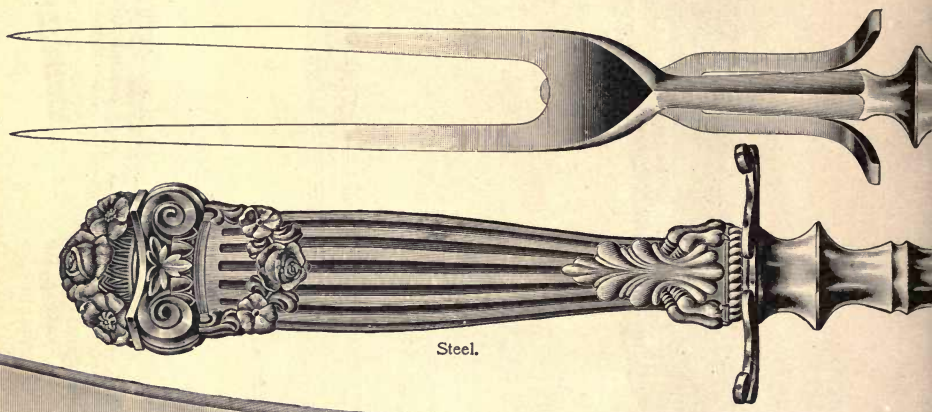
ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

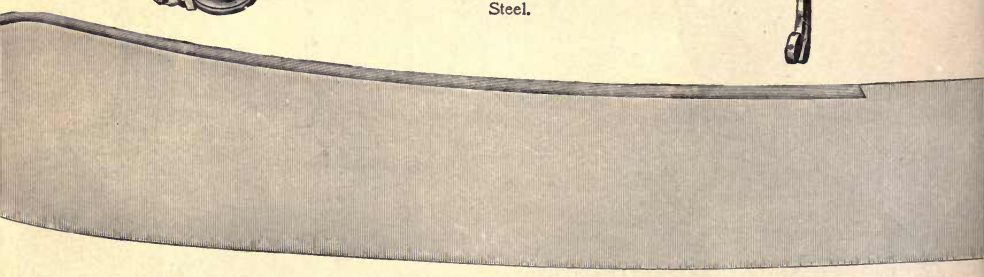
925/1000 FINE



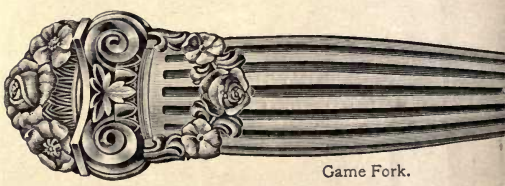
Roast Holder, Large.



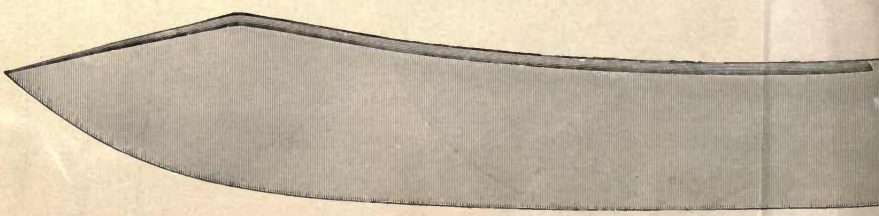
Steel.

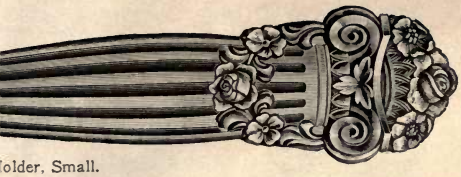


Hollow Handles.

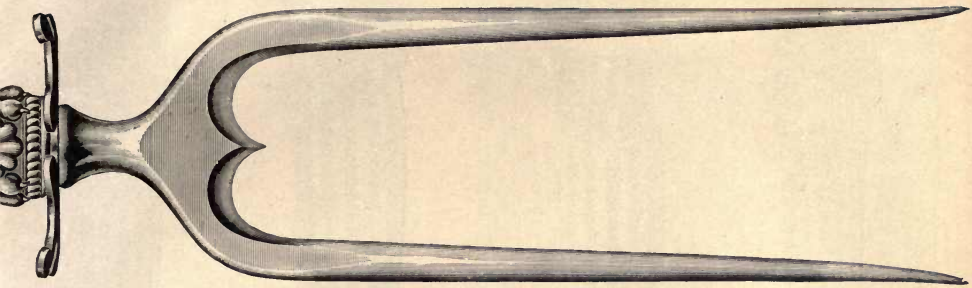


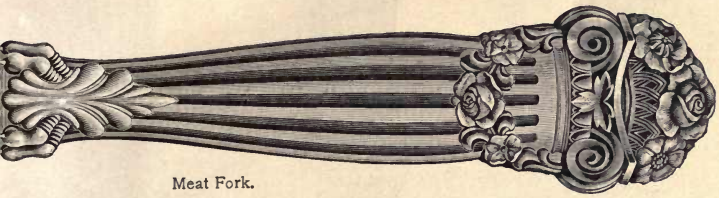
Game Fork.





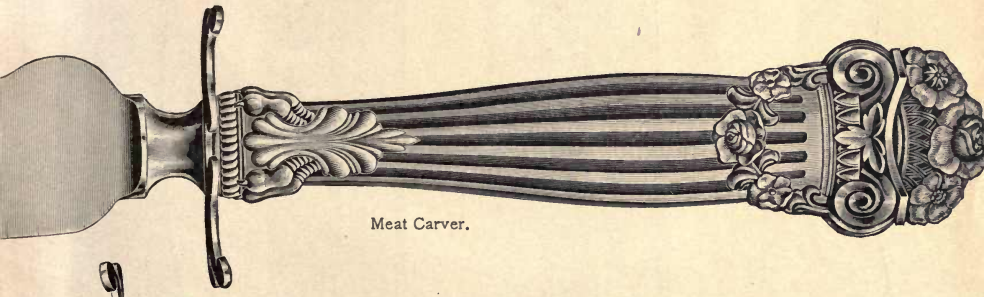
Holder, Small.



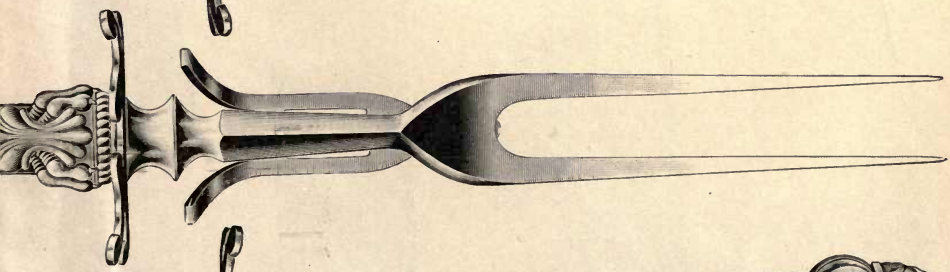


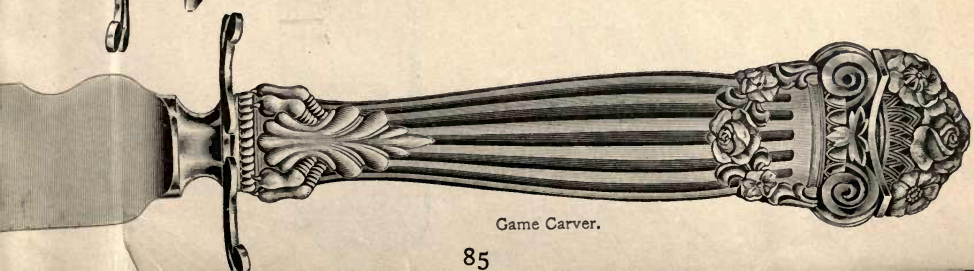
Meat Fork.





Meat Carver.





Game Carver.

Georgian

Fruit Knife.



Dessert Knife.



Medium Knife.



Butter Spreader.



Hollow Handles.

ACTUAL SIZE

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

Georgian

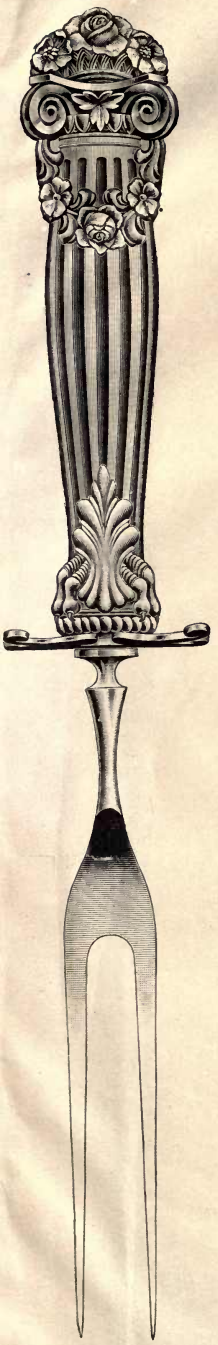
Steak Fork.

Steak Carver.

Child's Knife.

Child's Spoon.

Child's Fork.











ACTUAL SIZE

Hollow Handles.

STERLING SILVER

925/1000 FINE

FACSIMILE OF DRAWING MADE BY THOMAS NAST IN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF A GEORGIAN BOOK



Georgian

COLONIAL HISTORY ATTRACTIVELY ARRANGED AND ILLUSTRATED

COLONIAL (250TH THOUSAND)
GEORGIAN (100TH THOUSAND)
PAUL REVERE (60TH THOUSAND)
NEWBURY (60TH THOUSAND)
BENJ. FRANKLIN (1906)

EITHER OF ABOVE PREPAID TO ANY ADDRESS IN PAMPHLET FORM FIFTEEN CENTS IN POSTAGE OR SIXTY CENTS FOR THE SERIES OF FIVE FIRST FOUR IN BOUND VOLUME ONE DOLLAR

TOWLE MFG. COMPANY, SILVERSMITHS
Newburyport Massachusetts



G. Washington

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY
Los Angeles
This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.
REC'D LD-URL
OCT 23 '72
OCT 22 1972
Form L9–40m-7,'56(C790s4)444

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
D 000 231 686 7